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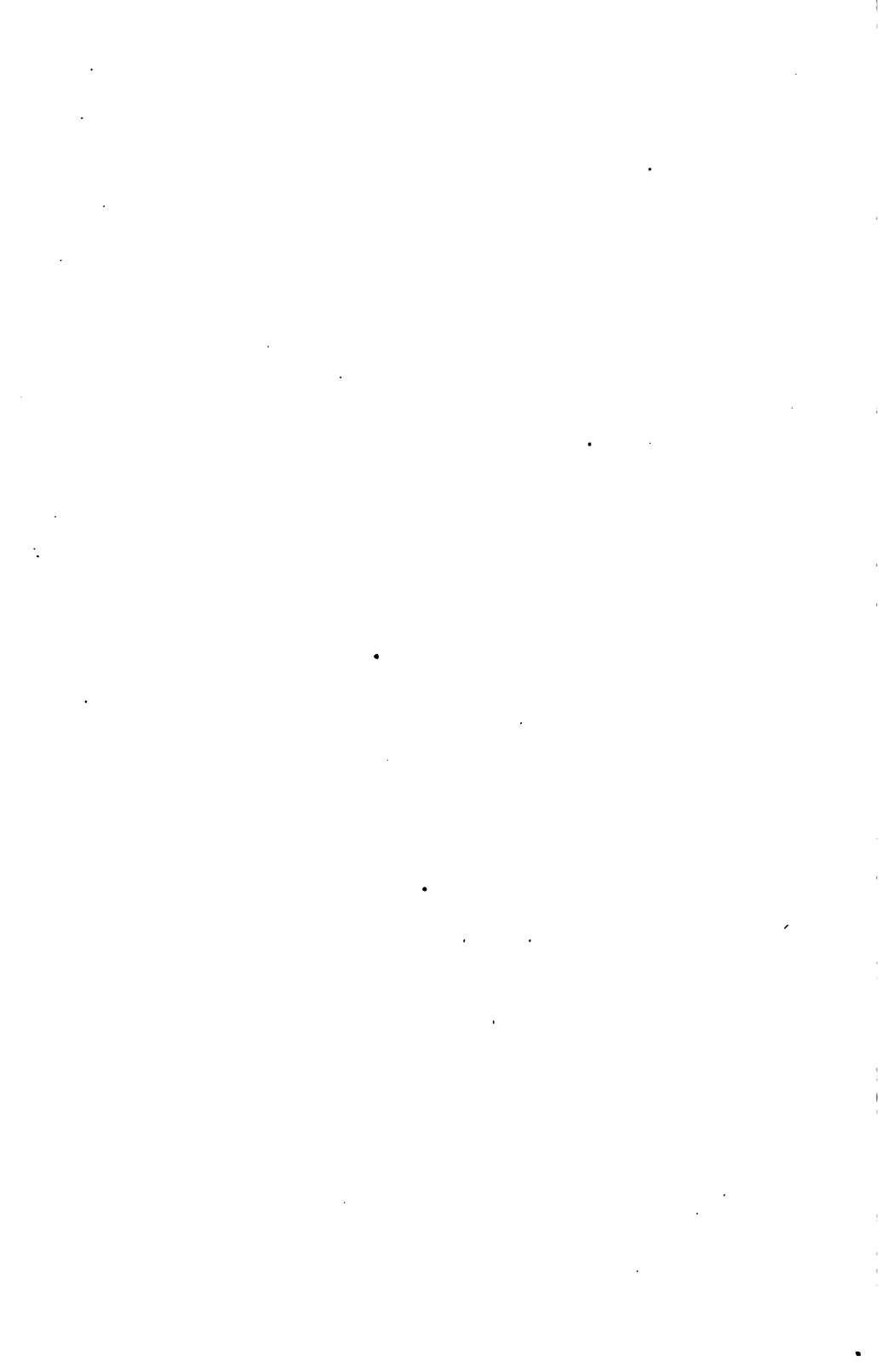


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J. Lowell.
1871.



AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

FROM

The Birth of Christ

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATION OF CHURCH POWER ARE CONSIDERED IN
THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY,

AND

The Political History of Europe during that Period.

BY JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,

AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN ACCURATE INDEX.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

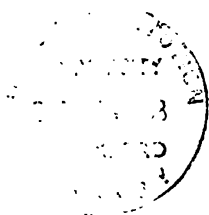
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INTRODUCTION.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed in the Fourth Book.

I. THE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this work, cannot be continued without the greatest inconveniences, in this Fourth Book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions that had formerly perplexed the church increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were in one continued tablature, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiffs, was every where either dissolved, or at least relaxed: and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

II. It is, however, proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide this Fourth Book into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the General, and the other the Particular History of the Christian religion.

The general history of the church, its extent.

III. To the General History belong all those events which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or, at least, to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which consequently produced every where changes and improvements of more or less importance.

Particular history. IV. In the Particular History of this century, we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the first we shall comprehend what relates to the more ancient Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the second shall be confined to the history of those more modern societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in Germany. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the Preface to this Work shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible; since it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in these times of discord.

History of the Reformation. V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and, we may add, the most glorious of all the revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the Blessed Reformation. This grand revolution, which arose in Saxony from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of Europe was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it produced, and the inconveniences of which it has been the innocent occasion. The history, therefore, of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the plan and method already laid down.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE
REFORMATION BY LUTHER TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

The Sixteenth Century.

The division of
the first section.

THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narration of one Section; we shall therefore divide it into Four Parts.

The First will contain "An Account of the State of Christianity before the Commencement of the Reformation."

The Second, "The History of the Reformation from its first Beginnings until the date of the Confession drawn up at Augsburg."

The Third will exhibit "A View of the same History, from this latter period to the Commencement of the War of Smalcalde." And,

The Fourth will carry it down to "The Peace that was entered into with the Abettors of the Reformation in the year 1555." This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

Things are in a
quiet state at
the beginning of
this century.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to appre-

* The writers of the History of the Reformation of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned Philip Frid. Hane, who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class, in his *Historia Sacrorum a Luthero Emendatorum*, part I. cap. i. p. 1. and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutherani*, part II. cap. clxxxvii. p. 863.—The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of

this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration of the matters which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this history. The illustrious names of Sleidan and Seckendorf, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

hend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the valleys of Piedmont, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of Europe, which separates the Alps from the Pyrenean mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

The complaints
against the
popes and clergy
ineffectual.

II. We must not, however, conclude, from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their councils, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a Reformation of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose.^b But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from persons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely inactive, and looked for redress to the court of Rome, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontiff was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

The restoration of
learning.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in Europe, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as Erasmus and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses

^b These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Loescherus, in *Actis et Documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105—cap. ix. p. 181; et Ern. Salom. Cyprian, *Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat.* published at Leipzig, in 8vo, in the year 1717.—The griev-

ances complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperator. et Nationis German. adversus Sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of Luther, were corrupted in a very high degree.

that reigned in the court of Rome, and the brutish manners of the monastic orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of canon-law, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that Christ had established a vicegerent at Rome, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched, therefore, within these strongholds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed, moreover, with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready on every commotion to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

IV. Hence it was, that the bishops of Rome lived in the utmost security and ease, and being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. Alexander VI., whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed: though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old age.^c He was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III. who in less than a month was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by Julian de la Rovere, who assumed the denomination of Julius II.

V. To the odious list of vices with which Julius II. dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of France.^d He afterwards laid siege to Ferrara; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer Europe to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a vicar of Christ, who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

The council of
Pisa.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over Europe, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that

^c See the Life of Alexander VI. in two volumes 8vo, by Alex. Gordon, Esq.—As also another life of the same pontiff, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of Leo. X., to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work entitled, His-

toire Du Droit Public Ecclésiastique François, par M. D. B. published in 4to, at London, in 1752.

^d See Du Bos, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray, published at the Hague in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1710.

promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church that was so ardently and so universally desired. Lewis XII. king of France, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of Rome, which was represented by the title of Babylon, on this coin.* Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor Maximilian I. assembled, in the year 1511, a council at Pisa, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church, Julius, on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran in the year 1512,^f in which the decrees of the council of Pisa were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most dire and formidable anathemas against Lewis and other princes had not death snatched away this audacious pontiff, in the year 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

Leo X.

VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo X. of the family of Medicis, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was nevertheless equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of the age would admit of. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not, however, neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the Reformation of the church. He went still farther; and, in a conference which he had with Francis I. king of France, at Bologna, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction,^g which had been so long odious to the popes of Rome, and to substitute in

* See B. Christ. Sigismund. Liebil Commentatio de Nummis Ludovici XII. Epigraphæ, Perdam Babylonis nomen, insignibus; Leipsæ, 1717.—See also Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus, tom. i. p. 238, 243; Colonia, Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 443.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

^f Harduini, Concilia, tom. ix. p. 1559.

^g We have mentioned this Pragmatic Sanction, Cent. XV. Part II. Chap. II. sect. xvi. note^d, and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is

published at large in the eighth volume of the Concilia Harduini, p. 1949, as is the Concordate, that was substituted in its place, in the ninth volume of the same work, p. 1867, and in Leibnitz, his Mantissa Codicis Diplomatæ, part I. p. 158, part II. p. 358.—The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 3.—See also, on the same subject, Du Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. vi. p. 61—109; Du Clos, Histoire de Louis XI., Histoire du Droit Ecclésiastique François, tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 415; Menagiana, tom. iii. p. 285.

its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the Concordate, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance.^b

The avarice of the popes. VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state, and such was the character assumed by the popes, the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But as the name of tribute was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of indulgences, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of indulgences was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these

^b The king went in person to the parliament to offer the Concordate to be registered, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this act, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the Concordate, but to observe still the Pragmatic Sanction, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of Charles VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the Concordate, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The chancellor De Prat, who was principally concerned in promoting the Concordate, has generally been regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president Hainault has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the Concordate as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconveniences than the Pragmatic Sanction. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the Concordate, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices that prevailed almost everywhere, while, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, every church chose its bishop, and every mo-

nastery its abbot. He observes, moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of France, and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right which Christian communities have to choose their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniences; and that the subjects, by entrusting their sovereign with the government of the state, invest him, *ipso facto*, with an authority over the church, which is a part of the state, and its noblest branch. See Hainault, *Abbrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in the particular remarks that are placed at the end of the reign of Lewis XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the Concordate was this: that in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the annates, or first-fruits, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the Concordate. And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the first-fruits, of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the Pragmatic Sanction. See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclésiastique François*. As this substitution of the Concordate, in the place of the Pragmatic Sanction, was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.

occasions, they were recommended warmly to the ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

The pope's authority held inferior to that of a council.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that was almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations, considered them as liable to error, and bounded by law. The councils of Constance and Basil had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of Rome, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convicted of gross errors or enormous crimes. Thus were the people in some measure prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence that ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council, which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence, also, those frequent appeals that were made to this approaching council, when the court of Rome issued out any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

The corruption of the lower orders of the clergy.

X. The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed towards all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once-respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eye of the wise and good, but also in the universal judgment of the multitude.¹ Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for, as all the offices and dignities of the church were become venal every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

The state of the monastic orders.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread Europe were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and forgetful of the gravity of their character, and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the

¹ See Cernelii Aurelii Gaudani Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesie, in Caspar. Burmanni Analect.

Hist. de Hadriano VI. p. 245, printed in 4to at Utrecht in 1727.

shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. Dominic and St. Francis, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to Reuchlinus, Erasmus, and other learned men.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprising, when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the inquisition, and had the care of souls with the function of confessors, in all the courts of Europe; a circumstance this, which, in these times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the European princes in their power. But notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing could be more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at Bern, in the year 1509.¹ They

¹ 67 This most impious fraud is recorded at length by Ruchet, at the end of the sixth volume of his *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*; and also by Hottinger, in his *Histor. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct, narration of this infernal stratagem, in Bishop Burnet's *Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The former maintained, that she was born without the blemish of original sin: the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, at a chapter held at Vimpfen in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit as a lay brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the

four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seemed to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached Jetzer's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at Paris, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howlings, frightened poor Jetzer out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the discipline of the whip, performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon Jetzer the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin: and con-

were perpetually employed in stigmatizing, with the opprobrious mark of Heresy, numbers of learned and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights and properties of others to augment their possessions, and in laying the

cluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him : and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars that managed the imposture, magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourses. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils, and Jetzer's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes (the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity, we shall here omit) the impostor talked much to Jetzer of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the blessed Virgin ; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in original sin ; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory ; that the blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her Son ; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions, Jetzer imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken ; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. Barbara, at others in that of St. Bernard ; at length he assumed that of the Virgin Mary, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals ; the little images that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which, being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended Virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to Jetzer, in which, among other things, she told him that she was conceived in original sin, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a host, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment ; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted, the Virgin-prior told Jetzer, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her Son's love, by imprinting on him the five wounds that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucie and St. Catharine.

Accordingly, she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought, as he pretended, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eyebrows of a child, all which, with some stupefying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in the hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened, he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary and another of the child Jesus ; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother, by means of this voice (which was that of the prior) why she wept ? and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to her the honour that was due to him, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems of these Dominicans were repeated every night, and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that simple as Jetzer was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to Jetzer, and to engage him by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. Jetzer was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him ; but his constitution was so vigorous, that though they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spice, which, growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelp that were in the monastery, and it killed them

most iniquitous snares and stratagems for the destruction of their adversaries.* And they were the principal counsellors, by whose instigation and advice Leo X. was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of Luther.

The state of learning, and of the public schools.

XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the Mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness which had so long enveloped them : and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the venerable titles of Artists, Grammarians, Physicians, and Dialecticians, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts, delivered in the most inelegant style ; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled Aristotle beyond all measure, while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him. For what was now exhibited as the philosophy of that famous Grecian sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads of schools were unable to comprehend. And if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the Scotists and Thomists, the Realists and Nominalists, whose clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European academies.

The state of theology.

XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century may be learned from many books yet extant, which were written by the divines it produced, and which, in reality, have no other merit than their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy scriptures were very few in number during this century ; and there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of knowledge was so rare, that when Luther arose there could not be found, even in the university of Paris, which was considered the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine upon a scripture foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such as, laying aside all attention to the true meaning and force of the words of scripture, which their profound igno-

immediately. At another time they poisoned the host, or consecrated wafer, but as he vomited it up soon after he swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to Rome, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter ; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burned alive, on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died some time after at Con-

stance, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances, was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter ; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

* See Bilib. Pirkheimeri *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum Flagitiis*, in *Opp. ejus*, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in *Gerdesii Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170, Append.

rance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to those classes of divines which we have formerly mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententarii*, who were extremely fond, the former of loading their accounts both of the truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writings of the ancient doctors; the latter of explaining the doctrines of the gospel by the rules of a subtle and intricate philosophy.

The liberty of debating religious subjects.

XV. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine which had not been as yet fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is that we could mention many Christian doctors before Luther, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger or molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of Rome, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

The nature of religious worship as it was celebrated at this time.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of those who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the good old mother church, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine Author, and the efficacy of his

mediation, as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life: such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

The corrupt and miserable condition of the people in general.

XVII. The state of things that we have now been describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters which reigned universally in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied by the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rites and ceremonies of the church, were far from showing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance or to check the superstition of the times; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them, as conducive to their safety, and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shown in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen that the traffic of indulgences could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind; and that, in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from expiations, satisfactions, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances, must necessarily decrease.

A reformation in the church ardently desired.

XVIII. Such was then the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardour and impatience with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were perhaps over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rites and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was, to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men; to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burdens that were imposed upon them under religious prettexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances complained of sprung, and, indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed: so was this reformation supposed to be ardently, though silently wished for, by all those who publicly demanded the reformation of the church in its head and in its members.

The Mystics.

XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the Mystics. For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and cere-

monies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the Mystics were loved and respected by many persons who had a serious sense of religion, and were of a tender and devotional complexion. But as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical precepts and directions; and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness, more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM ITS FIRST BEGINNINGS, TO THE CONFESSION GIVEN IN AT AUGSBURG.

The dawn of a reformation rises unexpectedly. I. WHILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was Martin Luther, a native of Aisleben, in Saxony, a monk of the Augustinian Eremites, who were one of the Mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at Wittemberg, a few years before this period, by Frederic the Wise. The papal chair was at that time filled by Leo X. Maximilian I. a prince of the house of Austria, was king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany, and Frederic, already mentioned, elector of Saxony. The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny David could hurt a Goliath, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain.

Luther. II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious: his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged, even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of Wittemberg. As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the Nominalists, which was the system adopted by his order; while in divinity he followed chiefly the sentiments of Augustin; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture, and the dictates of right reason, before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt

from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach.*

Indulgences are
preached by
John Tetzel in
1517.

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age the truth which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was John Tetzel.^b This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, by Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to preach and proclaim in Germany those famous indulgences of Leo X. which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency,^c and frand, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of Christ. At this, Luther, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at Wittemberg, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these questors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontiff as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced, by such delusions, from placing their principal confidence in Christ, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory.^d

* The writers who have given any circumstantial account of Luther and his transactions, are accurately enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranicum*; the first part of which was published at Hamburg in the year 1728, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

^b The historians who have particularly mentioned Tetzel, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted in the preceding note, part I. p. 47, part II. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by Echard and Quetif, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Predicator.* tom. ii. p. 40, discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

^c In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, Tetzel said, among other enormities, that "even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (Tetzel) had wherewithal to effice his guilt." He also boasted, that "he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching."

^d Dr. Mosheim has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make Luther's zealous opposition to the publication of indulgences appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no way affected by the views or character of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry; but as it may tend to vindicate

the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. Hume, in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.* has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans;* that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the University of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves."† It were to be wished that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better before he had ventured to repeat it. For in the first place, it is not true that the Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Domini-

* Hume's *History of England*, under the House of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

† *Id. ib.* p. 120.

The true state of the debate between Luther and Tetzel.

IV. This debate between Luther and Tetzel was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might have been determined with the utmost facility, had Leo X. been dis-

cans;* and, in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman Pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, i. e. from 1450 to 1517, during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service, if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin order were exclusively, or even usually employed in that service.† Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Prierio, Pallavicini, and Graveson, the mortal enemies of Luther.—But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly, That in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings.‡ Nay more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order,§ who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Meutz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a

mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general: since it was given to Tetzel alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the third place, That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might perhaps be suspected of partiality in his favour, but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzel, whom Luther opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochläus was silent on this head during the life of Luther; though after the death of that great reformer he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices,* that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives of action, which escaped the prying eyes of Luther's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-conceived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

I may add many other considerations, to show the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as Charles V., to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

* Sleidan De Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.

* See Weismanni Memorabilia Historie Sacre N. T. p. 1051, 1115.

† See Happii Disser. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum, Sec. xiv. et xv. Questoribus, p. 384, 387.

‡ See Walch Opp. Luther. tom. xv. p. 114, 283, 312, 349; Sockendorf, Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. i. sec. vi. p. 13.

§ See Walch. loc. cit. p. 371.

posed to follow the healing method which common prudence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For, after all, this was no more than a private dispute between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. Luther confessed that the Roman pontiff was clothed with the power of remitting the human punishments inflicted upon transgressors, *i. e.* the punishments denounced by the church, and its visible head, the bishop of Rome; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the divine punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of Christ, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of Tetzl was indeed directly opposite to the sentiments of Luther; for this senseless and designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period, but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and, from small beginnings, produced at length revolutions, and events of the most momentous nature.

The adversaries of Luther and the patrons of Tetzl. V. The sentiments of Luther were received with applause by the greatest part of Germany, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs, and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of Rome were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of Tetzl. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and Tetzl himself appeared immediately in the field against Luther, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1518) two famous Dominicans, Sylvester de Prierio and Hogstrat, the former a native of Italy, and the latter a German, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at Cologne with the utmost vehemence and ardour. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named Eckius, a celebrated professor of divinity at Ingolstadt, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. Luther stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections, and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed himself by letters, written in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the Roman pontiff, and to several of the bishops, showing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well as the justness of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

A conference held
between Luther
and Cajetan at
Augsburg.

VI. At first, Leo X. beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but, being informed by the emperor Maximilian I. not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in Germany, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who pretended that the cause of Luther belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered Luther to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal Cajetan, who was at this time legate at the diet of Augsburg. In this first step, the court of Rome gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted. For, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters than the choice of Cajetan, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of Luther, and friend of Tetzels, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

The issue of this
conference.

VII. Luther, however, repaired to Augsburg, in the month of October 1518, and conferred at three different meetings, with Cajetan himself,* concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of Rome, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to encourage him in the execution of such a purpose. The high spirit of Luther was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired Luther to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault, and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontiff.† The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves, and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For Luther, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left Augsburg all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of Rome.‡ But Leo X. on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism, and carried things to the utmost extremity; for, in the month of November, in this same year, he published a special edict, commanding his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind. As soon as Luther received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived plainly that it would be impossible for him to bring

* There is a large account of this cardinal given by Quetif and Echard, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

† The imperious and imprudent manner in which Cajetan behaved towards Luther was highly disapproved of, even at the court of Rome, as appears, among other testimonies, from Paulo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, b. I. p. 22. The conduct of Cajetan is defended by Echard, in his *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* t. ii. p. 15, but with little prudence, and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court

of Rome, and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than Cajetan in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat Luther with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

‡ See B. Christ. Frid. Borneri *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano*, Leips. 1722, in 4to; Val. Ern. Loscheri *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435, *Opp. Lutheri*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

the court of Rome to any reasonable terms; he therefore repaired to Wittenberg, and on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

The transactions of Miltitz.

VIII. In the mean time the Roman pontiff became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of, in entrusting Cajetan with such a commission, and endeavoured to mend the matter by employing a man of more candour and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of Luther, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of Leo X., and whose lay character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. Leo, therefore, sent him into Saxony to present to Frederic the golden consecrated rose, (which the pontiffs are used to bestow, as a particular mark of distinction, on those princes for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem,) and to treat with Luther, not only about finishing his controversy with Tetzel, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. Nor, indeed, were the negotiations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful; for in his first conference with Luther, at Altenburg, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to Leo X., promising to observe a profound silence upon the matters in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. The same year, in the month of October, Miltitz had a second conference with Luther in the castle of Leibenwerd, and a third the year following, at Lichtenberg.^b These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill-founded.^c But the violent proceedings of the enemies of Luther, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence, of the court of Rome, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

The nature of the conferences between Miltitz and Luther.

IX.^d It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by Cajetan to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that "one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs:"^e such a man was not to be reasoned with.

^b See B. Christ. Frid. B. The records relating to the embassy of Miltitz were first published by Ern. Salomon Cyprianus, in *Addit. ad Wilh. Ern. Tenzelii Histor. Reformat.* tom. i. ii.; as also by Val. Ern. Loscherus, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. and tom. iii. cap. ii.

^c In the year 1519, Leo. X. wrote to Luther in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter, which was published in 1742, by Loscherus, in a German work en-

titled *Unschuld Nachricht*, it appears that at the court of Rome they looked upon a reconciliation between Luther and the pontiff as certain and near at hand.

^d This whole ninth section is added to Dr. Mosheim's work by the translator, who thought that this part of Luther's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner than it is in the original.

^e Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of Cajetan, which

But Miltitz proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige Luther to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that Luther's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded Tetzel with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that Luther had complained of. Tetzel, on the other hand, burdened with the iniquities of Rome, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair.¹ This incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach, Miltitz entered into a particular conversation with Luther at Altenburg, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowledge the four following things; "1st, That the people had been seduced by false notions of indulgences: 2dly, That he (Luther) had been the cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as much more heinous than they really were: 3dly, That the odious conduct of Tetzel alone had given occasion to these representations: and 4thly, That, though the avarice of Albert, archbishop of Mentz, had set on Tetzel, yet that this rapacious tax-gatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his commission." These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on Luther's character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of union and concord in an afflicted and divided church; all which Miltitz joined together with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the Saxon reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon this occasion that Luther made submissions which showed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely dispelled, or his reforming principles steadily fixed. For he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed on his adversaries; he went much further: he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and such a letter he wrote some time after the conference at Altenburg.² He even consented to publish a circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the holy Roman church. He declared that his only intention, in the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused its authority, and employed its protection as a mask to cover their abominable and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those weak submissions which the impartial demands of historical truth oblige us to relate, there was, properly speaking, no retraction of his former tenets, nor the smallest

he borrowed from one of the Decretals of Clement VI. called (and that justly for more than one reason) Extravagants.

¹ Luther was so affected by the agonies of despair under which Tetzel laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which, however, produced no effect.

His infamy was perpetuated by a picture placed in the church of Pirna, in which he is represented sitting on an ass and selling indulgences.

² This letter, was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after the conference of Altenburg.

degree of respect shown to the infamous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless the pretended majesty of the Romish church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff, were treated by Luther in this transaction, and in his letter to Leo, in a manner that could not naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to a general council.

Had the court of Rome been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by Luther, they would have almost nipped in the bud the cause of the reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the divisions, which were so near being healed, and, by animating both Luther and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles, and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the blessed reformation.*

The disputes at
Leipsic in the
year 1519, be-
tween Eckius
and Carlostadt.

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the embassy of Miltitz ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at

Leipsic, some weeks successively, in the year 1519.^o A doctor named Eckius, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from Carlostadt, the colleague and companion of Luther, in his sentiments concerning Free-will. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion or literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. Eckius, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged Carlostadt, and even Luther himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between Carlostadt and Eckius, concerning the powers and freedom of the human will;^p it was carried on in the castle of Pleissenburg, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between Luther and

* See, for an ample account of Luther's conferences with Miltitz, the incomparable work of Seckendorf, entitled, *Commentar. Histor. Apologet. de Lutherismo, sive de Reformatione Religionis, &c.*, in which the facts relating to Luther and the Reformation are deduced from the most precious and authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and in other learned and princely collections, and in which the frauds and falsehoods of Maimbourg's History of Lutheranism are fully detected and refuted.—As to Miltitz, his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of Rome) was represented, by Eckius, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and after several marks of neglect received

from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the Rhine at Mentz.

^o Those disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

^p This controversy turned upon liberty considered not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning power than concerning liberty. Carlostadt maintained, that since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good without the intervention of divine grace. Eckius asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern Lutherans have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of Carlostadt.

Eckius concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of Leipsic, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alleged on both sides, refused to tell to whom the victory belonged: so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurt.⁴ In the mean time one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which Eckius had conceived against Luther; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer, whom he marked out as a victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of Luther, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case.*

Philip Melan-
thon.

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat, was Philip Melancthon, at that time professor of Wittemberg, who had not as yet been involved in these divisions, (as indeed the mildness of his temper, and his elegant taste for polite literature, rendered him averse from disputes of this nature,) though he was the intimate friend of Luther, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon.⁵ As this eminent man was one of those whom this dispute with Eckius convinced of the excellence of Luther's cause; as he was, moreover, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the Reformation, it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that Luther had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them in a powerful and persuasive

⁴ There is an ample account of this dispute at Leipsic, given by Val. Ern. Loscherus, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

⁵ This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an eminent and palpable superiority. This indeed Eckius had no opportunity of exercising. Luther demonstrated in this conference, that the church of Rome, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice; while all the arguments of Eckius

were derived from the spurious and insipid Decretals, which were scarcely of 400 years' standing. See Seckendorf's *History of Lutheranism*.

⁶ It may be observed here, that, before Luther's attack upon the storehouse of indulgences, Eckius was his intimate friend. Eckius must certainly have been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle Melancthon represents him as an inhuman persecutor, a sophist, and a knave, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief, and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 713; see also Vitus' account of the death of Eckius in Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 468, and in the *Scolia ad Indicem Hist.* of the same book, No. xxiii.

⁷ See Melancthon's letter concerning the conference at Leipsic, in Loscher's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215; as also in the Wittemberg edition of Luther's Works, vol. i. p. 336.

manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connections and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of Melancthon more signal advantages, and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardour that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is however certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of Rome; but maintained on the contrary that their extirpation was essentially necessary, in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care, before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shows, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weakness and defects of Melancthon's natural character, without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete,* he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men.*

The origin of the reformation in Switzerland.

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus upon the decline in Germany, they received a mortal wound in Switzerland from Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution.† It must even be acknowledged,‡ that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth

* & By this, no doubt, Dr. Mosheim means the credulity this great man discovered with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology. See Schelhornii *Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. et Lit.* vol. ii. p. 609.

† We have a life of Melancthon, written by Joachim Camerarius, which has already gone through several editions. But a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer, composed by a prudent, impartial, and well informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his works, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

‡ The translator has added to the portrait of Zuingle, the quality of heroic in-

trepidity, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him, perhaps beyond comparison, the brightest ornament of the protestant cause.

* & Our learned historian does not seem to acknowledge this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend about the honour of having given the first overtures towards the reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgment, he has accompanied it with some modifications that are more artful than accurate. He says, "that Zuingle had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther had come to an open rupture,"

before Luther came to an open rupture with the church of Rome. He was however afterwards still farther animated by the example, and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people,⁷ but also gave in the year 1519 a signal proof of his courage, by opposing with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was Samson, and who was carrying on, in Switzerland, the impious traffic of indulgences with the same impudence that Tetzels had done in Germany.⁸ This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingli pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men, educated in Germany, who became his colleagues and the companions of his labours, and who jointly with him succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of Switzerland. It is indeed to be observed, that Zuingli did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by Luther; nor, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

Luther is excommunicated by the pope, in 1520.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in Germany increased, instead of diminishing. For while

Miltitz was treating with Luther in Saxony, in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, Eckius, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at Leipsic, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Rome, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of Luther. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, De Prierio and Cajetan, he earnestly entreated Leo X. to level the thunder of his anathemas at the head of Luther, and to exclude him from the communion of the church.

&c., to make us imagine that Luther might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as Zuingli. But it is well known that the latter, from his early years, had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of Rome: that so early as the year 1516,^{*} he had begun to explain the scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that Luther retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. Luther proceeded very slowly to that exemp-

tion from the prejudices of education, which Zuingli, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

⁷ &c. This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that Zuingli had explained the scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple, as the four volumes in folio we have of his works abundantly testify.

^{*} See Jo. Henr. Hottingerii Hist. Eccles. Helvet. tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28; Ruchart. Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4—66; Gerdes, Histor. Renovati Evangelii, tom. ii. p. 228.

* Ruchart. Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse, Zuinglii Opp. tom. i. p. 7; Nouveau Diction. vol. iv. p. 866; Durand, Hist. du xvi. Siècle, tom. ii. p. 8, &c.; Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. partie I. p. 119.

The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by Luther's treatment of their brother Tetzel, and their patron Cajetan, seconded the furious efforts of Eckius against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued* out a bull against Luther, dated the 15th of June, 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burned, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff.

Luther withdraws
himself from the
communion of
the church of
Rome.

XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair, was brought to Luther, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of Rome, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of Rome before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known, before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city,^b and there, in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the bull that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from Rome, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man who publicly commits to the flames the code that contains the laws of his sovereign, shows thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any design to submit to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that Luther was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dexterous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of Rome, which considers

* The wisest and best part of the Roman catholics acknowledge that Leo X. was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See a Dissertation of the learned John Frederick Mayer De Pontificiis Leonis processum adversus Lutherum improbatibus, which is part of a work published at Hamburg, in 4to, in the year 1698, under this singular title; *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lu-*

theranæ patrona et cliens. There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the Roman pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of Eckius and the Dominicans; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conferences of Miltitz with Luther, before such forcible measures were employed.

^b Of Wittenberg.

the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the maintenance of the liberties of Germany, justified this bold resolution of Luther.* In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second bull was issued out against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy, of the Roman pontiff.⁴

The rise of the
Lutheran church.

XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of Luther, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles entirely opposite to those of Rome, and to establish in it a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource Luther had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable; and to embrace, anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervour than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main stronghold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men, in various parts of Europe; by those of the professors of the academy of Wittemberg who had adopted his principles; and in a more especial manner by the celebrated Melancthon. And as the fame of Luther's wisdom and Melancthon's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of Europe.*

A diet assembled
at Worms, in
1521.

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, Maximilian I. had departed this life, and his grandson Charles V. king of Spain, had succeeded him in the empire in the year 1519. Leo X. seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character

* This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to, and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the papacy with the catholic church; though they be in reality two different things. The papacy, indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontiff, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution as a new citadel, erected by a successful usurper, would be to an ancient city.

Luther set out and acted upon this distinction: he went out of the citadel, but he meant to remain in the city, and, like a good patriot, designed to reform its corrupted government.

⁴ Both these bulls are to be found in the Bullarium Romanum, and also in the learned Pfaff's *Histor. Theol. Literar.* tom. ii. p. 42.

⁵ There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in Germany, given by the learned M. Daniel Gerdes, professor at Groningen, in his *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

as advocate and defender of the church, and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, Frederick the Wise employed his credit with Charles to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church, and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted that Charles was under much greater obligations to Frederick, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as Francis I. king of France. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that Luther should be called before the council that was to be assembled at Worms in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may, perhaps, appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered, that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for Germany, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

The result of this diet, Luther's banishment.

XVII. Luther, therefore, appeared at Worms, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatenings and entreaties was employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When, therefore, neither promises nor threatenings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor, the liberty of returning, unmolested, to his home; but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire.¹ Frederick, who saw the

¹ This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and Charles V., whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, showed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; Luther is declared a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate heretic; the severest punishments are denounced against those who shall receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation, or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This edict was, however, received with the highest

disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st, because Luther had been condemned without being heard, at Rome, by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at Worms, where, without either examining or refuting his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2dly, because Charles V., as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, nor to take for granted the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and, 3dly, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of Cologne, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and other sovereign princes, had neither

storm rising against Luther, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with Luther near Eysenac, they seized him, and carried him into the castle of Wartenberg, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowledge of his Imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his Patmos, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterwards useful to the world.*

The conduct of
Luther after his
leaving the cas-
tle of Warten-
berg.

XVIII. The active spirit of Luther could not, however, long bear this confinement. He therefore left his Patmos, in the month of March of the year 1522, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of his patron and protector, Frederick, and repaired to Wittemberg. One of the principal

being present at the diet, nor examined and approved the edict; and that, therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of Austria, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the edict of Worms produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because Charles V., whose presence, authority, and zeal, were necessary to render it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature which he had more at heart. Obligated to pass successively into Flanders, England, and Spain, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival Francis I., he lost sight of the edict of Worms; while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church, treated this edict with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.

§ 67 This precaution of the humane and excellent elector being put in execution, the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of Worms, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of Luther became doubly odious to the people in Germany, who, unacquainted with the scheme of Frederick, and, not knowing what was become of their favourite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed, by the emissaries of Rome. In the mean time, Luther lived in peace and quiet in the castle of Wartenberg, where he translated a great part of the New Testament into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of Yonker George.

§ 68 If we cast an eye upon the conduct of Luther, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animat-

ing this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of Worms, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding Luther's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for the civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the bull that had been published against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of Worms, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct, which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies, he answered with his usual intrepidity, that "were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly as the diet of Worms." The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in Luther's conduct at the assembly before which he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of Rome, and the grievances that arose from the overgrown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him; and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shown to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotical dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of Carlostadt, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already excited tumults in Saxony, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state and the true interests of the church. Carlostadt, professor at Wittenberg, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of Eckius, had been excluded with Luther from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During Luther's absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and, instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. Luther opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course,^a and since the destruction of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself with redoubled industry and zeal to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success,¹ with the assistance of some learned and pious men whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly showed the wisdom of Luther's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X. succeeded
by Adrian VI.
in the year 1522.
Died at Nurem-
berg.

XIX. While these things were transacting, Leo X. departed this life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of Utrecht. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to Charles V. and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candour, who acknowledged ingenuously that the church laboured under

^a Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to Luther than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit of; the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of Luther, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotions of the people. But, perhaps, the true reason of Luther's displeasure at the proceedings of Carlostadt, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. Luther himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition; and it appears

evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that Carlostadt was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connections he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by Munzer. His contests with Luther about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.

¹ On this German translation of the Bible, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history, composed by Jo. Frid. Mayer, and published in 4to. at Hamburg, in the year 1701. A more ample one, however, was expected from the labours of the learned J. Melchior Kraft, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See Jo. Alb. Fabricii Centifolium Lutheran. par. I. p. 147, et par. II. p. 617.

the most fatal disorders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal them.¹ He began his pontificate by sending a legate to the diet which was assembled at Nuremberg in 1522. Francis Cheroгато, the person who was entrusted with this commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at the diet of Worms; but, at the same time, he was authorised to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy against the see of Rome. The princes of the empire, encouraged by this declaration, on the one hand, and by the absence of the emperor, who at this time resided in Spain, on the other, seized this opportunity of proposing the summoning a general council in Germany, in order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing about a universal reformation of the church. They exhibited, at the same time, a hundred articles, containing the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment the Germans had hitherto received from the court of Rome, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance.² As long as the German princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the measures that were taken in Saxony for founding a new church in direct opposition to that of Rome, they were zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked upon as overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended at Luther's contest with the Roman pontiff, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

Clement VII.
elected pope in
the year 1524.

XX. The good pope Adrian did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII. a man of a reserved character, and prone to artifice.¹ This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at Nuremberg, in the year 1524, a cardinal legate, named Campegius, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of Luther, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of Worms while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise Adrian had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of Campegius, by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against Luther and his adherents at the diet of Worms. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For, while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the Edict of Worms, they at the same time renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at Spire. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving, by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to Ratisbon, with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause of Rome, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged them-

¹ See Caspar. Burmanni *Adrianus VI. sive Analecta Historica de Adriano VI. Papa Romano*, published at Utrecht in 4to, in the year 1727.

² See Jac. Frid. Georgii *Gravamina Ger-*

manorum adversus Sedem Romanam, lib. ii. p. 327.

¹ See Jac. Zeigleri *Historia Clementis VII. in Jo. Georgii Schelhornii Amoenitates Histor. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 210.*

selves to execute rigorously the edict of Worms in their respective dominions.

Carlostadt and
Zuingle.

XXI. While the efforts of Luther towards the reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. Luther and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of Rome with respect to the transubstantiation, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's Supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery which they did not pretend to explain.^m Carlostadt, who was Luther's colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and confirmed by Zuingle with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this:—"That the body and blood of Christ were not really present in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external signs, or symbols, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it."ⁿ This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the Reformation in Switzerland, and by a considerable number of its votaries in Germany. On the other hand, Luther maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated at length in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

The war of the
peasants.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effect of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other, and, by its unhappy consequences, was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the Reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose, like a whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of Germany, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and

^m & Luther was not so modest as Dr. Mosheim here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the real presence, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red hot iron, said he, two distinct substances, viz. iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ, joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to show into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

ⁿ See Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, part. I. lib.

i. cap. ii. p. 55.—See also on the other side of the question, Scultet's *Annales Evangelii*, published by Von der Hardt, in his *Historia Litter. Reformat.* p. 74; Rud. Hospinianus, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute.—ⁿ It appears from this representation (which is a just one) of the sentiments of Zuingle concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with those maintained by Bishop Hoadly, in his "Plain account of the nature and design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burdens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the Rustic War, or the War of the Peasants.^o But it is also certain that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the declarations and manifestoes that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question, at least it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But, no sooner had the enthusiast Munzer^p put himself at the head of this outrageous rabble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to the diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burdens under which they groaned;^q another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to this demand, pretended that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view, or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong, without reflection or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious; yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations, by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect,

^o These kinds of wars or commotions, arising from the impatience of the peasants under the heavy burdens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of Luther. Hence the author of the Danish Chronicle (published by the learned Ludewig, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. Manuscriptorum*, p. 59) calls these insurrections a common evil. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most

places the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive, and insupportable.

^p Or Munster, as some call him.

^q These burdens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which in many respects were truly grievous.

and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed in a pitched battle fought at Mulhausen; and Munser, their ringleader, taken and put to death.^r

Frederick the Wise
dies, and is suc-
ceeded by John,
1525—1527.

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in Germany, Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of Wittenberg, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties, as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while, on the one hand, he made no opposition to Luther's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose; yet, on the other, it is remarkable that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector John, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and persuaded that it must lose ground, and be soon suppressed, if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of Rome in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions, in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should everywhere be supplied with pious and learned doctors, and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred function. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of Germany, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government, was thus introduced into all the churches which dissented from that of Rome. Thus may the elector John be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of Rome, and fenced about with salutary laws, and a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniences, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for, from that time, the religious differences between the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of Frederick the Wise, who avoided every resolute measure that might be adapted to kindle

^r "Petri Gnodalii Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum, A. 1525, tempore verno per universam fere Ger-

maniam exorta, Basil, 1570," in 8vo.—See also B. Tenzelii Histor. Reform. tom. ii. p. 331.

the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But, as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of Rome, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship, that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

The diet of Spire
in 1526.

XXIV. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by force a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by argument; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of Europe disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the meantime, the diet assembled at Spire, in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all further disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and at length consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the meantime, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient, yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration when it should be demanded of them.

The progress of
the Reformation
after the diet at
Spire in 1527.

XXV. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that for some years it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that, to a political prince like Charles, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate in favour of

the Roman pontiff the religious disputes which reigned in Germany, it is evident that the inclination was wanting, and that Clement VII. who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of Charles V.; for this pontiff, after the death of Francis I., at the battle of Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince; and this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to Rome in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of Spire, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. And, in general, all the Germans who, before these resolutions of the diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the meantime, Luther and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions, and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of Spire, were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet assembled in the year 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burden that had for some time overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt by a disagreeable experience. For the power which had been granted by the former diet to every prince of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known*. This decree was justly considered as ini-

* & The resolution of the first diet of Spire, which had been taken unanimously, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a plurality of voices.

quitous and intolerable by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any of them so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of Rome, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of Rome, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon Ferdinand^t, nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations), they entered a solemn protest against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council^u. Hence arose the denomination of Protestants, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of Rome.

Leagues formed
between the
Protestants.

XXVII. The dissenting princes who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their protest than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers employed in this commission executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented, by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at Rot, Nuremberg, Smalcalde, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies^v. But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

The conference at
Marburg in the
year 1529.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the Reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. To terminate

which, as several of the princes then present observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire. *

^t The emperor was at Barcelona, while this diet was held at Spire; so that his brother Ferdinand was president in his place.

^u The princes of the empire who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were John, elector of Saxony, George, elector of Brandenburg, for Franconia, Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt. These

princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, viz. Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottigen, Windseim, Meiningen, Nortlingen, Lindau, Kompten, Heilbron, Wissemburg, and St. Gall.

^v See the history of the Confession of Augsburg, written in German, by the learned Christ. Aug. Salig, t. i. book II. ch. i. p. 128, and more especially another German work of Dr. Joachim Muller, entitled *Histoire von der Evangelischen Stando Protestation gegen den Speyerischen Reichsabscheid von 1529*, Appelation, &c. published at Jena in 4to. in 1703.

this controversy, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, invited in the year 1529, to a conference at Marburg, Luther and Zuingle, together with some of the more eminent doctors, who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly magnanimous prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were Luther, who attacked *Ceolampadius*, and *Melancthon* who disputed against Zuingle; and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For Zuingle was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, but also in consequence of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared entirely satisfactory, even to Luther himself. Their dissension concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter.* The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of Providence, and the effects of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

The diet of Augsburg.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of Luther, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into Germany, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at Augsburg, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. Charles, though long absent from Germany, and engaged in affairs that left him no leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflections upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He, therefore, in an interview with the pope at Bologna, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move *Clement VII.*, who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate heretical faction, who dared to call in question the authority of Rome and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a

* Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia Motuum inter Latheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143; Henr. Bullingeri *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. Conr. Fueslin's compilation, entitled, *Beytragen zur*

Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 156 (see also the Preface, p. 30); Abr. Sculteti *Annal. Reformat.* ad A. 1529; Rudolph. Hospiniani *Histor. Sacramentar.* par. II. p. 72, &c.

most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard, and to destroy without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As therefore it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or to decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of Rome and the friends of the Reformation, the elector of Saxony ordered Luther, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of Rome. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at Torgaw, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at Sulzbach in the year 1529; and hence they were called the Articles of Torgaw.* Though these articles were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at Coburg and Augsburg, to employ Melancthon in extending these articles, in which important work he showed a due regard to the counsels of Luther, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous Confession of Augsburg, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of Melancthon.

The progress of
the Reformation
in Sweden about
the year 1530.

XXX. During these transactions in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the Reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broken their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that Clement VII. was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor a speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, Gustavus Vasa Erickson, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, king of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been an exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper now mentioned was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at Lubec, he was

* See Chr. Aug. Heumannii Diss. de Lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in Sylloge Dissert. Theol. t. i. p. 14; Jo. Joach. Muller, Hist.

Protestationis; and other writers who have treated, either of the Reformation in general, or of the Confession of Augsburg in particular.

there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the Reformation which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence.⁷ Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible, that had been made by Olaus Petri.⁸ Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference, at Upsal, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. This dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in Sweden. In the year following another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at Westeraas, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admittance among the Swedes.⁹

⁷ & This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from Stockholm, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of Munzer, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other monuments of the churches, while the Lutherans dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But Gustavus no sooner returned to Stockholm, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time.

⁸ It is very remarkable, and shows the equity and candour of Gustavus in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered Olaus to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of Upsal, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of Rome; that by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

⁹ It was no wonder indeed that the

bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in Sweden and Denmark. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent of the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the states assembled at Westeraas, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine, as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was, however, resolved, at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native

This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre, and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the power and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch.^b From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church.

XXXI. The light of the Reformation was also received in
In Denmark.

Denmark, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian, or Christiern II., of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of Rome. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of Carlostadt, out of Saxony, and appointed him professor of divinity at Hafnia; and after his death, which happened the year following, he invited Carlostadt himself, to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in Denmark, returned into Germany. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and indeed to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff.

It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings, Christiern II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects.

His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently show, that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to a supremacy, both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority, and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped,^c and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of Denmark, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of his ancestors,^d and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was

tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferment should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the Reformation.

^b Bazii Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor. published in 4to at Lincooping, in 1642; Sculteti Annales Evangelii Renovati, in Von der Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reformat. part V. p. 83, et 110; Raynal, Anecdotes Hist., Politiques, et Militaires, tom. i. part II. p. 1, &c.

^c See Jo. Gramii Diss. de Reformatione Danicæ à Christierno tentata, in the third volume of the Scriptores Societ. Scientiar. Hafniens. p. 1—90.

^d See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of Denmark to renounce their allegiance to Christiern II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of Ludewig's compilation, entitled, Reliquia Manuscriptorum, p. 315, in which (p. 321.) the states of Denmark express their displeasure at the royal favour shown to the Lutherans in the following terms: "Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit."

deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle, Frederick, duke of Holstein and Sleswick, placed on the throne of Denmark.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther,* but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the Reformation, by his successful attempts in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of the states that was held at Odensee in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of Denmark free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of Rome, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther.[†] Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. But the honour of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III., a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagenius, whom the king had sent for from Wittenberg to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at Odensee, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions, and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in Denmark.[‡]

The progress of
the Reformation
under the reigns
of Frederick
and Christiern
III.

A distinction to be
observed when
we speak of the
reformation of
Sweden and
Denmark.

XXXIII. It is however to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions, and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected, without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been

* See Jo. Mollerii *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 836; Carist. Olivarii *Vita Pauli Eliae*, p. 108; Erici Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

† It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies, and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any

regard to monasteries, or other religious societies.

‡ Erici Pontoppidani. See a German work of the learned Pontoppidan, entitled, *A Compendious View of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at Lubeck in 8vo. in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ*, of the same author, tom. ii. p. 790, tom. iii. p. 1; "Henr. Muhlhus de Reformat. Religionis in vicinis Daniæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria, in ejus *Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis*," p. 24, Killis, 1715, in 4to.

so long established, and that was generally received.^b In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure; neither fraud nor violence was employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity, and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly, violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honours, privileges, and possessions, without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition.¹ The truth is, that so far as the reformation in Sweden and Denmark regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that, had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper; and had, in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of these northern kingdoms in the time of Luther, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

^b & This observation is not worthy of Dr. Mosheim's sagacity. The strong connection that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people, and influence and power in their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office, adorned with learning, piety, and morals: but the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.

¹ & What does Dr. Mosheim here mean? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, Whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III.; and our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church lands,

towns, and fortresses annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of indulgence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of Superintendents, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.

The rise and progress of the Reformation in France.

XXXIV. The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I., the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V., was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with hers, to propagate the principles of the Reformation in France, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome, and among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened to support the doctrine of Rome by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet, and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity.¹ This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the Reformation. It is nevertheless true, that, under the reign of Francis I. the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles V., then did he treat the protestants in France with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off the mask and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable persecuting tyrant.²

About this time the famous Calvin, whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of Navarre. He was born at Noyon in Picardy, on the 10th of July 1509, and was bred up to the law,³ in which, as well as in

¹ See Beze, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5; Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6; Christ. Aug. Salig. *Hist. August. Confession*, vol. ii. p. 190.

² The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of Francis I., may be attributed to various reasons. At one time we see him resolved to invite Melancthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal

cruelty towards the friends of the Reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, that, "if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church." See Flor. de Remond, *Hist. de la Naissance et du Progrès de l'Hérésie*, livr. vii.

³ He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice; but the light that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by

all the other branches of literature then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connections he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom Francis I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of Navarre. To escape the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his Christian Institutions; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I., which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the protestants.^m

And in the other states of Europe. XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of Rome in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of Augsburg, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It however appears, from the most authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had, in all these countries, many friends of whom several repaired to Wittemberg, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed Reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of Rome; and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments, under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity; while in other still more unhappy lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

^m This paragraph relating to Calvin, is added to Dr. Mosheim's text by the translator, who was surprised to find, in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable

instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the Reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE TIME THAT THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG WAS PRESENTED TO THE EMPEROR, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR WHICH SUCCEEDED THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALDE.

The confession of Augsburg presented to Charles V. I. CHARLES V. arrived at Augsburg, the 15th of June 1530, and on the 20th day of the same month, the diet was opened. As it was unanimously agreed that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the protestant members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession which has been since distinguished by the denomination of the Confession of Augsburg. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this confession, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony, by four princes of the empire, George, marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Lunenburg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it.*

The nature and contents of the confession of Augsburg. II. The tenor and contents of the confession of Augsburg are well known; at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the protestants as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. The matter was, undoubtedly, supplied by Luther, who, during the diet, resided at Coburg, a town in the neighbourhood of Augsburg; and, even the form it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorised in consequence of his approbation and advice. This confession contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part^b are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of Rome.^c

* There is a very voluminous History of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in folio, at Frankfort on the Oder, by the laborious George Celestine. The History of the Confession of Augsburg, was composed in Latin by David Chytræus, and more recently, in German, by Ern. Solom. Cyprian and Christopher Aug. Salig. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the Reformation in

general, than of the Confession of Augsburg in particular. That of Cyprian is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

^b Twenty-one chapters were so employed; the other seven contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome.

^c It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their confession

The Roman catholics attempt a refutation of the Confession of Augsburg.

III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, together with Eckius, and another doctor named Cochläus, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they should acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, showed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any farther proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the protestants to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by Faber, and had again recourse to the pen of Melancthon, who refuted them in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22nd of September, but which that prince refused to receive. This answer was afterwards enlarged by Melancthon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of A Defence of the Confession of Augsburg.

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious dissensions.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of Rome, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with mode-

to the diet, another excellent remonstrance of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Meiningen, and Lindau, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of Rome, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns, which was called the Tetrapolitan Confession on account of their number, was drawn up by the excellent Martin

Bucer, and was considered as a master-piece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman catholics; and among others by M. Dupin. Zuingle also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is, however, remarkable, that though Bucer composed a separate remonstrance, yet his name appears among the subscribers at Smalcalde, in the year 1537, to the confession of Augsburg, and to Melancthon's defence of it.

ration, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit something of their respective claims. This method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men, on both sides; but it was ill suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguinary counsels of the court of Rome; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire; nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides; and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties;⁴ but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance, to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness, under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and in some measure to comply with their demands; but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardour, and independence, animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result of these
conferences.

V. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November a severe decree was issued out by

⁴ As in the confession of Augsburg there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides, another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome; this gave some reason to hope, that by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at

last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterwards reduced to three. Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the protestant party, and it was with a view to this that he resided at Coburg.

the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and in this decree every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble, in about six months after the separation of the diet, a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled beyond measure in this partial decree; a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at Worms against Luther and his adherents; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches severely censured; and a solemn order addressed to the princes, estates, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to Rome, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church.*

The league of
Smalcalde.

VI. No sooner were the elector of Saxony and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of Augsburg, than they assembled, in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at Smalcalde, afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, any thing, properly speaking, offensive against the votaries of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance.† Amidst these motions and preparations,

* To give the greater degree of weight to this edict it was resolved, that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spire, which is the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and promote its execution.

† Luther, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it: but, uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of Zuingle among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. And yet we find that the cities of Ulm and Augsburg had embraced the Reformation on the principles of Zuingle.—In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII. king of England, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others; viz. That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees,

nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions;—that he should never allow the Roman pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions;—that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it became necessary; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdoms; and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine; but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, the king gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but upon the fall of queen Anne, this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be no longer of service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage;

which portended an approaching rupture, the elector Palatine and the elector of Mentz offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For, on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of Worms and Augsburg remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes, at the diet of Cologne, in the year 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

The peace of Nuremberg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed; and, after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes, on the following conditions: that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turks, and acknowledge Ferdinand lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed, either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement when John, elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

A council expected in vain.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at Nuremberg, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of Luther. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided Europe was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest request to Clement VII. that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently showed that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He, indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna; but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted that a controversy,

and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with Henry, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

Besides the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged Clement VII. to avoid an assembly of that nature; for being conscious

of the illegitimacy of his birth, as Fra Paulo observes, he had ground to fear that the Colonnae, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned whether a bastard could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a profligate may.

which had its rise in the heart of Germany, should be decided within the limits of the empire: The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems.^b

IX. His successor, Paul III., seemed to show less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at Mantua; and, the year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction.^c The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded that, in such a council,^d all things would be carried by the votaries of Rome, and nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at Smalcalde in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by Paul III., but, at the same time, had a new summary of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the Articles of Smalcalde, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

X. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the reformation in particular, and produced, in Germany, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new sedition kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the anabaptists; and the latter, the rupture between Henry VIII., king of England, and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.

In the year 1533, there came to Munster, a city in Westphalia, a certain number of anabaptists, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the frenzy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of Munster by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic,^e conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to John Bockholt, a tailor by profession, and a native of Leyden. Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in the year 1535, the city

^b See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in Fra Paulo's History of the Council of Trent, book I.

^c This council was summoned by Paul III. to assemble at Mantua, on the 23rd of May, 1537, by a bull issued out the 2nd of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. Frederick, duke of Mantua, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.

^d That is, in a council assembled by

the authority of the pope alone, and that also in Italy; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give Paul III. an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of Europe had a right to be authoritatively concerned in calling a general council; and that so much the more, as the Roman pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

^e This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the New Jerusalem.

was besieged and taken by the bishop of Munster, assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates were put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of a handful of anabaptists, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms.¹

Great Britain renounces the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in England, by an event which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. Henry VIII., a prince who in vices and in abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in

the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution.² Bound in the chains of matrimony to Catharine of Arragon, aunt to Charles V., but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was Anna Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter.³ For this purpose he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Clement VII., in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother Arthur, and as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. Clement was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor, in case his decision was favourable to Henry; and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain

¹ Hermanni Hammelmanni Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal part II. p. 1196, Opp.; De Printz, Specimen Hist. Anabapt. c. x. xi. xii. p. 94.

² This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, Ubbo and Mennon, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

³ Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of Henry VIII. there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. Hume, in his History of England, under the House of Tudor. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has sketched from nature the striking lines of Henry's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

From Dr. Mosheim's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of Anna Boleyn were the only motive that engaged

Henry to dissolve his marriage with Catharine. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate Anna. Conversant in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by Cardinal Wolsey's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of Francis I., which that pliant courtier would never have done had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of Catharine, together with the blooming charms of Anna Boleyn, tended much to animate Henry's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See Burnet's History of the Reformation; Hume's History of the House of Tudor, p. 150.

promises, and tardy proceedings of the Romish pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of Canterbury. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. Catharine was consequently divorced; Anna conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Clement; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of Rome, by Henry's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, Henry was declared, by the parliament and people, supreme head, on earth, of the church of England, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned.*

The nature and effects of this first step towards the Reformation in England.

XII. It is, however, carefully to be observed here, that this downfall of the papal authority in England was not productive of much benefit, either to the friends or to the cause of the reformation. For the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of Rome, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of head of the English church, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and, indeed, usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorized to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the reformation, counteracted, however, in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the reformation.†

A new project of pacification.

XIII. After the meeting of the council of Mantua was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of

* Besides the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in Bishop Burnet's excellent History of the Reformation of the Church of England, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in Wilkins's Concil. Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ,

tom. iii. p. 424; Raynal, Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, tom. i. part II. p. 90; Gen. Dictionary, at the article Boleyn.

† Besides Burnet's History of the Reformation, see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. chap. l. p. 11.

Rome, whose legates and creatures were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those councils that seemed unfavourable to the ambition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, ^{Conference at Worms.} regardless of the bishop of Rome, appointed a conference at Worms, on the subject of religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen out of each of the contending parties. It was here that Melancthon and Eckius disputed during the space of three days.¹ This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet ^{Diet of Ratisbon.} which was held at Ratisbon the same year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial, presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation that were proper to terminate these religious differences.² This conference, however, produced no other effect than a mutual agreement of the contending parties, to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council; or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

^{All things tend to an open rupture.} XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of Ratisbon, and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was assembled at Spire in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that Trent should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both against a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity, of the Roman pontiff. This protestation produced no effect. Paul III. persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular letters for the convocation of the council,³ with

¹ See Jo. And. Roederi Libellus de Colloquio Wormatensi, Norimb. 1744, in 4to.

² See Jo. Erdmann. Bleckii Triplex Interim, cap. i. p. 1.

³ It is proper to observe here, that having summoned successively a council at Mantua, Vicenza, and Venice, without any effect,* this pontiff thought it necessary to show the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of Rome in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that his project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and igno-

rance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but pious and learned men; and that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of Erasmus should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. Anthony, and several other saints should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. Peter's church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The

* This council was never assembled.

the approbation of the emperor; while the prince endeavoured, at the diet of Worms, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at Trent. But the protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of Charles were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to the sanguinary counsels of Paul, formed, in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms. The landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed unawares by a superior force, and accordingly raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamity that threatened his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of February, in the year 1546, at Aysleben, the place of his birth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALDE, TO THE FAMOUS PACIFICATION, COMMONLY CALLED THE PEACE OF RELIGION, CONCLUDED AT AUGSBURG.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the council of Trent. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and, accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the diet of Ratisbon, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would, sooner or later, be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers assembled in the council of Trent promulgated their decrees: while the protestant princes in the diet of Ratisbon protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

II. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt with great spirit. It

several articles of this plan of reformation, which Luther and Sturmius of Straesburg turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained, were published at Antwerp, in or about the year 1639, with the answer of Cochläus to the objections

of Sturmius. They are likewise prefixed to the History of the Council of Trent, by Crabre, and were afterwards published at Paris in 1612.*

* See Paulin, in Paul III. Sled. l. xii. Univers. Mod. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 30.

was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by most of the confederates, and probably would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon principally the perfidy of Maurice, duke of Saxony, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle, John Frederick, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes, the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch, and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged so the heads of the protestant party, that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of Saxony directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and, as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near Muhlberg, on the Elbe, on the 24th of April, 1547, and, after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, Maurice, now declared elector of Saxony,* to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of Charles for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other;^b but this point of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing.^c

The famous temporary edict, called the Interim.

III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the protestants that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at Trent. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal, and among others,

* & In the room of John Frederick, whom he had so basely betrayed.

^b & There is scarcely in history any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew, without alleging any reason, nay, any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When Maurice remonstrated to the emperor against this new im-

prisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a *perpetual prison*, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means *any prison*. This matter is, however, contested by some historians.

^c See a German work, entitled, "Bent Grosch Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirchen gegen Gottfr." Arnold. p. 29.

Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. This general submission to the will of the emperor did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn and almost universal approbation of the council of Trent. A plague, which manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to Bologna, and thereby the council was, in fact, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again without delay. While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this interval, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered Julius Pflugius, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pontiff, and John Agricola, a native of Aysleben, to draw up a formulary, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the Interim.^d

The troubles to
which this edict
gave rise.

VI. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of Rome, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed, it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of Luther, and to the Roman pontiff. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the diet of Augsburg; and the elector of Mentz, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, arose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous Interim.^e Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this book as a body of ecclesiastical law.

^d > This project of Charles was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the Formula ad Interim, or temporary rule of faith and worship here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of Trent. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The Interim was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in after times appeared in the deceitful exposition of the Catholic faith, by M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and it was almost equally rejected by the Protestants and Roman Catholics. The cup was allowed, by this imperial creed, to the protestants in

the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions: "1. That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting. 2. That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period when a general council should terminate all religious differences." This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

^e See Jo. Erdm. Bleckii Triplex Interim, published in 8vo. at Leipsic, in the year 1721; Luc. Osiander Centuria XVI. Histor. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. lxxviii. p. 425.—For an account of the authors and editions of the book called Interim, see Die Danische Biblioth. part V. p. 1. and part VI. p. 185.

The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms, and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. Maurice, elector of Saxony, who, for some time, had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the rule in question, assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with Melancthon at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences held at Leipsic and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for Melancthon, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a reconciling sentence, which he hoped would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called Interim could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or indifferent.⁴ This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of Luther, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the history of the church established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them, of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

V. Amidst these contests Paul III. departed this life
The project of a
council at Trent
renewed. in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by Julius III., who yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at Trent. Accordingly, in the diet of Augsburg, which was again held under the cannon of an Imperial army, Charles laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also Maurice, elector of Saxony, submitted upon certain conditions.⁵ The emperor then concluded the diet in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that

⁴ By things indifferent, Melancthon understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

⁵ Maurice (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of Saxony, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector John Frederick, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of Trent upon the following conditions:—1st, That the points

of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined and discussed anew. 2dly, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3dly, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of voting as well as of deliberating, in the council. And 4thly, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of Maurice was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of Mentz, however, obstinately refused.

he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of Melancthon, and the Wurtembergers that of Brentius, to draw up confessions of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of Wurtemberg, several doctors of that city repaired to Trent. The Saxon divines, with Melancthon at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no further than Nuremberg. They had received secret orders to stop there; for Maurice had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

Maurice dis-
concerts the
schemes of the
emperor.

VI. The real views of Charles V. amidst the divisions and troubles of Germany, which he fomented by negotiations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit, will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power, and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprises, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, Charles proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in Germany, and by sowing the seeds of discord among the princes of the empire, to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, nor prevent the execution of his aspiring views; he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope, by reflecting on what happened in the councils of Constance and of Basil, in which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Spanish and German bishops that were devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the approaching council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same Maurice of Saxony, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

A war kindled
between the em-
peror and Mau-
rice of Saxony.

VII. The most considerable princes, not only of Germany, but even of all Europe, had, for a long time, addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, from their confinement; and Maurice had solicited with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. Maurice, perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of Germany, and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of France and several of the German

princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the emperor in the year 1552; and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity, that he surprised Charles at Inspruk, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions; and consequently, in a little time after this, he not only concluded at Passau, the famous treaty of Pacification with the protestants,^b but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the protestants, and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty, which still remains. Maurice, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his glorious expedition; for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of Siverhausen, while he was fighting against Albert of Brandenburg.¹

The diet of Augsburg and the peace of religion.

VIII. The troubles of Germany, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the diet which the emperor had promised at the pacification of Passau, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous diet met, however, at Augsburg, in the year 1555, was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that religious peace, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed, on the 25th of September: that the protestants who followed the confession of Augsburg should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine

^b As this treaty is considered by the German protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that Maurice and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to Ferdinand to defend him against the Turks, and that the landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed, that the rule of faith called Interim should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case that it should be found im-

possible to come to a uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of Smalcald, should be re-instated in their privileges, their possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at Spire should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.

¹ Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, after the pacification of Passau, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman Catholics; and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which Maurice was placed.

and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace.¹ The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities, and bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, show us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record, as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Reformation.

IX. While these things were transacting in Germany, the friends of genuine Christianity in England deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion; and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the gospel to the despotic laws of Rome, they esteemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. Henry VIII. whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the reformation, was now no more. He departed this life in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son Edward VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in England, and addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the reformation in England, he might purge his dominions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, from whom Henry had been separated by the famous divorce, a furious bigot to the church of Rome, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the English throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws, and the tyrannical yoke of Rome, upon the people of England. Nor were the methods she employed in the cause of superstition better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And, among many other victims, the learned and pious Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the reformation in England, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded in the year 1558, by

¹ See Jo. Schitteri *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to, in the year 1700; Christ.

Lehmanni *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa*. Francof. 1707.

1558

the death of the queen, who left no issue, and, as soon as her successor, the lady Elizabeth, ascended the throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, councils, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and delivering her people from the bondage of Rome, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which still subsists in England. This religious establishment differs, in some respects, from the plan that had been formed by those whom Edward VI. had employed for promoting the cause of the reformation, and approaches nearer to the rites and discipline of former times; though it is widely different and in the most important points entirely opposite to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

In Scotland.

X. The seeds of the reformation were very early sown in Scotland, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in Germany during the religious disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction, was John Knox,^k a disciple of Calvin, whose eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible.^l This resolute reformer set out from Geneva for Scotland, in the year 1559, and in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of Rome, that the greatest part of the Scottish nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery.^m From this period to the present times, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at Geneva by the ministry of Calvin, has been maintained in Scotland with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of England has proved impotent and unsuccessful.ⁿ

^k & It will not be improper to insert here the character of this famous Scottish reformer, as it is drawn by the spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. Robertson in his *History of Scotland*, book VI. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness (says that incomparable writer) were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of

a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearied application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments."

^l & The earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for Knox, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity: "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

^m See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165, 232, 234, 569; Calderwood's *History of Scotland's Reformation*, published in folio at London, in the year 1680; Georg. Buchanan's *Reum Scoticar.* Hist. lib. xvi. p. 313, edit. Rudimann. folio; Melvil's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

ⁿ & The indignation of the people, which

In Ireland.

XI. The cause of the reformation underwent, in Ireland, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustin order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence, as well as authority he had in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation.* Henry showed, soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he

had been excited by the vices of the clergy, was soon transferred to their persons, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the reformation extended not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But, in Germany, England, and the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire) was still continued in those countries under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the dioceses and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established which has been since called Presbyterian. The situation of the primitive church, oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank, for want of ambition to propose, or power to support a subordination, suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to allege this consideration as a victorious argument in favour of Presbyterianism; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of Geneva, which received the decisions of Calvin with an amazing docility, restored this presbyterian or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; Knox studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scottish nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but, instead of bishops, proposed the establishment of ten superintendents, to inspect the life and

doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up, and presented to a convention of estates which was held in the year 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction or revenues that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name, as well as their order, was abolished at the revolution in 1688, and presbyterianism established in Scotland by the laws of the state. See Robertson's History of Scotland, *passim*.

*  The learned and pious primate Usher, in his memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, speaks of Bishop Brown in the following manner: "George Brown was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright; to the poor, merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustin order in England, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII. he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of Dublin. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church of England." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, p. 558, entitled, *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, &c.*

banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of Bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it had done in England.* Mary pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England.†

The Reformation
takes place in
the United Pro-
vinces.

XII. The Reformation had not been long established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. Philip II. king of Spain, apprehending the danger to which the religion of Rome was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the Low Countries, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe and

* & Here Dr. Mosheim has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the designs of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their execution, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, earl of Cork, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows:

"Queen Mary having dealt severely with the protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This Doctor coming with the commission to Chester on his journey, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloke-bag, a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland,' (calling the protestants by that title.) The good woman of the house, being well-affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof, a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going

to the water side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the castle, the lord Fitz-Walter, being lord-deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council; who, coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the Lord-deputy, who, causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord-deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the lord-deputy made answer, 'Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.' The doctor being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England; and coming to the court, obtained another commission; but staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him that the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the protestants of Ireland."

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by Lord Fitz-Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana, or History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 308; *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.

† See the life of Dr. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, published at London in 4to, in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, No. LXXIX.

barbarous laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the inquisition, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of Rome accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one, by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an association, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but, their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force, what they had hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an abused people, spurned the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impetuosity and vehemence that were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of Rome.¹ To quell these tumults, a powerful army was sent from Spain, under the duke of Alva, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derive its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces:² and, at the same time, a universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the Reformation in another form,³ provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public.⁴

¹ Dr. Mosheim seems here to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more temperate and decent than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more tumultuous and irregular than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governess (the duchess of Parma), to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The Prince of Orange and Count Egmont (whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not

from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that had the imperious court of Spain condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See *Le Clerc, Histoire des Prov. Un. liv. i. p. 18.*

² In the year 1573.

³ It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman Catholics, and that which the Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other sects enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

⁴ See a farther account of this matter in Gerhard Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which there was a French abridgment published at Amsterdam, in three volumes 12mo, in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch, in four vols. 4to.

The progress of
the Reformation
in Spain and
Italy.

XIII. The Reformation made a considerable progress in Spain and Italy soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of Italy, but more

especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy, Don Pedro di Toledo.* In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody inquisitors, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of Italy. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the inquisition, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors.†

The eyes of several persons in Spain were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry which the controversies between Luther and Rome had excited in Europe, but even by those very divines whom Charles V. had brought with him into Germany, to combat the pretended heresy of the reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home,

* See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108; Vita Galeacii in *Museo Helvetic*, tom. ii. p. 524.

† It was an attempt to introduce a Roman Inquisitor into the city of Naples, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of Ochino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the Reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared, that "he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep." After Ochino's departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instruction to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy Toledo, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melancthon and Erasmus to be publicly burned, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of

learning; and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired Pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of Philip II., III., IV., and Charles II., to establish the inquisition in Naples; but by the jealousy and vigilance of the people they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor Charles VI., in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, to be tried by any persons except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxxii. sect. 2 and 3; *Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxiii. p. 273, &c. edit. 8vo.

as appears evidently from several circumstances.* But the inquisition, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion.†

What judgment we are to form concerning the Reformation, and the means by which it was produced.

XIV. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that, many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of the Reformation will ingenuously acknowledge, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and, what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interest, than by zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that many things which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us at this time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity, and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending the cause of the Reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views, and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here is, whether the opposition made, by Luther and other reformers, to the Roman pontiff, was founded on just and solid reasons? and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons.‡ Let many of these persons be supposed as odious as, nay, still more detestable than, they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good.¶

* & This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended Charles V., and followed him in his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustine Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of the learned Egidius, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa; of Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and queen Mary, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave reason to presume that Charles V. died a protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of Rome,

and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith; though business, ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflections. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, and the book cited in the following note.

† See Geddes, his Spanish Martyrology, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. i. p. 445.

‡ & The translator has added here some paragraphs to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.

¶ See Appendix I. for a Dissertation concerning the Spirit and Genius, the Causes and Instruments, of the Reformation, composed by the translator of this history.

SECTION II.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

The limits of the church enlarged.

I. THE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves, with the greatest vigour and success, in the propagation of the gospel among the darkened nations.* And it must, indeed, be confessed that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of America, to those parts of Africa where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered farther, that the denomination of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches as discovered a blind and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures, and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament, such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of Rome places in the list of heretics, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors, in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Zeal of the Roman pontiffs in the propagation of Christianity.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in Europe, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of Jesuits, or, the Company of Jesus, seemed every way proper to assist the court of Rome in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry.^b The many

* See Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this elegant writer (who was afterwards created bishop of Sisteron) are taken from the Portuguese historians.—The

other writers who have cast light upon this part of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Salutar. Evangelii toto orbi exorientis*, cap. 42, 43, 48, and 49.

^b When the fanatic Ignatius first solicited the confirmation of his order by the

histories and relations which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of Jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly show with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs.^c And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of Rome, and the advancing the interest of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine Author.^d It may also be affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the inquisition erected by the Jesuits at Goa, and the penal laws, whose terrors they employed so freely in propagation of the gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity.^e The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had for a long time been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the Jesuits; and several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

The propagation
of the gospel in
India, Japan,
and China.

III. Of all the Jesuits who distinguished themselves, by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the apostle of the Indians.^f An undaunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the most proper persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in the year 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in India, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or, to speak more properly, of the popish religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he passed into Japan, and laid there, with amazing rapidity, the

Roman pontiff, Paul III., the learned and worthy Cardinal Guidicconi opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of Ignatius, who, changing the article of his institution in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the Jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which Rome has ever shown for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in Portugal and in France, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable that Ignatius and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of Rome, promise a like implicit and unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of

serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at Utrecht in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.

^c See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Lux Evangelii toto orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxiii. p. 550.

^d B. Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Oratio de virtutibus et vitiis Mission. Romanor. in Orat. ejus Academ.* p. 286.

^e See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171, 207.

^f The late king of Portugal obtained for Xavier, or rather for his memory, the title of Protector of the Indies, from Benedict XIV., in the year 1747. See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tom. xliii. Pref. p. 36. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to Xavier, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. t. iii. p. 85, 89, 203, t. v. p. 38, 48, t. vi. p. 78.

foundations of the famous church, which flourished during so many years in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1552.^a After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into China. The chief of these was Matthew Ricci, an Italian, who, by his skill in mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained, both for himself and his associates, the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel.^b This famous missionary may therefore be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed, and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist nevertheless still in China.^c

IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of Europe, the churches that were under their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is, however, recorded in history, that, in the year 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans,^d though it is not well known who was the promoter of this pious design, nor with what success it was carried into execution. The English also, who, towards the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of America, transplanted with them the reformed religion which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilized people. We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of Finland and Lapland, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their Pagan ancestors.

V. It does not appear, from authentic records of history, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the gospel, or any public opposition made to the progress of Christianity, during this century. And it would betray great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks to imagine that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of Mahomet. On the other hand, it is certain that there lay concealed, in different parts of Europe, several persons who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and in a more especial manner against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class

^a See the writers enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these Laflau, *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419, 424. tom. iv. p. 63, 102. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92.

^b J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84, edit. Holland.

^c It appears, however, that before the arrival of Ricci in China, some of the Dominicans

had already been there, though to little purpose. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1254.

^d Picteti Oratio de Trophæis Christi in orat. ejus. p. 570. There is no doubt but that the doctors here mentioned were those whom the illustrious admiral Coligni invited into France, when in the year 1555 he had formed the project of sending a colony of Protestants into Brazil and America. See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22.

generally placed several of the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned Italy by their erudition, and particularly Pomponatius; several French wits and philosophers, such as John Bodin, Rabelais, Montagne, Bonaventure, des Perieres, Dolet, Charron; several Italians, at whose head appears the Roman pontiff Leo X., followed by Peter Bembo, Politian, Jordano Bruno, Ochino; and some Germans, such as Theophrastus Paracelsus, Nicholas Taurellus, and others.^k It is even reported that, in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected from whence whole swarms of those impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be rejected in the lump by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said, with truth, that all the persons charged with this heavy reproach were entirely guiltless. It is nevertheless certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, it will appear that the accusation brought against many of them is entirely groundless; and that, with respect to several who may be worthy of censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious and criminal than they are uncharitably and rashly represented to be.

The public advantages that arose from the restoration of letters.

VI. It is, at the same time, evident that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages, and from this happy renovation of learning the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of Europe. Here large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honours and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired at length that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the Reformation, several well meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained, with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

The flourishing state of philosophy.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those who consecrated their studious hours and their critical sagacity to the publication, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see, by the productions of this age (that yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned), that in all the provinces of Europe these branches of literature were cultivated with a kind of enthusiasm by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay,

^k See Reimanni *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*. Hildes. 1725 in 8vo.; Jo. Franc.

Buddeus, *Theobus de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, *passim*.

what is still most extraordinary, and perhaps not a little extravagant, the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of the state, were supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastic philologists, it is nevertheless certain, that the species of learning here under consideration was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance and the servitude of superstition.¹ And, therefore, we ought not to be surprised when we meet with persons who exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises of those who were our first guides from the regions of darkness and error into the luminous paths of evidence and truth.

The state of philosophy.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and belles lettres were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy, yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The Philosophers were divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly absorbed in contemplation, while the other was employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, of which the one followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own inventions. Those who submitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides, enlisted themselves under the standards of Aristotle, or those of Plato, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in Italy. Nor were the followers of Aristotle agreed among themselves; they all acknowledged the Stagyrte as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pursuits, which their doctors falsely called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of Aristotle, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage as the source of wisdom, and as the system which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from those now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated Melancthon was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of Aristotle, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason, and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

Of those who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient

¹ Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of Literature and Philosophy. But these debates are almost as absurd as a comparison that should be made between the means and the end, the instrument and its effect. Literature is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was intended to serve, so

the pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of "word-catchers that live on syllables," (as Pope, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pursuits); who make the republic of letters groan under commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of words and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind, and to the knowledge of things.

sages, and pursued by their followers, Cardan,^m Telesius,ⁿ and Campanella,^o hold, deservedly, the first rank, as they were undoubtedly men of superior genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added Peter Ramus, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute, in the place of Aristotle's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by applying the penetrating force of fire^p to discover the first principles or elements of bo-

^m <7> Cardan was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who, by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment, and attracted the veneration, of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book *De Genitura*. His knowledge of physics and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De Subtilitate et Veritate Rerum*, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer, whose voyage to England and Scotland is well known, by the learned Brucker, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. lib. i. cap. iii.

ⁿ <7> This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at Cosenza, in the kingdom of Naples, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by Parmenides, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new, by the elegant connexion which Telesius gave to its various parts, and the arguments he used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of Aristotle. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning which the Stagyrte had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged Telesius to compose his famous book *De Principiis Rerum Naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even heat and cold, from which, like Parmenides, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities, and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, viz. matter, and on these three builds, with dexterity enough, his physical system; for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of Plutarch,

De Primo Frigido. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader, to compare this work of Telesius with Lord Bacon's physical account of the story of Cupid and Cælius, in his *De Principiis et Originibus*, &c.

^o <7> Campanella, a native of Calabria, made a great noise in the seventeenth century by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits towards something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of Spain, and partly against the kingdom of Naples, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of Pope Urban VIII., who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at Rome, had him conveyed to Paris, where he was honoured with the protection of Louis XIII. and Cardinal Richelieu, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man, they are tinged, indeed, with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but among a few visionary notions they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethica, and natural philosophy, see Brucker's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part II. p. 127, &c. He was accused of atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.

^p <7> The principal merit of Paracelsus consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness, the important science of chemistry, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have

dies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of Theosophists,¹ and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason, or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology, that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which in the preceding ages had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately unfolded; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connexion, and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and unaffecting language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not, however, be imagined that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made in succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would nevertheless be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority which the divines of after ages obtained over those of ancient times.

X. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed; and many false and absurd doctrines were still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors at this day are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of

drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of magic, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the Sagacious Philosophy, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reasoning than

his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure, and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

¹ See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

The method of
teaching theo-
logy improved.

And the genius
and spirit of the
Christian religion
better explained.

antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may further be observed, that the Reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unsocial aspect. It must, indeed, be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions, that discovered themselves gradually, and increased, from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that Luther rendered so famous. It is nevertheless evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes concerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity to which these disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate out of the minds of men that ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitudes of fanatics with which they were surrounded on all sides.

SECTION III.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN OR LATIN CHURCH.

The Roman pontiff,—how elected.

I. THE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of Rome alone, who, by virtue of a sort of hereditary succession, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. Peter, the supposed prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the supreme head of the universal church, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of cardinals. Of these, six are bishops within the precincts of Rome; fifty are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called priests or presbyters; and fourteen are inspectors of the hospitals and charity-houses, and are called deacons. These cardinals, while the papal chair is vacant, and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff, are shut up and closely confined in a certain sort of prison, called the Conclave, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy con-

clusion. No person that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office.^a Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature.^b It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of Spain and France have acquired, whether expressly by stipulation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office, such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire to the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

The power of the
pope limited.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiff are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the brethren, *i. e.* the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy or doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Besides this, all matters that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called Congregations,^c in every one of which one or more car-

^a See Jo. Frid. Mayeri *Commentarius de Electione Pontif. Romani*, published in 4to at Hamburg, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the election and installation is amply described by Meuschenius, in a work published at Frankfort in the year 1732, under the following title: *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*.

^b The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring to the pontificate, is what they call at Rome, "*il peccato originale*," or original sin. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of Italy, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of Rome. Those also who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of France or Spain, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of original sin, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or their families being too numerous, or their morals being irregular. Even youth, and a good complexion and figure, are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by compromise, inspiration, scrutiny, or access, by which latter

is meant a second election, employed when the other methods fail; see Aymond, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2de. p. 40, &c.

^c These congregations are as follow: I. The Congregation of the pope, instituted first by Sextus V. to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the Consistory, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the Consistorial Congregation, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the election of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal sees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and annates that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal-dean presides in this assembly. II. The Congregation of the Inquisition, or, as it is otherwise called, of the Holy Office, instituted by Paul III., which takes cognizance of heresies, apostasy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of grand Inquisitor, which encroached upon the prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his Holiness. III. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Roman Catholic faith, founded under the pontificate of Gregory XV., composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a protonotary, a secretary of the Inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is

dinals preside.⁴ The decisions of these societies are generally approved of by the Roman pontiff, who has not a right, without alleging the most weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at Rome in a manner that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to show us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend, that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court

that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished gratis, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. The Congregation designed to explain the decisions of the council of Trent. V. The Congregation of the Index, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal-president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman Catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical tables, or indexes of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. The Congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the clergy, and of the Knights of Malta. This congregation was formed by Urban VIII. to decide the disputes, and remove the difficulties and inconveniences, that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics before princes, or other lay-judges. VII. The Congregation relating to the Bishops and regular Clergy, instituted by Sixtus V. to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose the differences that happen so frequently among the monastic orders. VIII. The Congregation, appointed by Gregory XIV. for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops. IX. Another for inquiring

into their lives and morals. X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. The Congregation for suppressing Monasteries, &c. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. The Congregation of the Apostolic Visitation, which names the Visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. The Congregation of Relics, designed to examine the marks, and to augment the number of those instruments of superstition. XIV. The Congregation of Indulgences, designed to examine the case of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. The Congregation of Rites, which Sixtus V. appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint that is added to the calendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

⁴ The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by Aymond (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to Innocent XI.) in a book entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, of which the first edition was published at the Hague, in 8vo, in the year 1707, and the second in 1726.—See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Ceremonies qui s'y observent*, which father Labat has translated into French, from the Italian of Jerome Limadoro, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c., see Dorothea Ascan. *De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 810, as also Hunold. *Plettenberg, Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curie Romanæ*, Hildesheim, in 8vo, 1693.

of Rome, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the Roman pontiff.*

Debates arise concerning the power of the Roman pontiff.

III. The power of the Roman pontiff hath excited debates even among those that are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this pretended head of the church, are very far from being agreed with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If, indeed, we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, then we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives that can flatter ambition, which he does not claim for himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted in certain portions from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions, are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church: that collective sum, or the whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or, which is the same thing, in a general council, lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question, viz. "Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the lawgiver of the church, or is he no more than the guardian and depository of the laws enacted by Christ and the church?" There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy.† Some great revolution only can effect the decision of this matter.

The declension of the Church of Rome.

IV. The church of Rome lost much of its ancient splendour and majesty, as soon as Luther, and the other luminaries of the Reformation, had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least, to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions under which it had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of Europe, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of Rome; in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny; and upon the whole this defection produced a striking diminution both of

* Hence arises that important distinction, frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the Roman pontiff; I mean the distinction between the pope of Rome and the court of Rome. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and congregations, whose rights and privileges are held sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge, and sometimes against the will and consent, of the Roman pontiff.

† The arguments employed by the creatures of the Roman pontiff in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in Bellarmine and other writers, of which an enormous collection has been made by Roccaberti; and, what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named Petitdidier, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at Luxemburg, in the year 1724, *Sur l'Autorité et l'Infaillibilité des Papes*. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of Rome, may be seen in the writings of Richer and Lannoy.

the wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states, who adhered to the religion of Rome, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instruction from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came, at length, to perceive, that, if the jurisdiction and authority of Rome continued the same that it was before the rise of Luther, the rights of temporal princes, and the majesty of civil government would, sooner or later, be absorbed in the gulph of papal avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of Europe, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negotiations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of Rome, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the Roman pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, war, and excommunication, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms who acknowledged the Roman pontiff as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confine, nevertheless, his power of enacting laws within narrow limits.

The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses.

V. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry than had been shown by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond Europe, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the Indies, both among the Pagan nations and the Christian sects.

Missions.

The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion to observe, were the first missionaries that were sent for this purpose into these distant parts of the world; but able men selected out of the other monastic orders were afterwards employed in this arduous undertaking. If, however, we except the exploits of Francis Xavier, and his companions in India, China, and Japan, of which notice has been taken above, there were no great matters effected in this century; as, generally speaking, the persons who were set apart to execute this grand project, were not as yet endowed with that experience and dexterity that it necessarily required, and set about the work with more zeal than prudence and knowledge.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine and observed the religious rites of the Monophysites; and this offered a favourable occasion of reducing this people under the papal yoke. Accordingly John Bermudes was sent into Ethiopia for this purpose; and that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was clothed with the title of Patriarch of the Abyssinians. The same important commission was afterwards given to Ignatius Loyola, and the companions of his labours; and, at their first setting out, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer

* It is certainly by mistake that Dr. Mosheim mentions Loyola as having made a voyage into Abyssinia. Jesuits were sent at

different periods to that country, and with little success; but their founder was never there in person.

this fond expectation; and, in some time, it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors, to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that towards the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts.¹

The Egyptians and Armenians.

VI. The Egyptians, or Copts, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians, in their religious sentiments, and also in their external forms of worship, became next the objects of Rome's ambitious zeal; and, in the year 1562, Christopher Roderic, a Jesuit of note, was sent, by the express order of Pope Pius IV., to propagate the cause of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, notwithstanding the rich presents and subtle arguments by which he attempted to change the sentiments and shake the constancy of Gabriel,¹ who was at that time patriarch of Alexandria, returned to Rome with no other effect of his embassy than fair words, and a few compliments.² It is however true, that, towards the conclusion of this century, and during the pontificate of Clement VIII., an embassy from another patriarch of Alexandria, whose name was also Gabriel, appeared at Rome, and was considered as a subject of triumph and boasting by the creatures of the pope.³ But the more candid and sensible, even among the Roman catholics, looked upon this embassy, and not without reason, as a stratagem of the Jesuits to persuade the Abyssinians, who were so prone to follow the example of their brethren of Alexandria, to join themselves to the communion of Rome, and to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff.⁴ It is at least certain, that after this solemn embassy we do not find in the records of history the smallest token of a propensity in the Copts to embrace the doctrine or discipline of Rome.

Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the Roman pontiff with particular marks of veneration and respect, without departing, however, from the religious doctrine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther account shall be given in the History of the Eastern Churches; it may, nevertheless, be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the bishop of Rome was greatly increased, and the votaries of the pontiff considerably multiplied, by the zeal of Zerapion, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of Rome, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in the

¹ See Ladolfi, *Histor. Æthiopica et Comm. Geddes*, Church History of Ethiopia, p. 120; Le Grand, *Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins*, which is to be found in the second volume of the *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie* du R. P. Jerome Lobo, p. 13; La Croze *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, liv. ii. p. 90.

² Franz. Sachini, *Histoire Societat. Jesu*, part ii. lib. v.; Euseb. Renaud *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611; *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 314.

³ This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of Trent, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he refused positively the sending any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly, that he owed no obedience nor submission to the bishop of Rome, who had no more dignity nor authority than any other bishop, except within the

bounds of his own diocese. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 322, 324.

⁴ The transactions of this embassy, adorned with an ample and pompous preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the *Annal. Eccl. de Baronius*, p. 707, edit. Antwerp.

⁵ Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611, 612, endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this embassy, of which Baronius has given such a pompous account. He is, however, much mistaken when he asserts, that father Simon, relying upon the fallacious testimony of George Douza, was the only person that ever considered this embassy as a stratagem; since it is evident, that Thomas a Jesu, in the sixth book of his treatise *De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procurando*, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See *Geddes*, Church History of Ethiopia, p. 231, 232.

year 1593, the title and dignity of patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not, however enjoy this dignity long ; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors ; and thus the boasting and exultation of the Romans subsided all of a sudden, and their hopes vanished.^a

Nestorians and
Indians.

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches ; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, felt early the effects of their imperious councils. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people about the creation of a new patriarch, Simeon Barmamas being proposed by one party, and Sulaka earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to Rome, and was consecrated patriarch in the year 1553, by Pope Julius III., whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. Julius gave the name John to the new Chaldean patriarch, and upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs.^a

The Nestorians, or, as they are more commonly called, the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabited the maritime coasts of India, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple, and infinitely less absurd.^b The finishing stroke was put to the violence and brutality of these attempts by Don Alexis de Menezes, bishop of Goa, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction ; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent counsels and arrogant proceedings of Menezes, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom.^c

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of Rome treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they did not only require that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowledge the Roman pontiff as Christ's sole vicegerent upon earth : their demands went still farther ; they opposed many of the opinions

^a See *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

^b Jos. Sim. Assemani, *Biblio. Oriental. Clementina*, t. iii. part II. p. 160. See the History of the Eastern Church, in the following chapter of this history.

^c For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following chapter ; as also two

learned books of Monsieur La Croze, the one entitled, *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes* ; and the other, *Histoire du Christianisme, &c. en Ethiopie*.

^d See La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88, &c., in which there is an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas, and of the rough methods employed by Menezes to gain them over to the church of Rome.

of this people, some of which were at least worthy of toleration, and others highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and scripture ; they insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency ; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of this people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of Rome. The papal court, however, rendered wise by experience, perceived at length, that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and every way improper to extend the limits of the papal empire in the East. It was therefore determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were, consequently, ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points : to wit, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and their renouncing, or at least professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to use a perfect toleration, and to let these people remain unmolested in following the sentiments, and observing the institutions, they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of Rome, when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtleties and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and discovered less of an ingenuous spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes by all sorts of means, and at all events. Be that as it may, the cause of Rome received much more advantage from this plan of moderation, than it had derived from the severity of its former councils ; though much less than the authors of this reconciling plan fondly expected.

The internal constitution of the church of Rome strengthened in various ways.

IX. While the Roman pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the church of Rome against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of crusades, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of Rome, and in the state of Europe, rendered any such method of subduing heretics visionary and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and procedures of the inquisition were revised and corrected in those countries where that formidable court was permitted to exert its dreadful power. Colleges and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield, with more dexterity and success, the arms of controversy against the enemies of Rome. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or at least much obstructed, by certain lists, or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books

were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth, in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion, than they had formerly been. Thus it happens, that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of Rome would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury; and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendour.

Ignatius Loyola,
the founder of
the order called
Jesuits.

X. The monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connection between the pontiffs and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between them and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of Luther, and the progress of the Reformation, had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of Rome, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was so much the more necessary, as the two famous Mendicant societies,¹ by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a considerable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought for, in this declining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, deriving its title from the name of Jesus, were commonly called Jesuits, while they were styled by their enemies Loyolites, and sometimes Inigists,² from the Spanish name of their founder.³ This founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius,⁴ who, after

¹ These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

² The Spanish name of the founder of the order of Jesuits was Don Inigo de Guipuscoa.

³ The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits, are enumerated by Christoph. Aug. Salig. in his *Historia August. Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73.

⁴ Many Jesuits have written the life of this

extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent upon advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events, and the most trivial actions that concern Ignatius, are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, though seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French

having passed through various scenes of life, came to Rome, and, being there directed by the prudent counsels of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required.*

The nature of the order and institution of the Jesuits.

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the monks and the secular clerks, and with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the regular canons than to any other order. For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burdensome services that lie heavy upon the monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the professed members, who live in what are called the professed houses; the second contains the scholars, who instruct the youth in the colleges; and to the third belong the novices, who live in the houses of probation. The professed members, besides the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, that are common to all the monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves "to go without deliberation or delay wherever the pope shall think fit to send them;" they are also a kind of Mendicants, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed people. The other Jesuits, and more particularly the scholars, are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the professed members. These latter, who are few in number, considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes, are, generally speaking, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience, added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the true and perfect Jesuits. The rest have, indeed, the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the

writer, who calls himself *Hercules Rasiel de Selve*.* This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled, *Histoire de l'Admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Iuighistes*; and it has passed already through two editions at the Hague.

Not only the Protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious Roman catholics, have unanimously denied that Ignatius Loyola had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons, much more learned than he, were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See *Geddes, Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p.

429.—The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary John de Palanco; see *La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, p. 55, 271. The Benedictines affirm, that his book of *Spiritual Exercises* is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk whose name was Cimeros (see *La Vie de M. de la Croze par Jordan*), and the constitutions of the society were probably the work of Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men who were among its first members. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115.

* Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the spiritual and temporal coadjutors, who assisted the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three simple vows; although, after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the spiritual coadjutors are admitted to the fourth vow, and thus become professed members.

* This is a feigned name; the real author was Monsieur Le Vier, an ingenious bookseller who lived formerly at the Hague.

Jesuits, than real members of that mysterious order: and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits can be applied to them. But, what is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not revealed even to all the professed members. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and long trial declared worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order.

XII. The church and court of Rome, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence. It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity throughout the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of Pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole burden of this religious war, and surpassing, by far, the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings, and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them that ascendancy they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity that rendered it burdensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur, from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind.* An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of Rome; and this, indeed, was its great end, and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of; employing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt, of which they must have been naturally apprehensive, in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon, and indeed an excessive degree of veneration and respect. But it is also true, that these signal honours and advantages exposed them, at the same

* Before the order of Jesuits was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes. And it was by the Jesuits that the

Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, livr. i. p. 322.

time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools, united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove, that nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society, than the institution of the Jesuits. In France, Poland, and other countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors, and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy.* But the prudence, or rather the cunning and artifice of the disciples of Loyola, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of his adversaries.

Roman Pontiffs.

XIII. The pontiffs of this century that ruled the church after the decease of Alexander VI. were Pius III., Julius II.,^a Leo X., Adrian VI., whose characters and transactions have been already taken notice of; Clement VII., of the house of Medicis; Paul III., of the illustrious family of Farnese :^a

* See the *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. III. passim; Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. vi. p. 559—648, et passim; as well as almost all the writers who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

† The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Dublin, by Dr. George Brown, bishop of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 566. The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits is as follows: "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformed, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, There was no God. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from filling from the law of God by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than

Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit."—This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France, (I write this note in the year 1762;) and by the universal indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all the orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.

‡ It was from a foolish ambition of resembling Cæsar (a very singular model for a Christian pontiff) that this pope, whose name was Rovere, assumed the denomination of Julius II. It may indeed be said, that Cæsar was sovereign pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), and that the pope of Rome enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.

§ The sentiments and character of Paul III. have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late cardinal Quirini, and Keisling, Schelhorn, and some other writers. The cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff; while the two learned men above mentioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See Quirinus, *De Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii*, Brixiz, 1745, in 4to. ¶ Among the *res gestæ* of Paul III. were two bastards, whose offspring, Farnese and Sforza, were made cardinals in their infancy. See Keislingii *Epist. de Gestis Pauli III. Schelhorn. Amoenitates Hist. Eccles. et Liter.* But the licentious exploits of this pope do not end here. He was reproached in a book published before his death under the name of Ochino, with having poisoned his mother and his nephew, with having ravished a young virgin at Ancona, with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter

Julius III.,^b whose name was John Maria Giocci; Marcellus II.; Paul IV.,^c whose name, before his elevation to the pontificate, was John Peter Caraffa; Pius IV., who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of Medicis, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of John Angeli de Medicis; Pius V., a Dominican, called Michael Ghisleri, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the kalendar; Gregory XIII., who was known previously by the name of Hugo Buoncampagno;^d Sextus V., otherwise named Felix Peretti di Montalto, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, surpassed by far all his predecessors; Urban VIII.; Gregory XIV.; Innocent IX.; the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or falling into reproach.

Among these pontiffs there were better and worse;^e but they were all men of exemplary characters, when compared with the greatest part of those who governed the church before the reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of Rome, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals and the Roman nobility more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to intrust such an important dignity to any ecclesiastic, whose barefaced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish thereby new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the reformers, the Roman pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority as they had formerly usurped; nor could they, indeed, make good such pre-

Constantia, who died of poison administered by the pope, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is said, in the same book, that being caught in bed with his niece Laura Farnese, who was the wife of Nic. Quersei, he received from this incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death. See Sleidan, *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Republicæ, Carolo Quinto Cesare*, lib. xxi. p. 667, edit. Argentor.

^b > This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See Thuan. lib. vi. & xv.; Hoffing, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. v. p. 572; and more especially Sleidan, *Hist.* lib. xxi. folio, m. 609. When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, "What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the papal chair?"

^c > Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of Queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's *History of the Re-*

formation.—It was he who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the Index of prohibited books, mentioned above, sect. IX.

^d See Jo. P. Maffei *Annales Gregoriorum XIII.* Rom. 1742, in 4to.

^e Pius V. and Sextus V. made a much greater figure in the annals of fame than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against heretics, and the famous bull *In Cena Domini*, which is read publicly at Rome every year on the festival of the holy sacrament; and the latter, in consequence of many services rendered to the church, and numberless attempts carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory, and maintain its authority.—Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of Pius V. so soon as they saw him canonised, in the year 1712, by Clement XI. Of his bull, entitled, *In Cena Domini*, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in Giannone's *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248. The life of Sextus V. has been written by Gregory Leti, and translated into several languages; it is however a very indifferent work, and the relations it contains are, in many places, inaccurate and unfaithful.

tensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance ; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations which are intrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of Rome, have been prudently suspended since the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition that prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne.

XIV. That part of the body of the clergy that is more peculiarly devoted to the Roman pontiffs, seemed to have undergone no visible change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of Trent, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges of which they had been forcibly deprived by the popes. They were even persuaded that the pope might be lawfully obliged to acknowledge that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from Christ himself.¹ But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the artifice and dexterity of the court of Rome, which never ceases to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim : " That the bishops are no more than the legates or ministers of Christ's vicar ; and that the authority they exercise is entirely derived from the munificence and favour of the apostolic see," a maxim, however, that several bishops, and more especially those of France, treat with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the expense of the pontiffs ; for those reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives (as they are termed by the Roman lawyers), which before the reformation had excited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout all Europe, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

*Lives and morals
of the clergy.*

XV. Among the subjects of deliberation in the council of Trent, the reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgot ; nay, several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a view to that important object. But those who had the cause of virtue at heart, complained, and the reason of these complaints still subsists, that these laws were no more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to maintain their authority ; and that they were transgressed with impunity by the clergy of all ranks, and particularly by those who filled the higher stations and dignities of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints will appear as well founded now, as they were in the sixteenth century. In Germany, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing in their manner of living that is in the least adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances or reproofs of the Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and

¹ See Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes, than the servants of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. They court glory; they aspire after riches, while very few employ their time and labours in edifying their people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue. Nay, what is still more deplorable, those bishops who, sensible of the sanctity of their character and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may, indeed, be partly owing to the examples they have received, and still too often receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them, perhaps, would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, had they not been corrupted by the models exhibited to them by the bishops of Rome, and had constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity.

That part of the clergy that go under the denomination of canons, continue almost every where their ancient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal and liberality of their ancestors had consecrated to the uses of the church and the relief of the poor.

It must not, however, be imagined that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or, indeed, that their inclinations and reigning habits tend towards such a loose and voluptuous manner of living. For it is certain that the reformation had a manifest influence even upon the Roman Catholic clergy, by rendering them at least more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses, than they had formerly done.

Monks.—The ancient Orders reformed.

XVI. The same observation holds good with respect to the Monastic orders. There are, indeed, several things, worthy of the severest animadversion, chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; nor are these societies themselves entirely exempt from the laziness, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, that were formerly the common and reigning vices in the Monastic retreats. It would be, nevertheless, an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny that, in many countries, the manner of living among these religious orders has been considerably reformed, severe rules employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal at least any vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity that may yet remain. In some places the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of Monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

Of this latter number was Matthew de Bassi, a native of Italy, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions, and who was a Franciscan of the more rigid class who were zealous

in observing rigorously the primitive rules of their institution.^a This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he was divinely inspired with the zeal that impelled him to restore the original and genuine rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission, attended with sufficient authority, he set himself to this work of Monastic reformation, with the most devout assiduity and ardour.^b His enterprise was honoured, in the year 1525, with the solemn approbation of Clement VII., and this was the origin of the order of Capuchins. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility, accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect;^c and its reputation and success excited, in the other Franciscans, the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy.^d The Capuchins were so called from the sharp pointed capuche, or cowl,^e which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit, and which is supposed to have been used by St. Francis himself, as a covering for his head.^f

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community, under the denomination of Recollects in France, Reformed Franciscans in Italy, and Barefooted Franciscans in Spain, and were erected into a separate order, with their respective laws and rules of discipline, in the year 1532, by the authority of Clement VII. They differ from the other Franciscans in this only, that they profess to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief; and hence also they were called Friars Minors of the strict observance.^g

St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order,^h which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was Johannes de Santa Crusa, and her enterprise was not wholly destitute of success, notwithstanding the opposition she met with from the greatest part of the Carmelites. Hence the order was, during the space of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind.ⁱ But, as these different rules of life among the mem-

^a & The dispute that arose among the Franciscans by Innocent IV.'s relaxing so far their institute as to allow of property and possessions in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the most considerable, who adopted the papal relaxation, were denominated Conventuals, and the other who rejected it, Brethren of the Observance. The latter professed to observe and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.

^b & The Brethren of the Observance, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence the reforming spirit that animated Bassi.

^c See Luc. Waddingii *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207, 257. edit. Roman.; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii. ch. xxiv. p. 264; and, above all, Zach. Boverii *Annales Capucinatorum*.

^d One of the circumstances that exasperated most the Franciscans, was the innovation made in their habit by the Capuchins.

Whatever was the cause of their choler, true it is, that their provincial persecuted the new monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until they at last took refuge in the palace of the duke of Camerino, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the Conventuals, in the quality of hermits minors, in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square capuche; and thus the order was established in 1528.

^e & I know not on what authority the learned Michael Geddes attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one Francis Puchine.

^f See Du Fresnoy *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298. edit. Benedict.

^g See Waddingii *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 167; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tom. vii. ch. xviii. p. 129.

^h Otherwise called the White Friars.

ⁱ & The former, who were the Carmelites of the ancient observance, were called the

bers of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere, or bare-footed Carmelites, were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in the year 1580, by Gregory XIII., at the particular desire of Philip II. king of Spain. This separation was confirmed, in the year 1587, by Sextus V. and completed, in 1593, by Clement VIII., who allowed the barefooted Carmelites to have their own chief, or general. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height; hence they were divided anew, by the pontiff last mentioned, into two communities, each of which was governed by their respective general.^p

New monastic orders.

XVII. The most eminent of all the new orders that were instituted in this century, was, beyond all doubt, that of the Jesuits, which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of Rome, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The Reformation, among the other changes which it occasioned even in the Roman church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were all comprehended under the general denomination of Regular Clerks. And as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue, that had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times; this was a plain, though tacit confession, of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the Reformation.

The first society of these regular clerks was formed in the year 1524, under the denomination of Theatins, which they derived from their principal founder, John Peter Caraffa, then bishop of Theate, or Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards pope, under the title of Paul IV., who was assisted in this pious undertaking by Cajetan, or Gaetan, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even secluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity.^q There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

The establishment of the Theatins was followed by that of the Regular Clerks of St. Paul, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of Barnabites, from the church of St. Barnabas, at Milan, which was bestowed upon them in the year 1545. This order, which was approved by Clement VII. and confirmed about three years after by Paul III. was originally founded by Antonio Mavia Zacharias of Cremona, and Bartholomew Ferrari, and Jacob Ant. Morigia, noblemen of Milan. Its members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the Theatins, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions, and depending upon the spon-

moderate or mitigated; while the latter, who were of the strict observance, were distinguished by the denomination of bare-footed Carmelites.

^p Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. ch. xlvii. p. 340.

^q Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. iv. ch. xii. p. 71.

taneous donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they grew soon weary of this precarious method of living from hand to mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time, of securing to their community certain possessions and stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience.*

The Regular Clerks of St. Maieul, who are also called the fathers of Somasquo, from the place where their community was first established, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by Jerome *Æmiliani*, a noble Venetian, and were afterwards successively confirmed, in the year 1540 and 1543, by the Roman pontiffs Paul III. and Pius IV.* Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those that were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine in France and Italy. The order that bore this title in France was instituted by Cæsar de Bus, and confirmed, in the year 1597, by Clement VIII.; while that which is known in Italy under the same denomination, derives its origin from Mark Cusani, a Milanese knight, and was established by the approbation and authority of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

Other new religious communities.

XVIII. It would be an endless, and, indeed, an unprofitable labour, to enumerate particularly that prodigious multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations, that were instituted in Germany and other countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed by their innovations the peace, or rather the lethargy, of the church. For certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which Luther and the other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers have been suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who have considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the Ursulines shine forth with a superior lustre, both in point of number and dignity. The Priests of the Oratory, founded in Italy by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and publicly honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII. in the year 1577, must, however, be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they have made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced Baronius, Raynaldus, and Laderchius, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an Oratory,[†] or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built at Florence for himself, and in which, for many years, he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions.[‡]

* Helyot, loc. cit. tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100. In the same part of this incomparable work, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample, and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for brevity's

make, but barely mentioned.

† *Acta Sanctor. Februar. tom. ii. p. 217.*

‡ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres, &c. tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.*

§ He was peculiarly assisted in these

The state of learning.

XIX. It is too evident to admit of the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of Luther, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the rest of the religious orders. It is certain that the schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, though that method was intricate and disagreeable in many respects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The Monks were not more remarkable for their docility than the schools; nor did they seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters, a more solid and elegant method of instruction than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising variety that appears in the style and manner of the writers of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction of a great part of their contemporaries is barbarous, perplexed, obscure and insipid.

Cæsar Baronius, already mentioned, undertook to throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the Christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely any thing better than perplexity and darkness.* His example, however, excited many to enterprises of the same nature. The attempts of the persons they called heretics, rendered, indeed, such enterprises necessary: for these heretics, with the learned Flackius and Chimnitz at their head,† demonstrated with the utmost evidence, that not only the declarations of holy scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history, and the records of the primitive church, were in direct opposition both to the doctrines and pretensions of the church of Rome. This was wounding popery with its own arms, and attacking it in its pretended strongholds. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the friends of Rome to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on which the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as its only foundation and support.

The state of philosophy.

XX. Several men of genius in France and Italy, who have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due to their valuable labours,‡ used their most zealous endeavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times. But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand, and, on the other, the timorous prudence of many weak minds, who were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to the church, and open a new source of division

conferences by Baronius, author of the Ecclesiastical Annals, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose annals, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, are so remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.

‡ The learned Isaac Casaubon undertook a refutation of the Annals of Baronius, in an excellent work, entitled *Exercitationes*, &c., and though he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian era, yet he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable, and, many of them, shameful errors, into

which the Romish annalist has fallen during that short space. Even the Roman Catholic literati acknowledge the inaccuracies and faults of Baronius; hence many learned men, such as Fagi, Noris, and Tillemont, have been employed to correct them. And accordingly, a few years ago, a new edition of these Annals was published at Lucca, with the corrections of these reviewers at the foot of each page.

† The former in the *Centurie Magdeburgenses*: the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.

* See above, Sect. II. VIII. and IX.

and discord, crushed all these generous endeavours, and rendered them ineffectual. The throne of the subtle Stagyrte remained, therefore, unshaken; and his philosophy, whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of pleasure, and flattered the pride of those who were implicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivalled in the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new credit and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their colleges, and made use of it in their writings and disputes. By this, however, these artful ecclesiastics showed evidently, that the captious jargon and subtleties of that intricate philosophy were much more adapted to puzzle heretics, and to give the popish doctors, at least, the appearance of carrying on the controversy with success, than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is pointed out by the genuine and unbiassed dictates of right reason.

XXI. The church of Rome produced, in this century, a prodigious number of theological writers. The most eminent of these, both in point of reputation and merit, are as follows: Thomas de Vio, otherwise named Cardinal Cajetan—Eckius—Cochlæus—Emser—Surius—Hosius—Faber—Sadolet—Pighius—Vatable—Canus—D'Espence—Caranza—Maldonat—Turrianus—Arias Montanus—Catharinus—Reginald Pole—Sextus Senensis—Cassander—Paya d'Andrada—Baius—Pamelius, and others.*

The principles of
the Roman Catho-
lic faith.

XXII. The religion of Rome, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the written word of God, and the unwritten; or in other words, from scripture and tradition. But as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the person or persons who are authorized to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty, what are the real doctrines of the church of Rome, nor where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversies is to be found. It is true, the court of Rome, and all those who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain, that he alone, who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent, is entitled to explain and determine the sense of scripture and tradition in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, of consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. To give weight to this opinion, Pius IV. formed a plan of a council, which was afterwards instituted and confirmed by Sextus V., and called the Congregation for interpreting the decrees of the council of Trent. This congregation was authorized to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of any consequence, and particularly all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone, as the great oracle of the church.^a But notwithstanding all this, it was impossible to persuade the wiser part of the Roman Catholic body to acknowledge this exclusive authority in their head. And accordingly, the greatest

* For an ample account of the literary character, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see Lewis Ell. Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, tom. xiv. et xvi.

^a See Aymond, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part V. ch. iv. p. 282. Hence

it was, that the approbation of Innocent XI. was refused to the artful and insidious work of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, entitled "An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church," until the author had suppressed entirely the first edition of that work, and made corrections and alterations in the second.

part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of Rome on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of scripture and tradition, and to draw from thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognizance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion, with respect to the determination of doctrine and controversies, that still divides the church of Rome: and as no judge has been, nor perhaps can be, found to compose it, we may therefore reasonably despair of seeing the religion of Rome acquire a permanent, stable, and determined form.

The council of
Trent.

XXIII. The council of Trent was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points, that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate, were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed with violence, upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived, by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was moreover a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form, or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference, and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of Trent as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprising, that there are certain doctors of the Romish church, who, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of Trent as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, on the contrary, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of scripture and the language of tradition. Nor, when all these things are duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder that this council has not throughout the same degree of

credit and authority, even in those countries that profess the Roman Catholic religion.*

Some countries, indeed, such as Germany, Poland, and Italy, have adopted implicitly and absolutely the decrees of this council, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other places it has been received and acknowledged on certain conditions, which modify not a little its pretended authority. Among these latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of this council, and acknowledged it at length only so far as it could be adopted without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain.^b In other countries, such as France,^c and Hungary,^d it never has been solemnly received, or publicly acknowledged. It is true, indeed, that, in the former of these kingdoms, those decrees of Trent that relate to points of religious doctrine, have, tacitly and imperceptibly, through the power of custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Galican church.*

XXIV. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of Rome, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the compendious Confession of Faith, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those, however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, complete, and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion, it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that both in the decrees of Trent and in this papal confession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. This other singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But, waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these decrees and in this confession, several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members.^e Hence we may conclude, that the justest notion of the doctrine of

* & The translator has here inserted in the text the note of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.

^b See Giannone, *Histoire, Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235.

^c See Hect. Godofr. Masii *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*, which is published among his other dissertations, collected into one volume. See also the excellent discourse which Dr. Courayer has subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, entitled "Discours sur la Réception du Concile de Trent, particulièrement en France," p. 775. 789.

^d See Loranđi Samuelof, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56.

^e See *Lod. Ell. Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380.

& For what relates to the *Literary History* of the Council of Trent, the historians who have transmitted accounts of it, and other circumstances of that nature, see Jo. Chr. Kocher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325, 377; as also Salig's *History of the Council of Trent*, in German, p. 192—320.

^f This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent, relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word: for in the scripture sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images, in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman catholics, which

Rome is not to be derived so much from the terms made use of in the decrees of the council of Trent, as from the real signification of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that are, every where, in use in the Romish church. Add to all this, another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines which were obscurely proposed in the council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notorious example, in the famous bull called *Unigenitus*, which was an enterprise as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

The state of ex-
egetic theology,
or Scripture
knowledge.

XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the holy scriptures that had been given by the learned, and the perusal of these divine oracles, which was now grown more common among the people, they left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred erudition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflections injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and, by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible, (if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities,) to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs, and the records of oral tradition, were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the holy scriptures. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the *Vulgate*, though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and, in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared by a solemn decree of the council of Trent, an authentic, *i. e.* a faithful, accurate, and perfect* translation, and was consequently recommended as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was every way adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred writings. In the same council, farther steps were taken to execute, with success, the designs of Rome. A severe and intolerable law was enacted with respect of all interpreters and expositors of the scriptures, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books, in matters relating to faith and practice, in such a manner as to make them speak a different

is notoriously idolatrous in both senses of that word.

* If we consult the canons of the council of Trent, we shall find that the word authentic is here explained in terms less positive and offensive than those used by Dr. Mosheim. Nor is it strictly true, that the *Vulgate* was declared by this council as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure; since, as we learn from Fra Paolo, it was determined that this version should be corrected, and a new edition of it published by persons appointed for that purpose.* There was, indeed, something highly ridiculous in

the proceedings of the council, in relation to this point; for, if the natural order of things had been observed, the revision and correction of the *Vulgate* would have preceded the pompous approbation with which the council honoured, and, as it were, consecrated that ancient version. For how, with any shadow of good sense, could the assembled fathers set the seal of their approbation to a work which they acknowledged to stand in need of correction, and that before they knew whether or not the correction would answer their views, and merit their approbation?

* See Fra Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, book II. part LIII., and

Dr. Courrayer's French translation of this History, vol. i. p. 284, note (29).

language from that of the church and the ancient doctors.^b The same law farther declared, that the church alone, *i. e.* its ruler, the Roman pontiff, had the right of determining the true meaning and signification of scripture. To fill up the measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings, the church of Rome persisted obstinately in affirming, though not always with the same imprudence and plainness of speech, that the holy scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude, but only for that of their spiritual teachers; and, of consequence, ordered these divine records to be taken from the people in all places where it was allowed to execute its imperious commands.¹

Commentators
and expositors
of the Holy
Scriptures.

XXVI. These circumstances had a visible influence upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and expositors of scripture, which the example of Luther and his followers had rendered, through emulation, extremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were insipid, timorous, servilely attached to the glory and interests of the court of Rome, and discovered, in their explications, all the marks of slavish dependence and constraint. They seem to have been in constant terror lest any expression should escape from their pen that savoured of opinions different from what were commonly received; they appeal, every moment, to the declarations and authority of the holy fathers, as they usually style them; nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of Rome has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of scripture the four kinds of significations, called Literal, Allegorical, Tropological, and Anagogical, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterwards held so sacred, in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation so ill-managed, since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favourable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they had a mind to impose upon the credulity of the multitude.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, besides these miserable commentators that dishonour the church of Rome, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise these senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and literal sense of the expressions used in the holy scriptures. In this class the most eminent were Erasmus of Rotterdam, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgment in a paraphrase, which is deservedly esteemed; cardinal Cajetan, who disputed with Luther at Augsburg, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; Francis Titelman, Isidorus Clarius, John Maldonat, Benedict Justinian, who acquired no mean reputation by their commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. To these may be added Gaigny, D'Espence, and other expositors.¹ But these

^b It is remarkable, that this prohibition extends even to such interpretations as were not designed for public view. "Etiam si hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edende forent." Sessio 4to. tit. cap. ii.

¹ The pontiffs were not allowed to execute this despotic order in all countries that ac-

knowledge the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. The French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother-tongue, in which they peruse it, though much against the will of the creatures of the pope.

¹ See Simon, Hist. Critique du Vieux et du Nouv. Testament.

eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had almost no followers; and, in a short space of time, their influence was gone, and their labours were forgot. For, towards the conclusion of this century, Edmund Richer, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of Paris who followed the literal sense, and the plain and natural signification of the words of scripture; while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations, where none such were, nor could be, designed by the sacred writers.¹

The state of didactic theology.

XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled before the Reformation with that subtle kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of schoolmen; so that even at Paris, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintain by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of didactic and scriptural divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of Trent; where the scholastic doctrines fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings, and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy.¹

It was, however, impossible to deprive entirely the scholastic divines of the ascendant they had acquired in the seminaries of learning, and had so long maintained almost without opposition. Nay, after having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigour from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy and made use of their subtle dialectics, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics, than either the language of scripture, or the authority of the fathers. And, indeed, this intricate jargon of the schools was

¹ See Baillet, Vie d'Edmund Richer, p. 9, 10.

¹ See Du Boulay's account of the Reformation of the Theological Faculty, or College at Paris, in his Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. vi. p. 790. In this reform the Bachelors of Divinity called Sententiarii and Biblici, are particularly distinguished; and, what is extremely remarkable, the Augustine monks, who were Luther's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a year with a scriptural Bachelor (*Baccalaureum Biblicum præsentare*); from whence we may conclude, that the monks of the Augustine order, to which Luther belonged, were much more conversant in the study of the holy scriptures than the other Monastic societies. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, and that so much the more, as Du Boulay's History is in few hands. It is as follows:

"Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt, secundum statutum fol. 21, quod sequitur: Quilibet ordo Mendicantium et Collegiam S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum qui legat ordinario, alioque preiventur Baccalaureo sententiariorum." It appears by this law, that each of the Mendicant orders was, by a decree of the Theological Faculty, obliged to furnish, yearly, a scriptural Bachelor (such was Luther); and yet we see, that in the Reformation already mentioned this obligation is imposed upon none but the Augustine monks; from which it is natural to conclude, that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the other Mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the scriptures, and consequently had among them no scriptural Bachelors; and that the Augustine monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the Theological Faculty.

every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multitude, with the appearance of victory.^m

The Mystics lost almost all their credit in the church of Rome after the Reformation; and that, partly on account of the favourable reception they found among the Protestants, and partly in consequence of their pacific system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries. These enthusiasts, however, were, in some measure, tolerated in the church of Rome, and allowed to indulge themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain conditions, which obliged them to abstain from censuring either the laws or the corruptions of the church, and from declaiming, with their usual freedom and vehemence, against the vanity of external worship, and the dissensions of jarring and contentious doctors.

The state of morality and practical religion.

XXVIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of Rome; nor, indeed, could any make such an attempt without drawing upon him the displeasure, and perhaps the fury, of the papal hierarchy. For, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in no wise conducive to the interests of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers. And it is undoubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risk of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the gospel, had been exhibited in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of Rome, have grievously complained (with what justice shall be shown in its proper place),ⁿ that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendancy in the courts of princes and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alleged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity, by the loose and dissolute rule of conduct they propagated as far as their influence extended. This poisonous doctrine spread, indeed, its contagion in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of Europe.

All the moral writers of the Romish church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the Schoolmen, the Dogmatists,^o and the Mystics. The first explained, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions, and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demon-

^m & The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.

ⁿ & See Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I, Sect. XXXIV.

^o & The reader will easily perceive, by the short account of these three classes that is given by Dr. Mosheim, that the word Dogmatist must not be taken in that magisterial sense which it bears in modern language.

strations. The second illustrated them from the declarations of scripture, and the opinions of the ancient doctors. While the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

XXIX. The number of combatants that the pontiffs brought into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said, with truth, of the most of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, which the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number against the adversaries of the church of Rome, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. But the chief leader and champion of the polemic tribe was Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit, and one of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted between the Protestants and the church of Rome, and whose merit as a writer consisted, principally, in clearness of style, and a certain copiousness of argument, which showed a rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of Rome arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candour and plain-dealing exposed him, however, to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable on account of his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would have been much greater among the friends of Rome than it actually is.^p

The controversies
that divide the
church of Rome.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of Rome, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in this century, and is, at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and the Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pontiff, and the congregations that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions concerning the origin and limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, together with other countries, openly oppose the Roman pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges, sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who, from their first rise, had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictines and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious com-

^p See Jo. Frid. Mayeri *Ecloga de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsius pontificis dubia*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo, in 1698.

munities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by a painful reflection on the possessions of which they had been deprived; while the Dominicans contend for the honour of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished. Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical and monastic orders; on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them beyond number, and conducted with little moderation. It is true, indeed, that all these contests are tempered and managed, by the prudence and authority of the Roman pontiffs, in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity that is the source of its consistence as an ecclesiastical body. I say, tempered and managed; for to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one who calls himself the Vicar of Christ, is nevertheless, a work beyond the power, and contrary to the intention, of the Roman pontiff.

The more momentous controversies that have divided the church of Rome.

XXXI. Besides these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the church of Rome, there arose after the period in which the council of Trent was assembled, controversies

of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have increased gradually, and gathered strength; so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues, at this very day, to divide the members of the Romish church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the Roman pontiffs foment, perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties (since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them,) and to diminish the violence of commotions, which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. Their efforts, however, have hitherto been, and still continue to be ineffectual. They have not even been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, nor to inspire any sentiments of moderation and mutual forbearance into minds which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

Two general classes of doctors in the church of Rome.

XXXII. Whoever looks with attention and impartiality into these controversies will easily perceive, that there are two parties in the Roman church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits, in general, considered as a body,¹ maintain, with the greatest zeal and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which was universally adopted in the church before the rise of Luther, and which, though absurd and ill-digested, has, nevertheless, been considered as highly favourable to the views of Rome, and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These saga-

¹ The Jesuits are here taken in a general and collective sense of that denomination; because there are several individuals

of that order, whose sentiments differ from those that generally prevail in their community.

cious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, as well as the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine; and that every project that tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be in the highest degree detrimental to what they call the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Roman church, especially since the dawn of the Reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a Reformation, (though indeed a partial one, according to their particular fancies,) that thus the church might be purified from those unhappy abuses that have given rise to such fatal divisions, and still draw upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

The main controversies that divide the church of Rome reduced to six heads.

From these opposite ways of thinking arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates between the Jesuits and several doctors of the church of Rome. These debates may be reduced under the six following heads:

First subject of debate.

The first subject of debate concerns the limits and extent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, all maintain that the pope is infallible;—that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the church;—that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested;—that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it;—and that he alone is the supreme lawgiver of that sacred community, a lawgiver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the church of Rome hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error;—that his authority is inferior to that of a general council;—that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws as they are enacted in the councils that represent it;—that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted;—and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from Christ himself.

Second subject of debate.

XXXIII. The extent and prerogatives of the church, form the second subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They comprehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of Rome,^r but even extend the inheritance of salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its divine Author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors which profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the kingdom of Christ, and not only exclude from all hope of

^r They were accused at Spolito, in the year 1683, of having maintained in their public instructions there the probability of the

salvation of many heretics. See *Le Clerc, Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 320.

salvation those who are not within the pale of the church of Rome, but also those who, though they live within its external communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine; while the adverse party declare, that in judging of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring.

Third subject of debate.

XXXIV. The third class of controversies that divides the church of Rome, comprehends the debates relating to the nature, efficacy, and necessity of divine grace, together with those that concern original sin, the natural power of man to obey the laws of God, and the nature and foundation of those eternal decrees that have for their object the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustines, and Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church, adopt the following propositions: That the impulse of divine grace cannot be opposed or resisted;—that there are no remains of purity or goodness in human nature since its fall; that the eternal decrees of God relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended with, any condition whatsoever;—that God wills the salvation of all mankind; and several other tenets that are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the natural dominion of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less universal and dreadful than they are represented by the doctors now mentioned;—that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good;—that the succours of grace are administered to all mankind in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation;—that the operations of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be resisted;—and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited prescience, by which he foresaw the actions, merits, and characters of every individual.

Fourth subject of debate.

XXXV. The fourth head in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church of Rome, contains various subjects of debate, relative to doctrines of morality and rules of practice, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner; though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy.*

* This distinction, with respect to the objects of infallibility, was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope Innocent X. condemned five propositions, drawn from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st, Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question relating to doctrine. 2d, Whether or no these propositions were really taught by Jansenius? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact. The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.

* No author has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objec-

tions that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life; and none at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel (a famous member of their order,) in a piece entitled, *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe*. This dialogue is to be found in the first volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 351, and was designed as an answer to the celebrated Provincial Letters of Pascal, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than can well be imagined, and exposed their loose and perfidious system of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humour and irony. Father Daniel, in the piece above mentioned, treats

The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed; and maintain, that the services of those who obey from the fear of punishment is as agreeable to the Deity as those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience, that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits chargeable only with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresses a divine law which is fully known to him, which is present to his mind while he acts, and of which he understands the true meaning and intent. And they conclude from hence, that in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it, through forgetfulness, at a time when he violates it. From these propositions they deduce the famous doctrine of probability and philosophical sin, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits.* Their adversaries behold these pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves: and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the church of Rome in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

Fifth subject of
debate.

XXXVI. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of penance and the eucharist, forms the fifth subject of controversy in the church of Rome. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation† upon the mind

with great acuteness the famous doctrine of probability, p. 351; the method of directing our intentions, p. 556; equivocation and mental reservation, p. 562; sins of ignorance and oblivion, p. 719; and it must be acknowledged, that, if the cause of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, it has found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

* ‡ The doctrine of probability consists in this: 'That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, nay even by one doctor of any considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgment of him that follows it, and even of him that recommends it.' This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious. Philosophical sin (according to the Jesuits' doctrine) is an action, or course of actions, that is re-

pugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity. See a fuller account of these two odious doctrines in the following part of this work, Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. XXXV. and in the author's and translator's notes.

† ‡ This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines who say, that the sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul, independently on its previous preparation or propensities, a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, is necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courray's Translation of

at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love that casteth out fear. Hence arose that famous dispute in the church of Rome, concerning a frequent approach to the holy communion, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld* at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops.† The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties, which the Jesuits recommend with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that intrinsic virtue and efficient operation that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

Sixth subject of
debate.

XXXVII. The sixth and last controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient, and even necessary, to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude the people from the satisfaction of

Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, t. i. livr. ii. p. 423, 424. ed. Amsterdam.

* Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the practice of com-

municating frequently. The French title is, 'Traité de la fréquente Communion.'

† See Journal Universel, tom. xiii. p. 148; tom. xv. p. 363; tom. xvi. p. 124.

consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all, who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity in a rational and acceptable manner. All this however, is highly displeasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged, and their knowledge increased.

The disputes carried on with Baius concerning grace, &c.

XXXVIII. All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secrecy and reserve, and did not come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprising to those who consider that the controversies concerning grace and free-will, which had been set in motion by Luther, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided in the church of Rome, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of Luther were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith, with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. Augustine were solemnly approved; but the difference between these decisions and the sentiments of Luther was never clearly explained. The first rise of this fatal controversy was owing to the zeal of Michael Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of

⁷ The account here given of the more momentous controversies that divide the church of Rome, may be confirmed, illustrated, and enlarged, by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in France and Flanders, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits, and other creatures of the Roman Pontiff, are opposed and refuted, are enumerated by Dominic Colonia, a French Jesuit, in a work published in 1735, under the following title; "Bibliothèque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes critiques." This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the Roman pontiff, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the

church of Rome. It was condemned by the late Pope Benedict XIV., but was, nevertheless, republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and additions, that swelled it from one octavo volume to four of the same size. This new edition appeared at Antwerp in the year 1752, under the following title: "Dictionnaire des livres Jansenistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvers chez J. B. Verdussen." And it must be acknowledged, that it is extremely useful, in showing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to the six heads of controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of partiality and injustice.*

* See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the first and second

volumes of the "Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts," printed at the Hague.

his piety and the extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of Augustine, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtle, and intricate manner of teaching theology, that had long prevailed in the schools; and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his darling guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church of Rome, in relation to the natural powers of man, and the merit of good works. This bold step drew upon Baius the indignation of some of his academical colleagues, and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this opposition, and may be reckoned among the first accusers of Baius, is a matter unknown, or, at most, uncertain; but it is unquestionably evident and certain, that, even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred the principal tenets of Baius, which he had taken from Augustine, and adopted as his own. In the year 1567, this doctor was accused at the court of Rome, and seventy-six propositions, drawn from his writings, were condemned by Pope Pius V. in a circular letter expressly composed for that purpose. This condemnation, however, was issued out in an artful and insidious manner, without any mention being made of the name of the author; for the fatal consequences that had arisen from the rash and inconsiderate measures employed by the court of Rome against Luther, were too fresh in the remembrance of the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and the person and functions of Baius were spared, while his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this transaction, Gregory XIII. complied so far with the importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named Tolet, as to re-enforce the sentence of Pius V. by a new condemnation of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. Baius submitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension that it would be followed by severer proceedings in case of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of the ambiguity that reigned in the papal edict, and the vague and confused manner in which the obnoxious propositions were therein expressed. But his example, in this respect, was not followed by the other doctors who had formed their theological system upon that of Augustine,* and, even at this day, many divines of the Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists, declare openly that Baius was unjustly treated, and that the two edicts of Pius and Gregory, mentioned above, are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never been received as laws of the church.*

Contacts with the
Jesuits, Lessius
and Hamelius.

XXXIX. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of Augustine, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated, with the same zeal as formerly, throughout all the Belgic provinces, and more especially in the two flourishing universities of Louvain and Douay. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named Lessius and Hamelius, ventured

* See, for an account of the disputes relating to Baius, the works of that author, published in 4to, at Cologne, in 1696, particularly the second part, or appendix, entitled, "*Baius, seu scripta, quæ controversias spectant occasione sententiarum Baii exortas;*" Bayle's Diction. at the article Baius, in which there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes; Du Pin, Bibliothèque des

Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. xvi. p. 144; Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iii. p. 161.

* This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer, in a piece entitled, "*Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius ou l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise,*" and published in two volumes 8vo, at Utrecht, in the year 1737.

to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that in which it appears in the writings of Augustine; for the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of Louvain in the year 1587, and by those of Douay the year following. The bishops of the Low Countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpose, when the Roman pontiff, Sextus V., suspended their proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognizance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of Christ, residing at Rome. But this cunning vicar, whose sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of men and things, never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities that were already subsisting. And, accordingly, in the year 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm laid in such a manner, as that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing, either in public or in private, upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of Sextus V., and imposed silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterwards the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church of Rome would not have been interrupted by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom.^b

Controversies
with the Mol-
linists.

XL. The Roman church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of Sextus had restored, by suppressing, instead of deciding, the late controversies, when new commotions, of the same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by Lewis Molina,^c a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university of Eboræ in Portugal, who, in the year 1588, published a book to show that the operations of divine grace were entirely consistent with the freedom of human will,^d and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis, to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of predestination and liberty, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of Augustinians, Thomists, Semi-Pelagians, and other contentious divines.^e This attempt of the subtle Spanish doc-

^b See *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay*, par M. Gery, 1688, in 8vo. The famous Pasquier Quenel was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book entitled, "*Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*," tom. i. p. 104. See an account of this controversy in a piece entitled, "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace*." This curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle Historique*.

^c From this Spanish doctor's name proceeded the well-known denomination of Molinists, by which those Roman Catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and free-will, that are maintained in opposition to those of Augustine. Many, however, who differ widely from the

sentiments of Molina, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinists.

^d The title of this famous book is as follows: "*Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia donis, divina preascientia, providentia, predestinatione, et reprobatione, auctore Lud. Molina*." This book was first published at Lisbon, in folio, in the year 1588. Afterwards, with additions, and in 4to, at Antwerp, Lyons, Venice, and other places, in 1595. A third edition, still farther augmented, was published at Antwerp, in 1609.

^e Molina affirmed, that the decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowledge and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operations these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which the Deity, by that branch of

tor was so offensive to the Dominicans who followed St. Thomas as their theological guide, that they sounded, throughout the whole kingdom of Spain, the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of Pelagius. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when Clement VIII., in the year 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner as might tend to promote the cause of truth, and the peace of the church.

The Congregation
of Aids.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Dominicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invincible hatred against the Jesuits, having now a favourable opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of Molina, notwithstanding the pacific orders of the papal edict. They fatigued incessantly the Spanish monarch, Philip II., and the Roman pontiff, Clement VIII., with their importunate clamours, until at length the latter found himself under a necessity of assembling at Rome a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which were held in what was called the Congregation de Auxiliis, or of Aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace, and its consultations were directed by Lewis Madrusi, bishop of Trent, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president in this assembly, which was composed besides of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alleged in favour of their respective opinions, by the contending parties.¹ The Dominicans maintained with

his knowledge which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience denominated in the schools *Scientia Media*, is that foreknowledge of future contingents, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, of the circumstances in which they shall be placed, of the objects that shall be presented to them, and of the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions.

¹ The history and transactions of this congregation are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. Hyacinth Serri, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of Augustin le Blanc, in the year 1700, at Louvain, a work entitled, *Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis Gratia divine*; which was answered by another history of these debates, composed by Lév. de Meyer, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of Theod. Eleutherius, in order to lie concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled, *Historia Controversiarum de Gratia divine Auxiliis*. The Dominicans also published the *Acta Congregationum et Disputationum, quæ coram*

Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de Auxiliis divine Gratia sunt celebrata, a work composed by Thomas de Lemos, a subtle monk of their order, who, in this very congregation, had defended with great applause the glory of St. Thomas against the Jesuits.—Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come at the truth. For acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is, therefore, as yet, a matter of doubt which the court of Rome favoured most on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the most dexterity and success. There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published, in 8vo, at Louvain, in the year 1702, under the following title: *Histoire de Congrégations de Auxiliis*, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris. The historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favours the cause of the Dominicans.

the greatest obstinacy the doctrine of their patron, St. Thomas, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of Molina, thought the honour of their order concerned in this controversy, on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted according to the true monastic spirit, which leads each order to resent the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if they had been cast upon the whole community, and to maintain at all adventures the cause of every individual monk, as if the interests of the society were involved in it.

Rites and ceremonies.

XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and show, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Besides these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity that yet remain are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition.^a Nor, indeed, are even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind, have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of Rome, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather im-

^a It is well known that the French who travel into Italy, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testi-

mony of many writers, and particularly from that of Father Labat, in his *Voyages en Italie et en Espagne*.—This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians: nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of these bigots.

pious, frauds which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude, in many places ; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman catholic preachers ; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find, that they have little regard to impartiality and truth who pretend that, since the council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND EASTERN CHURCHES.

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

I. The society of Christians that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church is dispersed throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The first is that of the Greek Christians, who agree, in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch residing at Constantinople, and reject the pretended supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The second comprehends those Christians who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The third is composed of those who are subject to the see of Rome.

The Greek church, properly speaking,

II. That society of Christians that lives in religious communion with the patriarch of Constantinople, is, properly speaking, the Greek, though it assumes likewise the title of the eastern church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one acknowledges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople ; while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent of all foreign authority.

Is, for the most part, subject to the patriarch of Constantinople ;

III. That part of the Greek church which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops, and abbots, and, generally speaking, of the whole church, is the patriarch of Constantinople. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, although that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election that is made ; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true, indeed, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose revenues are so small, and whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of Patriarchs, without being in a condition to extend their fame, or promote their cause, by any undertaking of signal importance.

And is divided into four provinces or districts.

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the patriarch of Constantinople are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of Greece, the Grecian Isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces

that are subject to the Turks. The patriarch of Alexandria resides generally at Cairo, and exercises his spiritual authority in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and part of Arabia.^a Damascus is the principal residence of the patriarch of Antioch, whose jurisdiction extends to Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces,^b while the patriarch of Jerusalem comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, Palestine, Syria,^c Arabia, the country beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and Mount Sion.^d The episcopal dominions of these three patriarchs are indeed extremely poor and inconsiderable; for the Monophysites have long since assumed the patriarchal seats of Alexandria and Antioch, and have deprived the Greek churches of the greatest part of their members in all those places where they have gained an ascendant. And as Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have their respective bishops and rulers, the jurisdiction of the Grecian patriarch is consequently confined there within narrow limits.

The patriarch of Constantinople.

V. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople is, at this day, vested in the twelve bishops who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming this election, and of enabling the new chosen patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, belong only to the Turkish emperor. This institution, however, if it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless, on many occasions, prostituted in a shameful manner by the corruption and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambitious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money what they cannot obtain by merit; and, seeing themselves excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the mercenary services of men in power. Nay, what is yet more deplorable has frequently happened; even that prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have been deposed, in order to make way

^a For an account of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult Solerii *Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, which is prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Junii*; as also the *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, are accurately described by Eus. Renaudot, in his *Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, which is published in the first volume of his *Liturgie Orientales*, p. 365. The Grecian Patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the chorepiscopi or rural bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowledge as their chief the patriarch of the Monophysites, who is, in effect, the patriarch of Alexandria.

^b The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account of the patriarchs of Antioch to the fifth volume of the *Acta SS. Mensis Julii*, in which, however, there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of Antioch, by Mich. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670, and by Blasius Tertius, in his "*Siria Sacra, ou Description Historico-Geographique delle due Chiese Patriarchali, Antiochia, et*

Gierusalemme," published in folio at Rome, in the year 1695. There are three bishops in Syria, who claim the title and dignity of patriarch of Antioch. The first is the bishop of the Melchites, a name given to the Christians in Syria who follow the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian Monophysites; and the third is the chief of the Maronites, who hold communion with the church of Rome. The last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of Antioch, and is acknowledged as such, or at least receives this denomination from the Roman pontiff. And yet it is certain, that the pope creates at Rome a patriarch of Antioch of his own choice. So that the see of Antioch has, at this day, four patriarchs, one from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at Rome, who is patriarch *in partibus*, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the signification of that usual phrase.

^c Syria is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, as it evidently belongs to that of Antioch, in which also Dr. Mosheim places it in the preceding sentence.

^d Blas. Tertii *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165; D. Papebrochii *Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym.* tom. iii.; Actor. Sanct. Mena. Mail; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 102.

for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish viziers as the most qualified for the office of patriarch who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true, some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect; and it is reported, that, as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their dominion with more security and repose than they did some ages ago.*

The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, into the grossest superstition, must undoubtedly be very considerable and extensive; and such indeed it is. Its extent, however, is not entirely owing to the causes now mentioned, but to others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate does not only call councils by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and to make use of their prudent advice and wise deliberations in directing the affairs of the church; his prerogatives go yet farther, and, by the special permission of the emperor, he administers justice and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his communion. His influence is maintained, on the one hand, by the authority of the Turkish monarch, and, on the other, by his right of excommunicating the disobedient members of the Greek church. This right gives the patriarchs a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils. The revenue of this prelate is drawn particularly from the churches that are subject to his jurisdiction; and its produce varies according to the state and circumstances of the Greek Christians, whose condition is exposed to many vicissitudes.†

VI. The Holy Scriptures, and the decrees of the first seven general councils, are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received, however, as a maxim established by long custom, that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of scripture or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. And, accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise entitled *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*, which was drawn up by Peter Mogislaus, bishop of Kiow, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This Confession was translated into Greek,‡ and publicly approved and adopted, in the year 1643, by

* Le Quien, *ibid.* tom. i. p. 145; Elaner, *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turkey*, p. 54.

† Coper, a Jesuit, has given a History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, in the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Augusti*, t. i. p. 1—257. There is also a very ample account both of the see of Constantinople and its patriarchs, in the first volume of the *Oriens Christianus* of

Mich. Le Quien, who treats moreover of the Latin Patriarchs of that city, in the third volume of the same work, p. 786. See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *De Ecclesia Græcæ Hodiernæ Statu*, p. 48—59.

‡ It was originally composed in the Russian language.

- Parthenius of Constantinople, and all the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin, at the expense of Panagiota, the Turkish emperor's interpreter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed gratis among the Greek Christians; and it was also enriched with a recommendatory letter, composed by Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem.^a It appears evidently, from this Confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject, and treat with indignation in several places; but it appears, at the same time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from those of other Christian societies. So that, whoever peruses this treatise with attention, will be fully convinced how much certain writers are mistaken who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian community are but small and inconsiderable.¹

The design of uniting the Greeks with the Protestants miscarries.

VII. The votaries of Rome have found this to be true on many occasions. And the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by Melancthon, who sent to the patriarch of Constantinople a copy of the Confession of Augsburg, translated into Greek by Paul Dolscius. This present was accompanied by a letter, in which the learned and humane professor of Wittemberg represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed; for the patriarch did not deign even to send him an answer.¹ After this the divines of Tubingen renewed, with his successor Jeremiah,² the correspondence which had been begun by Melancthon. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years,³ to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the Confession of Augsburg, together with a Compend of Theology, composed by Heerbrand, and translated into Greek by Martin Crusius; nor did they leave unemployed any means which a pious and well-conducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate to their communion. The fruits,

^a This confession was published in 8vo at Leipsic, with a Latin translation, by Laur. Normannus, in the year 1695. In the preface we are informed, that it had been composed by Nectarius; but this assertion is refuted by Nectarius himself, in a letter which follows immediately the preface. It is also affirmed, both in the preface and title-page, that this is the first public edition that has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false; since it is well known that it was published in Holland in the year 1662, at the expense of Panagiota. The German translation of this confession was published at Frankfort and Leipsic, in 4to, in 1727. The learned Jo. Christ. Kocherius has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his *Bibliotheca Theologia Symbol.* p. 45, and 53, and the laborious Dr. Hofman, principal Professor of Divinity at Wittemberg, published at Breslaw, in 1751, a new edition of the Orthodox Confession, with an historical

account of it. Those who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous Panagiota, to whom this confession is indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who has rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in Canteimir's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. iiii. p. 149.

¹ The learned Fabricius has given, in the tenth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 441, an exact and ample list of the writers whom it is proper to consult, in order to the forming a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

² Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiarum Orient. et Occident.* lib. iiii. cap. viii. sect. ii. p. 1005.

³ The name of the former patriarch was Joseph. In the year 1559, he had sent his deacon Demetrius to Wittemberg, to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.

¹ This correspondence commenced in the year 1576, and ended in 1581.

however, of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality, but at the same time in terms which showed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters discovered in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and was sufficient to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people.^a

Miserable state of
the Greeks.

VIII. Nothing, indeed, more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, have been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that ennoble human nature, by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowledge and virtue. Those few that surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements, have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in Sicily or Italy, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of knowledge, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. Thomas, which they have translated into their native language.^a

Such, at least, is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the European Christians, as well Roman catholics as protestants, and it is built upon the clearest evidence, and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their countrymen against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern Greece as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian,^b who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men that adorned that country in the last century, but also makes mention of an academy founded at Constantinople by a certain Greek, whose name was Manolax, in which all the branches of philosophy, as well as the liberal arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of Greece. But all this, though matter of fact, does by no means amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves what was never doubted by any thinking person, that the populous nation of the Greeks, in which there is such a considerable number of ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science, either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, some men of genius and learning may arise, and

^a All the acts and papers relating to this correspondence were published in one volume at Wittemberg, in the year 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Liber de Actis et Scriptis Publicis Ecclesie Wittembergicæ*, p. 50; see also J. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Græcæ*, vol. x. p. 517; Emman. a Schelstrate, *Acta Ecclesie Orientalis contra Latheri Hæresin*, published

at Rome in the year 1730; Lami *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176.

^b The translator has inserted the note of the original into the following paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: Such, at least, &c.

^c See Dem. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 38.

shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at Constantinople, it may be observed, that a literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgment that has been almost universally formed concerning the erudition of the Greeks.

This ignorance, that reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonour their leaders; and the calamities that arise from this corruption of manners are deplorably augmented by their endless contentions and divisions. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine, or obeying the precepts, of the religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme, were it not for the support they derive from the Greeks who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences or to ward off the dangers that so often portend the destruction of their church.

The Greek church
independent of
foreign jurisdic-
tion.

IX. The Russians, Georgians, and Mingrelians, adopt the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church, though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. It is true, indeed, that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the privilege of a spiritual supremacy over the Russians, to whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened. But, towards the conclusion of this century, this privilege ceased by the following incident. Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, undertook a journey into Muscovy, to levy pecuniary succours against his rival Metrophanes, and to drive him, by force of money, from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion the Muscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the secret orders of the grand duke Theodore, the son of John Basilides, employed all the influence both of threatenings and supplications to engage Jeremiah to place at the head of the Muscovite nation an independent patriarch. The patriarch of Constantinople, unable to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield; and accordingly, in a council assembled at Moscow, in the year 1589, nominated and proclaimed Job, archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of the Muscovites. This extraordinary step was, however, taken on condition that every new patriarch of the Russians should demand the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of Constantinople, and pay, at certain periods fixed for that purpose, five hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Muscovite council were afterwards ratified in one assembled by Jeremiah at Constantinople in the year 1593, to which ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent.^p But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of Moscow were still farther extended about the middle of the following age, when the four eastern patriarchs, under the pontificate of Dionysius II., patriarch of Constantinople, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the grand duke of Muscovy, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction.^q

The Georgians and
Mingrelians.

X. The Georgians and Mingrelians, or, as they were anciently called, the Iberians and Colchians, have declined

^p See Anton. Possevinus *Moscovia*; Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292; see also a relation of this transaction, published

in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinens.* p. 433—469.

^q Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. i. p.

so remarkably since the Mahometan dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about in the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life; for, among the Georgians, or Iberians, there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head, whom they call The Catholic; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonour to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy; they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and, grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If, therefore, it be affirmed that the Georgians and Mingrelians, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the Monophysites, nor to those of the Nestorians, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church, this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowledge; since it is impossible almost to know, with any degree of precision, what are the sentiments of a people who seem to lie in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion that are observable among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance of decency; so that the priests administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast.¹

Of the eastern churches that separate from the communion of the Greeks and Latins.

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the Monophysites, or Jacobites, so called from Jacob Albardai,² who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only one nature; while the latter comprehends the followers of Nestorius, frequently called Chaldæans, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that they are two distinct persons or natures in the son of God. The Monophysites are subdivided into two sects or parties, the one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the Asiatics is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. Ananias, which is situated near the city of Merdin, and sometimes at Merdin, his episcopal seat; as also at Amida, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities.³ The

155; Nic. Bergius, *De Ecclesia Muscovitica*, par. I. sec. I. c. xviii. p. 164.

¹ Clement. Gallanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiarum Armenicæ cum Romanæ*, tom. i. p. 186; Charadin, *Voyage en Perse*, &c. tom. i. p. 67, where the reader will find Jos. Mar. Zampi's *Rélation de la Colchide et Mingélie*; Lamberti *Rélation de la Colchide ou Mingélie*, in the *Récueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333, 1339; see also Rich. Simon. *Histoire Critique des Dogmes et Cérémonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. v. and vi. p. 71, in which the learned author endeavours to remove, at least, a part of the reproach under which the Georgians and Mingrelians labour, on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The Catholics or pontiffs of Georgia and Mingrelia are, at this day, independent of any fo-

reign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople.

² This Jacob Albardai, or Barsdeus, as he is called by others, restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the Monophysites, which was almost expiring, to its former vigour, and modelled it anew; hence they were called Jacobites. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the Monophysites, excepting those of Armenia; it however more strictly and properly belongs to these Asiatic Monophysites, of which Jacob Albardai was the restorer and the chief. See Simon, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. ix. p. 118, a work, nevertheless, that often wants correction.

³ Assemani *Dissert. de Monophysa*, tom. ii.; *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatican. sect. viii.*

government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches over which he presides too numerous, to admit of his performing, himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called the Maphrian, or Primate of the East, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the Eastern churches beyond the Tigris. This primate used formerly to reside at Tauris, a city on the frontiers of Armenia; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. Matthew, which is in the neighbourhood of Mosul, a city of Mesopotamia. It is farther observable, that all the patriarchs of the Jacobites assume the denomination of Ignatius.*

The Copts and
Abyssinians.

XII. The African Monophysites are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, who generally resides at Grand Cairo, and they are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians. The denomination of Copts comprehends all those Christians who dwell in Egypt, Nubia, and the other countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not, however, left entirely destitute; since they are, in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those Copts, who, on account of their capacity in household affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, though entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Mahometan families.* As to the Abyssinians, they surpass considerably the Copts, both in their numbers, their power, and their opulence; nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they live under the dominion of a Christian emperor; they, nevertheless, consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their spiritual parent and chief; and consequently, instead of choosing their own bishop, receive from that prelate a primate, whom they call Abunna, and whom they acknowledge as their ghostly ruler.*

The religious doc-
trines and rites
of the Mono-
physites.

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in several points, both of doctrine and worship; though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the nature and person of Jesus Christ. Following the doctrine of Dioscorus, Barsuma, Xenaia, Fullo, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in Christ the divine and human natures were reduced into one, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of Leo

Faust. Nairon, *Euoplia fidei Catholice ex Syrorum Monument.* part I. p. 40; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. ii. p. 1343.

* Assemani *Dissertat. de Monophysitis*, sect. viii.

* Renaudot published at Paris, in 4to, in the year 1713, a very learned work, relative to the history of the eastern patriarchs, under the title of "*Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*," &c. He also published the Office used in the ordination of the Jacobite Patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his *Liturgis Orient.* p. 467.—The internal state of the Alexandrian or Coptic church, both with respect to doctrine and worship, is described by Wansleb, in his

"*Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle des Jacobites Coptes*," published at Paris in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled, "*Rélation d'un Voyage en Egypte*," p. 293, in which there is a particular account of the Coptic monasteries and religious orders. See also "*Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. ii. p. 9; Mallet, *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 64.

* Job Ludolf, *Comment. in Histor. Æthiop.* p. 451, 461, 466; Lobo, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 36; *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277; Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. ii. p. 641.

the Great. That, however, they may not seem to have the least inclination towards the doctrine of Eutyches, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles: That the two natures are united in Christ without either confusion or mixture; so that though the nature of our Saviour be really one, yet it is at the same time twofold and compound.* By this declaration it appears, that those learned men who look upon the difference between the Monophysites, and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about words than things, are not so far mistaken as some have imagined.⁷ Be that as it may, both the Asiatic and African Monophysites of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy, and on the authority of their ancestors, than on any other circumstance: nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument.⁸

XIV. The Armenians,^a though they agree with the other Monophysites in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the unity of the divine and human natures in Christ, differ from them, nevertheless, in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites who are Jacobites in the more limited sense of that term. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs.^b The chief of these, whose diocese comprehends the Greater Armenia, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at a place called Echmiazin. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner;^c but there

* Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Clement Vatican. tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.—See in the same work, Abulpharago's Subtile Vindication of the Doctrine of his sect, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory the Abyssinian, published by Fabricius, in his *Lux evangelii toti orbi oxorien.* p. 716, where there is also a list of all the writers who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

⁷ See La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23; Assemani loc. citat. tom. ii. p. 291, 297; Rich. Simon, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 119; Jo. Joach. Sebroderi *Thesaurus Linguae, Armenicæ*, p. 276. ☞ The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the Monophysites are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches, were greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt, the other.

⁸ The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgie Orientales*.

^a The first writer who gave a circumstantial

account of the religion and history of the Armenians, was Clement Galani, an Italian of the order of the Theatins, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesiarum Armenicæ cum Romanæ*, was published at Rome, in three volumes, in folio, in the year 1650. The other authors who have treated of this branch of ecclesiastical history, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriena.* ch. xxxviii. p. 640; to which must be added, Le Quien. *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1362.—The history of Christianity in Armenia, which the learned La Croze has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in Abyssinia, and which was published at the Hague, in 1739, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see Gemelli Carreri *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tom. ii. p. 146.

^b ☞ Sir Paul Ricaut mentions four: but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from whence Dr. Mosheim draws his materials.

^c R. Simon has subjoined to his *Histoire des Chrétiens Orient.* p. 217, an account of all the Armenian churches that are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch. But this account, though taken from Uschanus, an Armenian bishop, is nevertheless defective in

is no mark of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, nor in his domestic economy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks, with whom he lives, by any other circumstance than his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Armenians, who is called The Catholic, resides at Cis, a city of Cilicia, rules over the churches established in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria, and hath twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He also at present acknowledges his subordination to the patriarch of Echmiazin. The third, and last, in rank of the patriarchs above-mentioned, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of Aghtamar, which is in the midst of the Great Lake of Varaspuracan, and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

Besides these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honoured with the title of Patriarchs; but this, indeed, is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at Constantinople, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces that form the connexion between Europe and Asia, enjoys the title of Patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at Jerusalem; and to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at Caminieć in Poland, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in Russia, Poland, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of Patriarchs, on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the Great Patriarch of Echmiazin. For, by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute, among their congregations, the holy chrism, or ointment; which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone.⁴

The Nestorians,
or Chaldeans.

XV. The Nestorians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, have fixed their habitations chiefly in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions, that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points that distinguish them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that Nestorius was unjustly condemned by the council of Ephesus, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two natures, but also two distinct persons in the Son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as of the most momentous and pernicious kind; but in our times it is esteemed of less consequence, by persons of the greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even among the Roman Catholic doctors. They consider this whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the opinion of Nestorius as a nominal, rather than a real heresy;

many respects. For an account of the residence and manner of life of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247, and Gemelli Carreri *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tom. ii. p. 4—10.

⁴ See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 1—218, where there is an ample and circum-

stantial account, both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. de la Croze, for the fidelity, accuracy, and industry, with which it is drawn up, and no man was more conversant in subjects of this nature than that learned author.—See la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiophe*, p. 345.

that is, an error as arising rather from the words he employed, than from his intention in the use of them. It is true, indeed, that the Chaldeans attribute to Christ two natures, and even two persons; but they correct what may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these natures and persons are so closely and intimately united, that they have only one aspect. Now, the word *barsopa*, by which they express this aspect, is precisely of the same signification with the Greek word *προσωπον*, which signifies a person;* and from hence it is evident that they attached to the word aspect the same idea that we attach to the word person, and that they understood by the word person precisely what we understand by the term nature. However that be, we must observe here, to the lasting honour of the Nestorians, that of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have been the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude of superstitious opinions and practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches.†

Their patriarchs.

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism, the various branches of that numerous and powerful sect were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or catholic, who resided first at Bagdat, and afterwards at Mosul. But in this century the Nestorians were divided into two sects. They had chosen, in the year 1552, as has been already observed, two bishops at the same time, Simeon Barmana and John Sulaka, otherwise named Siud. The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, went directly to Rome, and acknowledged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1555, Simeon Denha, archbishop of Gelu, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterwards chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of Ormia, in the mountainous parts of Persia, where his successors still continue, and are all distinguished by the name of Simeon. So far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of Rome, but seem at present to have withdrawn themselves from it.‡ The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with a hostile eye on this little patriarch, have since the year 1559 been distinguished by the general denomination of Elias, and reside constantly in the city of Mosul.⁴ Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of Asia, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the Christians of St. Thomas, who dwell along the coast of Malabar.⁵

The remains of ancient sects.

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who still retained some faint shadow at least of that system of religion delivered by Christ and his apostles, there were other sects dis-

* It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs in the city of Mosul.—See Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. iii., par. II. p. 210; R. Simon, Histoire de la Créance des Chrétiens Orientaux, ch. vi. p. 94; Petrus Strozza, De Dogmatibus Chaldeorum, published in 8vo, at Rome, in the year 1617.

† See the learned dissertation of Assemani de Syris Nestorianis, which occupies entirely the fourth volume of his Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican., and which seems to have been much consulted, and partly copied, by Mich. Le

Quien, in the eleventh volume of his Oriens Christianus, p. 1078.

‡ See Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. i. p. 538, and tom. ii. p. 456.

⁴ A list of the Nestorian pontiffs is given by Assemani, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. t. iii. par. I. p. 611, which is corrected, however, in the same volume, par. II. p. CML.; see also Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, t. ii. p. 1078.

⁵ The reader will find an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas in La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes. See also Assemani loc. citat. tom. iii. part II. cap. ix. p. ccccxxiii.

persed through a great part of Asia, whose principles and doctrines were highly pernicious. These sects derived their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who in the early ages of Christianity excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they declined from day to day, and fell at length into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name, of Christians. The sect who pass in the East under the denomination of Sabians, who call themselves Mendai Ijahi, or the disciples of John, and whom the Europeans entitle the Christians of St. John, because they yet retain some knowledge of the gospel, is probably of Jewish origin, and seems to have been derived from the ancient Hemerobaptists, of whom the writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention.¹ This at least is certain, that that John, whom they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to John the Baptist, but rather resembles the person of that name whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish Hemerobaptists.² These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin be, dwell in Persia and Arabia, and principally at Bassora; and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently, and with great solemnity,³ and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service.⁴

¹ The sect of Hemerobaptists among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite, necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by Epiphanius, in the introduction to his book of heresies, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy, and want of veracity, under which that author too justly labours. Nay, the existence of the Hemerobaptists has been denied, but without reason, since they are mentioned by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and many other ancient writers, every way worthy of credit. That the Christians of St. John were descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of Dr. Mosheim, entitled, *Moshemki De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantianum Magnum Commentarii*, p. 44.

² See the preceding note.

³ The Mendæans at present perform these ablutions only once in a year. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christianis ante Const. Mag. Comment.* p. 45.

⁴ See the work of a learned Carmelite, named Ignatius a Jesu, published at Rome, in 8vo, in the year 1652, under the following title: "*Narratio originis rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis; cui adjungitur discursus, per modum Dialogi, in quo confutatur xxxiv. errores ejusdem nationis.*" *Eugelb. Kämpferi Amentitates Exoticæ*, Fascic. II. Rel. XI. p. 35; Sale's preface to his

English Translation of the Koran, p. 15; Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii. par. 11. p. 609; Thevenot, *Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 584; Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 725.—The very learned Bayer had composed an historical account of these Mendæans, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he designed that I should be the editor, but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21,) that these Mendæans, or disciples of St. John, were a branch of the ancient Manichæans; which opinion La Croze himself seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iii. p. 31, 32. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manichæans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolaters who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who paid religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called by the Arabians Sabians, or Sabæans (Sabini.) This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous Fourmont, in a Dissertation inserted in the eighteenth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 25. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability, if we except the name which the Mahometans usually give to this sect. The Mendæans themselves acknowledge, that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were translated out of

The Jasidians or
Jezdæans.

XVIII. The Jasidians or Jezdæans, of whose religion and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are given by voyage writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, who frequent the Gordian mountains, and the deserts of Curdistan, a province of Persia; the character of whose inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and intractable. The Jezdæans are divided into black and white members. The former are the priests and rulers of the sect, who go arrayed in sable garments; while the latter, who compose the multitude, are clothed in white. Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and is not hitherto sufficiently known; though it is evidently composed of some Christian doctrines, and a motley mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They are distinguished from the other corrupt sects, that have dishonoured Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call Karubin or Cherubim, i. e. one of the great ministers of the Supreme Being. And if they do not directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain, themselves, from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but moreover will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. Nay, they are said to carry this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius; and that they will make no scruple to put to death such persons as express, in their presence, an aversion to him.*

The Duruzians or
Dursians.

XIX. The Duruzians, or Dursians, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of Mount Libanus, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who from the eleventh century carried on the Holy War with the Mahometans in Palestine; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find, however, both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and

Palestine into the country they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to Adam, and another composed by John, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books have been some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

* See Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum* in Append. p. 549; Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 121, tom. ii. p. 249. In the last century, Michael Nau, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them just notions of religion (see D'Arvieux, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362, 377), and after him another Jesuit, whose name was Monier, embarked in the same dangerous enterprise (see *Mémoires des Missions des Jésuites*, tom. iii. p. 291); but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. Rhenferdius, as appears from the letters of the

learned Gisbert Cuper, published by Bayer (see p. 30,) considers the Jezdæans as the descendants of the ancient Sethians. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the Manicheans; which is sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the Evil Genius. Beaussobre, in his *Histoire de Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 613, conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of Jesus; but it seems rather to be borrowed from the word Jazid, or Jezdan, which, in the Persian language, signifies the Good God, and is opposed to Ahriman, or Arimanius, the Evil Principle (see Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 484; Charefeddin Aly, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. i. p. 81,) so that the term Jazidans points out that sect as the worshippers of the good, or true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city Jazd, of which Otter speaks in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283, may have given rise to the title of Jasidians, or Jezdæans.

the Cardi of Persia had formerly embraced the sentiments of the Manicheans, and perhaps still persevere in their pernicious errors.*

The Chamsi, or Solares, who reside in a certain district of Mesopotamia, are supposed by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the Samsæans, mentioned by Epiphanius.†

There are many other Semi-christian sects of these kinds in the east,‡ whose principles, tenets, and institutions, are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into Europe, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities; for the accounts which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

Of the Greeks XX. The missionaries of Rome have never ceased to who embraced the Roman communion. display, in these parts of the world, their dexterity in making proselytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expense, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that among the Greeks, who live under the empire of the Turks, and also among those who are subject to the dominion of the Venetians, the emperor of the Romans, and other Christian princes, there are several who have adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin church, and are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive their confirmation and authority from Rome. In this latter city there is a college, expressly founded with a view to multiply these apostatizing societies, and to increase and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the deepest sentiments of veneration and zeal for the authority of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with the efforts and labours of the missionaries, could not fail, one would think, to gain an immense number of proselytes to Rome, considering the unhappy state of the Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for the most respectable writers, even of the Roman catholic persuasion, acknowledge fairly, that the proselytes they have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched and despicable figure, in point of number, opulence, and dignity, when compared with those to whom the religion, government, nay, the very name of Rome, are disgusting and odious. They observe farther, that the sincerity of a great part of these proselytes is of the Grecian stamp; so that, when a favourable occasion is offered them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the bosom of their own church, but even to recompense the good offices they received from the Romans with the most injurious treatment. The same writers mention another circumstance, much less surprising, indeed, than those now mentioned, but much more dishonourable to the church of Rome; and that circum-

* See Lucas, *Voyage en Grece et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36; Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 491, 554; Sir Paul Ricaut's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. i. p. 313.

† Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 555.

‡ See the work of the Jesuit Dinse, entitled, "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*," tom. i. p. 63. This author tells us, that in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there lives a sect of Christians who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red hot iron.

stance is, that even those of the Greek students, who are educated at Rome with such care, as might naturally attach them to its religion and government, are, nevertheless, so disgusted and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy and bitterness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church.*

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches, the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of Russia, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were held at Rome, about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting, this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century John Basilides, Grand Duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity towards this union, by sending, in the year 1580, a solemn embassy to Gregory XIII. to exhort that pontiff to resume the negotiations relative to this important matter, that so they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly the year following, Antony Possevin, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged with this commission by the Roman pontiff, and sent into Muscovy to bring it into execution. But this dexterous missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at Rome soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependence could be placed.^a And indeed, the event abundantly showed, that Basilides had no other view, in all these negotiations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance, in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war, which he had carried on against Poland.

The ministry of Possevin and his associate was, however, attended with more fruit among that part of the Russians who reside in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church, in consequence of an association agreed on in the year 1596, in a meeting at Bresty, the capital of the Palatinate of Cujavia. Those that thus submitted to the communion of Rome were called the United, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, were distinguished by the title of the Non-United.^t It is likewise farther worthy of observation here, that there has been established at Kiovia, since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own metropolitans, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops that reside in that city.^u

* See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, Urb. Cerri, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82, in which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner:—*Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections:—i. e. in plain English, "They, the Greeks, become the bitterest enemies of us Roman Catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowledge of our imperfections."* Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter. Mich.

Le Quien has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops that follow the rites of the Roman church, in his *Oriens. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 860.

^a See the conferences between Possevin and the duke of Muscovy, together with the other writings of this Jesuit, relative to the negotiation in question, that are subjoined to his work, called *Moscovia*. See also *La Vie du P. Possevin*, par Jean Dorigny, livr. v. p. 351.

^t *Adr. Regenvolschii Histor. Ecclesiæ Slavonicæ*. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

^u See Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*,

The votaries of Rome still less numerous among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.

XXII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African Monophysites. About the middle of the preceding century, a little insignificant church, that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs, successively named Joseph,* reside in the city of Diarbek. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of Rome so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of John XXIII., who, in the year 1318, sent them a Dominican monk to govern their church, with the title and authority of an archbishop. The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at Adorbighana, in the district of Soldania;† but was afterwards transferred to Naxivan, where it still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to that ghostly dignity.‡ The Armenian churches in Poland, who have embraced the faith of Rome, have also their bishop, who resides at Lemberg.§ The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted these missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labours were scarcely attended with any visible fruit.¶

The labours of the Roman missionaries among all these sects produce little fruit.

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labours among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candour and truth. It is evident, from testimonies of the best and most respectable authority, that, in some of these countries, they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious character of physicians;‡ and that in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the gathering together some wretched tribes of indigent converts whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the church of Rome, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to Rome, and return to the religion of their ancestors.¶ It happens also, from time to time, that a person of distinction among the Greeks or Orientals embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, and promises obedience to its pontiff, nay, carries matters so far as to repair to Rome to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and accordingly, when the face of their affairs changes, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, then they, generally speaking, either suddenly abandon the church of Rome, or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous

tom. i. p. 1274, and tom. iii. p. 1126; *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Februar. p. 693.

* See *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 615; *Le Quien, Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1084.

† *Odor. Raynald, Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1318, sect. iv.

‡ *Le Quien, Oriens Christianus.* tom. iii. p. 1362, and 1403; *Clemens Galanus, Conciliatione Ecclesie Armenicæ cum Romana.* tom. i. p. 527.

§ *Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 54.

¶ *Urb. Cerri, Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162.

* *Urb. Cerri, Etat présent de l'Eglise Ro-*

maine, p. 164; *Gabr. de Chicon, Relations nouvelles du Levant*, part. I. c. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candour.

† See *Chardin's Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 116, tom. ii. p. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349, and principally tom. iii. p. 433, of the last edition published in Holland, in 4to; for, in the former editions, all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians, are entirely wanting.—See also *Chicon, Relations du Levant*, par. II. p. 308, which regards the Armenians; and *Maillet, Description d'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 65, which is relative to the Copts.

terms, as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of Dairbek,* continue steadfast in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it with an appearance of zeal to their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff.

On the other hand, the bishops of Rome are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the East. For this purpose, they treat, with the greatest lenity and indulgence, the proselytes they have made in these parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. Nay, they carry this indulgence so far, as to show evidently that they are actuated more by a love of power, than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions. For they do not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining, in their public worship, the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors (though in direct opposition with the religious service of the church of Rome), and of living in a manner repugnant to the customs and practice of the Latin world; but, what is much more surprising, they suffer the peculiar doctrines that distinguish the Greeks and Orientals from all other Christian societies to remain in the public religious books of the proselytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at Rome in those that are sent abroad for their use.⁴ The truth of the matter seems to be briefly this: That at Rome, a Greek, an Armenian, or a Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy member of the church, if he acknowledges the supreme and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the Christian world.

XXIV. The Maronites who inhabit the mounts Libanus and Antilibanus, date their subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into Palestine, with a view to make themselves masters of the Holy Land.⁵ This subjection, however, was agreed to, with this express

* Otherwise named Amida and Caramit.

⁴ Assemanni complains in many passages of his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* that even the very books that were printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected nor purged from the errors peculiar to these sects; and he looks upon this negligence as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged. See, on the other hand, the *Lettres Choisies du R. Simon*, tom. ii. let. xxiii. p. 156, in which this author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romans, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

⁵ The Maronite doctors, and more especially those that reside at Rome, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of Rome has always been preserved among them in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labour and industry, by Faust. Nairon, in his *Dissertatio de Origine,*

Nomine, ac Religione Maronitarum, published in 8vo. at Rome, in the year 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers, that De La Roque drew the materials of his discourses concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgment of their history, which is inserted in the second volume of his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, p. 28, &c. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman church; who maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the Monophysites, and adhered to the doctrine of the Monothelites,* until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of Rome. See R. Simon, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. xiii. p. 146; Euseb. Renaudot, *Histoir. Patriarch. Alexand.* in *Præfat.* iii. 2, in *Histoir.* p. 49. The very learned Assemanni, who was himself a Maronite, steers a middle way between these two opposite accounts, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496, while the matter in debate is left undecided by Mich. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1, where

* Those who maintained, that, notwithstanding the two natures in Christ, viz. the

human and the divine, there was, nevertheless, but one will, which was the divine.

condition, that neither the popes nor their emissaries should pretend to change or abolish any thing that related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions of this people. So that, in reality, there is nothing to be found among the Maronites that savours of popery, if we except their attachment to the Roman pontiff,¹ who is obliged to pay very dear for their friendship. For, as the Maronites live in the utmost distress of poverty, under the tyrannical yoke of the Mohometans, the bishop of Rome is under a necessity of furnishing them with such subsidies as may appease the voracity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things that are requisite for the support of their churches, and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute in general to lessen their misery. Besides, the college erected at Rome by Gregory XIII. with a design to instruct the young men, frequently sent from Syria, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and to prepossess them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expense. The patriarch of the Maronites performs his spiritual functions at Canobin, a convent of the monks of St. Anthony, on Mount Libanus, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of Patriarch of Antioch, and always assumes the name of Peter, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle.²

he gives an account of the Maronite church and its spiritual rulers.—For my own part, I am persuaded, that those who consider that all the Maronites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome, will be little disposed to receive with credulity the assertions of certain Maronite priests, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in Syria, who still behold the church of Rome with the greatest aversion and abhorrence; nay, what is still more remarkable, great numbers of that nation residing in Italy, even under the eye of the pontiff, opposed his authority during the last century, and threw the court of Rome into great perplexity. One body of these nonconforming Maronites retired into the valleys of Piedmont, where they joined the Waldenses; another, above six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head, fled into Corsica, and implored the protection of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the Inquisitors. See Urb. Cerri *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. Now, may it not be asked here, What could have excited the Maronites in Italy to this public and vigorous

opposition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true that their opinions were in all respects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of Rome? This opposition could not have been owing to any thing but a difference in point of doctrine and belief; since the church of Rome allowed, and still allows, the Maronites under its jurisdiction to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their ancestors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accustomed. Compare with the authors above cited, *Theaur. Epistol. Crozian. tom. i. p. 11.*

¹ The reader will do well to consult principally on this subject, the observations subjoined by Rich. Simon, to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit Dandini's *Voyage to Mount Libanus*, published in 12mo. at Paris, in 1685. See also Euseb. Renaudot, *Histoire Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 548.*

² See Petitqueux, "*Voyage à Canobin dans le Mont Liban, in the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*," tom. iv. p. 252, and tom. viii. p. 355; la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10; Laur. D'Arvieux *Mémoires, ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418.

The Sixteenth Century.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The commencement of the Lutheran church.

I. THE rise and progress of the Evangelical or Lutheran church have been already related, so far as they belonged to the history of the Reformation. The former of these titles was assumed by that church in consequence of the original design of its founders, which was to restore to its native lustre the gospel of Christ, that had so long been covered with the darkness of superstition, or, in other words, to place in its proper and true light that important doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by the merits of Christ alone. Nor did the church, now under consideration, discover any reluctance against adopting the name of the great man, whom Providence employed as the honoured instrument of its foundation and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had been chiefly dispelled, who had destroyed the claims of pride and self-sufficiency, exposed the vanity of confidence in the intercession of saints and martyrs, and pointed out the Son of God as the only proper object of trust to miserable mortals, excited his followers to assume his name, and to call their community the Lutheran church.

The rise of this church must be dated from that remarkable period, when the pontiff Leo X. drove Martin Luther, with his friends and followers, from the bosom of the Roman hierarchy, by a solemn and violent sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a regular form, and a considerable degree of stability and consistence, from the year 1530, when the system of doctrine and morality it had adopted, was drawn up and presented to the diet of Augsburg. And it was raised to the dignity of a lawful and complete hierarchy, totally independent on the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of the treaty concluded at Nassau, in the year 1552, between Charles V. and Maurice, elector of Saxony, relating to the religious affairs of the empire.

The sum and substance of its religious doctrine.

II. The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church, is, that the holy scriptures are the only source from whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain, and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common sense, who has a competent knowledge of the language in which they are composed. There are, indeed, certain formularies adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order. But these books have no authority but what they derive from the scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or

explain these books so as to withdraw from them any propositions that are inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The chief and the most respectable of these human productions is the Confession of Augsburg, with the annexed Defence of it against the objections of the Roman catholic doctors.^a In the next rank may be placed the articles of Smalcalde,^b as they are commonly called, together with the shorter and larger Catechisms of Luther designed for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of persons of riper years. To these standard books most churches add the Form of Concord; which, though it be not universally received, has not on that account occasioned any animosity or disunion; as the few points that prevent its being adopted by some churches, are of an indifferent nature,^c

^a & When the Confession of Augsburg had been presented to the diet of that city, the Roman catholic doctors were employed to refute the doctrines it contained; and this pretended refutation was also read to that august assembly. A reply was immediately drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the emperor; who, under the pretext of a pacific spirit, refused to receive it. This reply was published afterwards, under the title of *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ*; and is the defence of that confession, mentioned by Dr. Mosheim as annexed to it. To speak plain, Melancthon's love of peace and concord seems to have carried him beyond what he owed to the truth, in composing this defence of the confession of Augsburg. In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans, and Chytræus among others, look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melancthon makes several strange concessions to the church of Rome; whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation; and adopts those remarkable words of Theophylact, that "The bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh." He approves of that canon of the mass, in which the priest prays that "the bread may be changed into the body of Christ." It is true that in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated. There is an ample account of this whole matter, together with a history of the dissensions of the Lutheran church, in the valuable and learned work of Hospinian, entitled, "*Historiæ Sacramentariæ Pars posterior*," p. 199, et seq. These expressions in Melancthon's *Apologia* will appear still more surprising, when we recollect that, in the course of the debates concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he, at length, seemed to lean visibly towards the opinions of Bucer and Calvin; and that, after his death, his followers were censured and persecuted in Saxony on this account,

under the denomination of Philippists. This shows either that the great man now under consideration changed his opinions, or that he had formerly been seeking union and concord at the expense of truth.

^b & The articles here mentioned were drawn up at Smalcalde by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the protestant electors, princes, and states, at that place. They were principally designed to show how far the Lutherans were disposed to go, in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. And though the terms in which these articles are expressed, be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the Confession, the *Apology*, and the *Form of Concord*.

^c & Dr. Mosheim, like an artful painter, shades those objects in the history of Lutheranism, which it is impossible to expose with advantage to a full view. Of this nature was the conduct of the Lutheran doctors in the deliberations relating to the famous *Form of Concord* here mentioned; a conduct that discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of Rome than with the principles of a protestant church. The reader, who is desirous of an ample demonstration of the truth and justice of this censure, has only to consult the learned work of Rod. Hospinian, entitled, "*Concordia Discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Burgensis*." The history of this remarkable production is more amply related in the thirty-ninth and following paragraphs of this first chapter, and in the notes, which the translator has taken the liberty to add there, in order to cast a proper light upon some things that are too interesting to be viewed superficially. In the mean time I shall only observe that the points in the *Form of Concord*, that prevented its being universally received, are not of such an indifferent nature as Dr. Mosheim seems to imagine. To maintain the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's body, together with its real and peculiar presence, in the eucharist, and to exclude from their communion the protestants, who denied these palpable absurdities, was the plan of the Lutheran

and do not in any degree, affect the grand and fundamental principles of true religion.⁴

The ceremonies
and public wor-
ship of the Lu-
theran church.

III. The form of public worship, and the rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted as a part of it, gave rise to disputes in several places, during the infancy of the Lutheran church. Some were inclined to retain a greater number of the ceremonies and customs that had been so excessively multiplied in the church of Rome, than seemed either lawful or expedient to others. The latter, after the example of the Helvetic reformers, had their views entirely turned towards that simplicity and gravity that characterized the Christian worship in the primitive times; while the former were of opinion, that some indulgence was to be shown to the weakness of the multitude, and some regard paid to institutions that had acquired a certain degree of weight through long-established custom. But as these contending parties were both persuaded that the ceremonial part of religion was, generally speaking, a matter of human institution, and that consequently a diversity of external rites might be admitted among different churches professing the same religion, without any prejudice to the bonds of charity and fraternal union, these disputes could not be of any long duration. In the mean time, all those ceremonies and observances of the church of Rome, whether of a public or private nature, that carried palpable marks of error and superstition, were every where rejected without hesitation; and wise precautions were used to regulate the forms of public worship in such a manner, that the genuine fruits of piety should not be choked by a multitude of insignificant rites. Besides, every church was allowed the privilege of retaining so much of the ancient form of worship as might be still observed without giving offence, and as seemed suited to the character of the people, the genius of the government, and the nature and circumstances of the place where it was found. Hence it has happened, that, even so far down as the present times, the Lutheran churches differ considerably one from the other, with respect both to the number and nature of their religious ceremonies; a circumstance so far from tending to their dishonour, that it is, on the contrary, a very striking proof of their wisdom and moderation.*

Concerning the
visible head,
and the form of
government of
the Lutheran
church.

IV. The supreme civil rulers of every Lutheran state are clothed also with the dignity and perform the functions of supremacy in the church. The very essence of civil government seems manifestly to point out the necessity of investing the sovereign with this spiritual supremacy,[†] and the tacit consent of the Lutheran churches has confirmed the dictates of wise policy in this respect. It must not, however, be imagined, that the ancient rights and privileges of the people in ecclesiastical affairs have been totally abolished by this constitution of things; since it is certain, that the vestiges of the authority exercised by them in the primitive times, though more

doctors in composing and recommending the Form of Concord; and this plan can neither be looked upon as a matter of pure indifference, nor as a mark of Christian charity. But for a further proof of this, see sect. xxxix. already referred to.

⁴ See, for an account of the Lutheran confessions of faith, Christ. Kockeri Bibliotheca Theologia Symbolica, p. 114.

[†] See Balh. Meiserius, Lib. de Legibus, lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666; Jo.

Adam Scherzerus, Breviar. Hulsemann. Enucl. p. 1313—1321.

[†] Since nothing is more inconsistent with that subordination and concord, which are among the great ends of civil government, than *imperium in imperio*, i. e. two independent sovereignties in the same body politic: hence the genius of government, as well as the spirit of genuine Christianity, proclaims the equity of that constitution, that makes the supreme head of the state, the supreme visible ruler of the church.

striking in one place than in another, are yet more or less visible every where. Besides, it must be carefully remembered, that all civil rulers of the Lutheran persuasion are effectually restrained, by the fundamental principles of the doctrines they profess, from any attempts to change or destroy the established rule of faith and manners, to make any alteration in the essential doctrines of their religion, or in anything that is intimately connected with them, or to impose their particular opinions upon their subjects in a despotic and arbitrary manner.

The councils, or societies, appointed by the sovereign to watch over the interests of the church, and to govern and direct its affairs, are composed of persons versed in the knowledge, both of civil and ecclesiastical law, and, according to a very ancient denomination, are called Consistories. The internal government of the Lutheran church seems equally removed from episcopacy on the one hand, and from presbyterianism on the other, if we except the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, who retain the form of ecclesiastical government that preceded the Reformation, purged, indeed, from the superstitions and abuses that rendered it so odious.* This constitution of the Lutheran hierarchy will not seem surprising, when the sentiments of that people, with respect to ecclesiastical polity, are duly considered. On the one hand, they are persuaded that there is no law, of divine authority, which points out a distinction between the ministers of the gospel with respect to rank, dignity, or prerogatives; and therefore they recede from episcopacy. But, on the other hand, they are of opinion, that a certain subordination, a diversity in point of rank and privileges among the clergy, are not only highly useful, but also necessary to the perfection of church communion, by connecting, in consequence of a mutual dependence, more closely together the members of the same body; and thus they avoid the uniformity of the presbyterian government. They are not, however, agreed with respect to the extent of this subordination, and the degrees of superiority and precedence that ought to distinguish their doctors; for in some places this is regulated with much more regard to the ancient rules of church-government, than is discovered in others. As the divine law is silent on this head, different opinions may be entertained, and different forms of ecclesiastical polity adopted, without a breach of Christian charity and fraternal union.

The liturgies and catechisms of the Lutherans.

V. Every country has its own Liturgies, which are the rules of proceeding in every thing that relates to external worship, and the public exercise of religion. These rules, however, are not of an immutable nature, like those institutions which bear the stamp of a divine authority, but may be augmented, corrected, or illustrated, by the order of the sovereign, when such changes appear evidently to be necessary or expedient. The liturgies used in the different countries that have embraced the system of Luther agree perfectly in all the essential branches of religion, in all matters that can be looked upon as of real moment and importance; but they differ widely in many things of an indifferent nature, concerning which the holy scriptures are silent, and which compose that part of the public religion that derives its authority from the wisdom and appoint-

* In these two kingdoms the church is ruled by bishops and superintendents, under the inspection and authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal is primate of Sweden, and the only archbishop among the Lutherans. The luxury and licentiousness that too

commonly flow from the opulence of the Roman Catholic clergy, are unknown in these two northern states; since the revenues of the prelate now mentioned do not amount to more than 400 pounds yearly, while those of the bishops are proportionably small.

ment of men. Assemblies for the celebration of divine worship meet everywhere at stated times. Here the holy scriptures are read publicly, prayers and hymns are addressed to the Deity, the sacraments are administered, and the people are instructed in the knowledge of religion, and excited to the practice of virtue, by the discourses of their ministers. The wisest methods are used for the religious education of youth, who are not only carefully instructed in the elements of Christianity in the public schools, but are also examined by the pastors of the churches to which they belong, in a public manner, in order to the farther improvement of their knowledge, and the more vigorous exertion of their faculties in the study of divine truth. Hence, in almost every province, catechisms, which contain the essential truths of religion, and the main precepts of morality, are published and recommended by the authority of the sovereign as rules to be followed by the masters of schools, and by the ministers of the church, both in their private and public instructions. But, as Luther left behind him an accurate and judicious production of this kind, in which the fundamental principles of religion and morality are explained and confirmed with the greatest perspicuity and force, both of evidence and expression, this compendious catechism of that eminent reformer is universally adopted as the first introduction to religious knowledge, and is one of the standard books of the church which bears his name. And, indeed, all the provincial catechisms are no more than illustrations and enlargements on this excellent abridgment of faith and practice.

The holidays and
ecclesiastical
discipline of the
Lutheran church.

VI. Among the days that are held sacred in the Lutheran church, besides that which is celebrated every week in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead, we may reckon all such as were signalised by those glorious and important events that proclaim the celestial mission of the Saviour, and the divine authority of his holy religion.^a These sacred festivals, the grateful and well-grounded piety of ancient times had always held in the highest veneration. But the Lutheran church has gone yet farther; and, to avoid giving offence to weak brethren, has retained several which seem to have derived the respect that is paid to them rather from the suggestions of superstition than from the dictates of true religion. There are some churches who carry the desire of multiplying festivals so far, as to observe religiously the days that were formerly set apart for celebrating the memory of the twelve apostles.

It is well known that the power of excommunication, i. e. of banishing from its bosom obstinate and scandalous transgressors, was a privilege enjoyed and exercised by the church from the remotest antiquity; and it is no less certain that this privilege was perverted often to the most iniquitous and odious purposes. The founders, therefore, of the Lutheran church undertook to remove the abuses and corruptions under which this branch of ecclesiastical discipline laboured, and to restore it to its primitive purity and vigour. At first their attempt seemed to be crowned with success; since it is plain that, during the sixteenth century, no opposition of any moment was made to the wise and moderate exercise of this spiritual authority. But in process of time this privilege fell imperceptibly into contempt; the terror of excommunication lost its force; and ecclesiastical discipline was reduced to such a shadow, that, in most places, there are scarcely any remains, any traces of it, to be seen at this day. This change may be attributed partly to the corrupt propensities of mankind, who are

^a Such, for example, are, the nativity, of God; the descent of the Holy Spirit upon death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son the apostles on the day of pentecost, &c.

naturally desirous of destroying the influence of every institution that is designed to curb their licentious passions. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline was not owing to this cause alone; other circumstances concurred to diminish the respect and submission that had been paid to the spiritual tribunal. On the one hand, the clergy abused this important privilege in various ways; some misapplying the severity of excommunication through ignorance or imprudence: while others, still more impiously, perverted an institution, in itself extremely useful, to satisfy their private resentments, and to avenge themselves of those who had dared to offend them. On the other hand, the councils of certain persons in power, who considered the privilege of excommunicating in the hands of the clergy as derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society, had no small influence in bringing this branch of ghostly jurisdiction into disrepute. It is, however, certain, that whatever causes may have contributed to produce this effect, the effect itself was much to be lamented, as it removed one of the most powerful restraints upon iniquity. Nor will it appear surprising, when this is duly considered, that the manners of the Lutherans are so remarkably depraved, and that in a church that is deprived almost of all authority and discipline, multitudes affront the public by their audacious irregularities, and transgress, with a frontless impudence, through the prospect of impunity.

Of the prosperous and calamitous events that have happened to the Lutheran church. VII. The prosperous and unfavourable events that belong to the history of the Lutheran church, since the happy establishment of its liberty and independence, are neither numerous nor remarkable; and may consequently be mentioned in a few words. The rise and progress of this church, before its final and permanent establishment, have been already related; but that very religious peace, which was the instrument of its stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits.¹ Towards the conclusion of this century, Gebhard, archbishop of Cologne, discovered a propensity to enter into its communion, and, having contracted the bonds of matrimony, formed the design of introducing the reformation into his dominions. But this arduous attempt, which was in direct contradiction with the famous Ecclesiastical Reservation² stipulated in the articles of the peace of religion concluded at Augsburg, proved abortive, and the prelate was obliged to resign his dignity, and to abandon his country.³ On the other hand, it is certain, that the adversaries of the Lutheran church were not permitted to disturb its tranquillity, or to hurt, in any essential point, its liberty, prosperity, and independence. Their intentions, indeed, were malignant enough; and it appeared evident, from many striking circumstances, that they were secretly projecting a new attack upon the protestants, with a view to annul the treaty of Passau, which had been confirmed at Augsburg, and to

¹ The reason of this will be seen in the following note.

² In the diet of Augaburg, which was assembled in the year 1555, in order to execute the treaty of Passau, the several states that had already embraced the Lutheran religion, were confirmed in the full enjoyment of their religious liberty. To prevent, however, as far as was possible, the further progress of the Reformation, Charles V. stipulated for the catholics the famous Ecclesiastical Reserva-

tion; by which it was decreed, that if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic, should, in time to come, renounce the faith, of Rome, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by the chapter or college, possessed of the power of election.

³ See Jo. Dav. Koleri, *Dissertatio de Gebhardo Truchessio*; Jo. Pet. a. Ludewig, *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum Omnium Ævi*, tom. v. p. 383; see also a German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748, p. 484.

have them declared public enemies to the empire. Such was undoubtedly the unjust and seditious design of Francis Burkhard, in composing the famous book *De Autonomia*, which was published in the year 1586; and also of Pistorius, in drawing up the Reasons, which the marquis of Bede alleged in vindication of his returning back from Lutheranism into the bosom of popery.¹ These writers, and others of the same stamp, treat the Religious Peace, negotiated at Passau, and ratified at Augsburg, as unjust, because obtained by force of arms, and as null, because concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiff. They pretend also to prove, that by the changes and interpolations, which they affirm to have been made by Melancthon, in the Confession of Augsburg, after it had been presented to the diet, the protestants forfeited all the privileges and advantages that they derived from the treaty now mentioned. This latter accusation gave rise to long and warm debates during this and the following century. Many learned and ingenious productions were published on that occasion, in which the Lutheran divines proved, with the utmost perspicuity and force of argument, that the Confession of Augsburg was preserved in their church in its first state, uncorrupted by any mixture, and that none of their brethren had ever departed in any instance from the doctrines it contains.² They that felt most sensibly the bitter and implacable hatred of the papists against the doctrine and worship of the Lutheran church (which they disdainfully called the new religion), were the members of that church who lived in the territories of Roman catholic princes. This is more especially true of the protestant subjects of the house of Austria,³ who have experienced, in the most affecting manner, the dire effects of bigotry and superstition seated on the throne, and who lost the greatest part of their liberty before the conclusion of this century.

State of learning
among the Lu-
therans.

VIII. While the votaries of Rome were thus meditating the ruin of the Lutheran church, and exerting for this purpose all the powers of secret artifice and open violence, the followers of Luther were assiduously bent on defeating their efforts, and left no means unemployed, that seemed proper to maintain their own doctrine, and to strengthen their cause. The calamities they had suffered were fresh in their remembrance; and hence they were admonished to use all possible precautions to prevent their falling again into the like unhappy circumstances. Add to this, the zeal of princes and men in power for the advancement of true religion, which it must be acknowledged was much greater in this century than it is in the times in which we live. Hence the original confederacy that had been formed among the German princes for the maintenance of Lutheranism, and of which the elector of Saxony was the chief, gained new strength from day to day, and foreign sovereigns, particularly those of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to enter into this grand alliance. And as it was universally agreed, that the stability and lustre of the rising church depended much on the learning of its ministers

¹ See Chr. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confession.* tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 767.

² See Salig. *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i.—It cannot indeed be denied, that Melancthon corrected and altered some passages of the Confession of Augsburg. Nay, more; it is certain, that, in the year 1555, he made use of the extraordinary credit and influence he then had, to introduce among the Saxon churches an edition of that confession, which was not only corrected in several places,

but was, moreover, upon the whole, very different from the original one. But, his conduct in this step, which was extremely audacious, or at least highly imprudent, never received the approbation of the Lutheran church, nor was the Augsburg Confession, in this new shape, ever admitted as one of the standard books of its faith and doctrine.

³ See the *Austria Evangelica* of the learned Raupachius, t. i. p. 152, t. ii. p. 287. This work is composed in the German language.

and the progress of the sciences among those in general who professed its doctrines, so the greatest part of the confederate princes promoted, with the greatest zeal, the culture of letters, and banished, wherever their salutary influence could extend, that baneful ignorance that is the mother of superstition. The academies founded by the Lutherans, at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and by the Calvinists at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; the ancient universities reformed and accommodated to the constitution and exigencies of a purer church than that under whose influence they had been at first established; the great number of schools that were opened in every city; the ample rewards, together with the distinguished honours and privileges, that were bestowed on men of learning and genius; all these circumstances bear honourable testimony to the generous zeal of the German princes for the advancement of useful knowledge. These noble establishments were undoubtedly expensive, and required large funds for their support. These were principally drawn from the revenues and possessions, which the piety or superstition of ancient times had consecrated to the multiplication of convents, the erection or embellishment of churches, and other religious uses.

Study of belles
lettres and lan-
guage promoted.

IX. These generous and zealous efforts in the cause of learning were attended with remarkable success. Almost all the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with emulation, and brought to greater degrees of perfection. All those whose views were turned to the service of the church, were obliged to apply themselves with diligence and assiduity to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin literature, in order to qualify them for performing with dignity and success the duties of the sacred function; and it is well known that in these branches of erudition several Lutheran doctors excelled in such a manner, as to acquire a deathless name in the republic of letters. Melancthon, Cario, Chytræus, Reineccius, and others, were eminent for their knowledge of history. More particularly Flackius, one of the authors of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*° (that immortal work, which restored to the light of evidence and truth, the facts relating to the rise and progress of the Christian church, which had been covered with thick darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables), may be deservedly considered as the parent of ecclesiastical history. Nor should we omit mentioning the learned Martin Chemnitz, to whose Examination of the Decrees of the Council of Trent the history of religion is more indebted than many at this day are apt to imagine. While so many branches of learning were cultivated with zeal, some, it must be confessed, were too little pursued. Among these we may place the history of literature and philosophy; the important science of criticism; the study of antiquities; and other objects of erudition that stand in connexion with them. It is, however, to be observed, that notwithstanding the neglect with which these branches of science seemed too generally to have been treated, the foundations of their culture and improvement in future ages were really laid in this century. On the other hand, it is remarkable that Latin eloquence and poetry were carried to a very high degree of improvement, and exhibited orators and poets of the first order; from which circumstance alone it may be fairly concluded that, if all the branches of literature and philosophy were not brought to that pitch of perfection of which they were susceptible, this

° The joint authors of this famous work (besides Flacius Illyricus) were, Nicolaus Gallus, Johannes Wigandus, and Matthias Judex, all ministers of Magdeburg; and they

were assisted by Caspar Nidpruckius, an Imperial counsellor, Johannes Baptista Heincelius, an Augustinian, Basil Faber, and others.

was not owing to the want of industry or genius, but rather to the restraints laid upon genius by the infelicity of the times. All the votaries of science, whom a noble emulation excited to the pursuit of literary fame, were greatly animated by the example, the influence, and the instructions of Melancthon, who was deservedly considered as the great and leading doctor of the Lutheran church, and whose sentiments, relating both to sacred and profane erudition, were so universally respected, that scarcely any had the courage to oppose them. In the next rank to this eminent reformer may be mentioned Joachim Camerarius, of Leipsic, a shining ornament to the republic of letters in this century, who, by his zeal and application, contributed much to promote the cause of universal learning, and more especially the study of elegant literature.

The various fate of philosophy among the Lutherans. X. The revolutions of philosophy among the Lutheran doctors were many and various. Luther and Melancthon seemed to set out with a resolution to banish every species of philosophy^p from the church; and though it is impossible entirely to justify this part of their conduct, yet they are less to be blamed than those scholastic doctors, whose barbarous method of teaching philosophy was inexpressibly disgusting, and who, by a miserable abuse of the subtle precepts of Aristotle, had perverted the dictates of common sense, and introduced the greatest obscurity and confusion both into philosophy and religion. But though these abuses led the two great men now mentioned too far, and were carrying them into the opposite extreme; yet their own recollection suspended their precipitation, and they both perceived, before it was too late, that true philosophy was necessary to restrain the licentious flights of mere genius and fancy, and to guard the sanctuary of religion against the inroads of superstition and enthusiasm.^q It was in consequence of this persuasion that Melancthon composed, in a plain and familiar style, abridgments of almost all the various branches of philosophy, which, during many years, were explained publicly to the studious youth in all the Lutheran academies and schools of learning. This celebrated reformer may not improperly be considered as an eclectic; for, though in many points he followed Aristotle, and retained some degree of propensity to the ancient philosophy of the schools, yet he drew many things from the fecundity of his own genius, and had often recourse also to the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

Philosophical sects —Aristotelians and Ramoans. XI. This method of teaching philosophy, however recommendable on account of its simplicity and perspicuity, did not long enjoy, alone and unrivalled, the great credit and authority it had obtained. Certain acute and subtle doctors, having perceived that Melancthon, in composing his Abridgments, had discovered a peculiar and predominant attachment to the philosophy of Aristotle, thought it was better to go to the source than to drink at the stream, and therefore read and explained to their disciples the works of the Stagyrice. On the other hand, it was observed that the Jesuits, and other votaries of

^p See Christ. Aug. Heumanni Acta Philosophor. art. ii. part x. p. 579; Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, Dissertat. de Varia Aristotelis fortuna in Scholis Protestantium, which Launoy has prefixed to his book De fortuna Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi, sect. viii. p. 15, sect. xiii. p. 36.

^q Some writers, either through malignity, or for want of better information, have pretend-

ed that Luther rejected the scholastic philosophy through a total ignorance of its nature and precepts. Those that have ventured upon such an assertion must have been themselves grossly ignorant of the history of literature in general, as well as of the industry and erudition of Luther in particular. For a demonstrative proof of this, see Bruckeri Historia Critica Philosophiæ, t. iv. part i. p. 94, 95, 96, &c.

Rome, artfully made use of the ambiguous terms and the intricate sophistry of the ancient schoolmen, in order to puzzle the protestants, and reduce them to silence, when they wanted such arguments as were adapted to produce conviction. And, therefore, many protestant doctors thought it might be advantageous to their cause to have the studious youth instructed in the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught in the schools, that thus they might be qualified to defend themselves with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Hence there arose, towards the conclusion of this century, three philosophical sects, the Melancthonian, the Aristotelian, and the Scholastic. This first declined gradually, and soon disappeared; while the other two imperceptibly grew into one, and, acquiring new vigour by this coalition, increased daily in reputation and influence, and were adopted in all the schools of learning. It is true the followers of Ramus made violent inroads, in several places, upon the territories of these combined sects, and sometimes with a certain appearance of success; but their hopes were transitory; for, after various struggles, they were obliged to yield, and were at length entirely banished from the schools.*

XII. Such also was the fate of the disciples of Paracelsus, who, from the grand principle of their physical system, were called Fire Philosophers,* and who aimed at nothing less than the total subversion of the peripatetic philosophy, and the introduction of their own reveries into the public schools. Towards the conclusion of this century the Paracelsists really made a figure in almost all the countries of Europe, as their sect was patronised and supported by the genius and eloquence of several great men, who exerted themselves with the utmost zeal and assiduity in its cause, and endeavoured, both by their writings and their transactions, to augment its credit. In England it found an eminent defender in Mr. Robert Flood, or Fludd, a man of a very singular genius,† who illustrated, or at least attempted to illustrate, the philosophy of Paracelsus in a great number of treatises, which, even in our times, are not entirely destitute of readers and admirers. The same philosophy got a certain footing in France, had several votaries in that kingdom, and was propagated with zeal at Paris by a person whose name was Rivier, in opposition to the sentiments and efforts of the university of that city.‡ Its cause was industriously promoted in Denmark by Severinus;§ in Germany; by Kunrath, an eminent physician at Dresden, who

* Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, De fatis Aristot. in Scholis Protest. sect. xxi. p. 54; Jo. George Walchius, Historia Logices, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. iii. v. in *Parergis Academicis*, p. 613, 617; Otto. Frid. Schutzius, De vita Chytræi, lib. iv. sect. iv. p. 19.

† This fanatical sect of philosophers had several denominations. They were called Theosophists, from their declaiming against human reason as a dangerous and deceitful guide, and their representing a divine and supernatural illumination as the only means of arriving at truth. They were called philosophi per ignem, i. e. Fire Philosophers, from their maintaining that the intimate essences of natural things were only to be known by the trying efforts of fire, directed in a chemical process. They were lastly denominated Paracelsists, from the eminent

physician and chemist of that name, who was the chief ornament and leader of that extraordinary sect.

‡ The person here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim is not the famous Dominican monk of that name, who from his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowledge, was called the Seeker, and who, from his passion for chemistry, was suspected of magic, but a famous physician, born in the year 1574, at Milgate in Kent, and very remarkable for his attachment to the alchemists. See Ant. Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610; and *Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniens.* lib. ii. p. 390; P. Gassendi *Examen Philosoph. Fluddanzæ*, tom. iii. Opp. p. 259.

§ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 327, et passim.

¶ Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, t. i. p. 623.

died in the year 1605 ;* and in other countries by a considerable number of warm votaries, who were by no means unsuccessful in augmenting its reputation and multiplying its followers. As all these heralds of the new philosophy accompanied their instructions with a striking air of piety and devotion, and seemed, in propagating their strange system, to propose to themselves no other end than the advancement of the divine glory, and the restoration of peace and concord in a divided church ; a motive in appearance so generous and noble could not fail to procure them friends and protectors. Accordingly, we find that, towards the conclusion of this century, several persons eminent for their piety, and distinguished by their zeal for the advancement of true religion, joined themselves to this sect. Of this number were the Lutheran doctors Wigelius, Arndtius, and others, who were led into the snare by their ill-grounded notions of human reason, and who apprehended that controversy and argumentation might lead men to substitute anew the pompous and intricate jargon of the schools in the place of solid and sincere piety.

The controversy
between Hof-
man and his
colleagues.

XIII. Among those that discovered a propensity towards the system of the Paracelsists, or Theosophists, was the celebrated Daniel Hofman, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, who, from the year 1598, had declared open war against philosophy, and who continued to oppose it with the greatest obstinacy and violence. Laying hold of some particular opinions of Luther, and certain passages in the writings of that great man, he extravagantly maintained, that philosophy was the mortal enemy of religion ; that truth was divisible into two branches, the one philosophical and the other theological ; and that what was true in philosophy was false in theology. These absurd and pernicious tenets naturally alarmed the judicious doctors of the university, and excited a warm controversy between Hofman and his colleagues, Owen Guntherus, Cornelius Martin, John Caselius, and Duncan Liddel ; a controversy also of too much consequence to be confined within such narrow bounds, and which accordingly was carried on in other countries with the same fervour. The tumults it excited in Germany were appeased by the interposition of Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick, who, having made a careful inquiry into the nature of this debate, and consulted the professors of the academy of Rostoc on that subject, commanded Hofman to retract publicly the invectives he had thrown out against philosophy in his writings and in his academical lectures, and to acknowledge, in the most open manner, the harmony and union of sound philosophy with true and genuine theology.²

The science of
theology cor-
rected and im-
proved.

XIV. The theological system that now prevails in the Lutheran academies, is not of the same tenor or spirit with that which was adopted in the infancy of the Reformation. As time and experience are necessary to bring all things to perfection, so the doctrine of the Lutheran church changed, imperceptibly and by degrees, its original form, and was improved and perfected in many respects. This will appear both evident and striking to those who are acquainted with the history of the doctrines relating to the interpretation

* Jo. Mollerii *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 440.

² There is an accurate account of this controversy, with an enumeration of the writings published on both sides of the question, in the life of Owen Guntherus, which is inserted by

Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 225.—See also Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *De fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* sect. xxvii. p. 76 ; and a German work, entitled, *Gottor. Arnold, Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, p. 947.

of scripture, free-will, predestination, and other points, and who compare the Lutheran systems of divinity, of an earlier date, with those that have been composed in modern times. The case could not well be otherwise. The glorious defenders of religious liberty, to whom we owe the various blessings of the Reformation, as they were conducted only by the suggestions of their natural sagacity, whose advances in the pursuit of knowledge are gradual and progressive, could not at once behold the truth in all its lustre, and in all its extent, but, as usually happens to persons that have long been accustomed to the darkness of ignorance, their approaches towards knowledge were but slow, and their views of things but imperfect. The Lutherans were greatly assisted both in correcting and illustrating the articles of their faith, partly by the controversies they were obliged to carry on with the Roman Catholic doctors, and the disciples of Zuingle and Calvin, and partly by the intestine divisions that reigned among themselves, of which an account shall be given in this chapter. They have been absurdly reproached, on account of this variation in their doctrine, by Bossuet, and other papal writers, who did not consider that the founders of the Lutheran church never pretended to divine inspiration; and that it is by discovering first the errors of others, that the wise generally prepare themselves for the investigation of truth.

The state of exe-
getic theology.

XV. The first and principal object that drew the attention and employed the industry of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings, which, according to the doctrine of the Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom; all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened, that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans was equal to that of the learned doctors that adorned that communion. At the head of them all, Luther and Melancthon are undoubtedly to be placed; the former, on account of the sagacity and learning discovered in his explications of several portions of scripture, and particularly of the books of Moses; and the latter, in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and other learned labours of that kind which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world, by their successful application to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in which we may rank Matthias Flackius, whose Glossary, and Key to the sacred writings, is extremely useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; John Bugenhagenius, Justus Jonas, Andrew Osiander, and Martin Chemnitz, whose Harmonies of the Evangelists are not void of merit. To these we may add Victor Strigelius and Joachim Camerarius, of whom the latter, in his Commentary on the New Testament, expounds the scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only; and laying aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term, and the spirit of each phrase, by the rules of criticism, and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient.

XVI. All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions and chimerical applications of scripture passages, to objects which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary,

The respective
merits of the sa-
cred interpreters.

* The Latin titles are, *Glossæ Scripturæ Sacræ*, and *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*.

their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that golden rule of interpretation inculcated by Luther, "that there is no more than one sense annexed to the words of scripture, throughout all the Books of the Old and New Testament."^a It must, however, be acknowledged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Many, labouring under the old and inveterate disease of an irregular fancy and a scanty judgment, were still seeking for hidden significations and double meanings in the expressions of holy writ. They were perpetually busied in twisting all the prophecies of the Old Testament into an intimate connexion with the life, sufferings, and transactions of Jesus Christ; and were over sagacious in finding out, in the history of the patriarchal and Jewish churches, the types and figures of the events that happened in modern, and that may yet happen in future times. In all this they discovered more imagination than judgment; more wit than wisdom. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may be divided, methinks with propriety enough, into two classes, with Luther at the head of the one, and Melancthon presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a plain and familiar explication of the sense of scripture, applied its decisions to the fixing of controverted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion.—Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter, who first divided the discourses of the sacred writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterwards proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each part, taken separately, applying the result as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine or matters of controversy.

Concerning the didactic theology, or doctrines of the Lutheran church.

XVII. Complete systems of theology were far from being numerous in this century. Melancthon, the most eminent of all the Lutheran doctors, collected and digested the doctrines of the church, which he so eminently adorned, into a body of divinity, under the vague title of *Loci Communes*, i. e. A Common Place Book of Theology. This compilation, which was afterwards, at different times, reviewed, corrected, and enlarged by its author, was in such high repute during this century, and even in succeeding times, that it was considered as a universal model of doctrine for all those, who either instructed the people by their public discourses, or promoted the knowledge of religion by their writings.^a The title prefixed to this performance, indicates sufficiently the method, or rather the irregularity that reigns in the arrangement of its materials; and shows, that it was not the design of Melancthon to place the various truths of religion in that systematical concatenation, and that scientific order and connexion, that are observed by the philosophers in their demonstrations and discourses, but to propose them with freedom and simplicity, as they presented themselves to his view. Accordingly, in the first editions of the book under consideration, the method observed, both in delineating and illustrating these important truths, is extremely plain, and is neither loaded with the terms, the definitions, nor the distinctions that abound in the writings of the philosophers. Thus did the Lutheran doctors, in the first period of the rising church, renounce and avoid, in imitation of the great reformer,

^a This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetic, parabolical, and figurative expressions be ex-

cepted in its application.

^a See Jo. Franc. Buddens, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. xiii. t. i. p. 381.

whose name they bear, all the abstruse reasoning, and subtle discussions of the scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual debates with the artful champions of the church of Rome, engaged them by degrees, as has been already observed, to change their language and their methods of reasoning; so that, in process of time, the simplicity that had reigned in their theological systems, and in their manner of explaining the truths of religion, almost totally disappeared. Even Melancthon himself fell imperceptibly into the new method, or rather into the old method revived, and enlarged the subsequent editions of his *Loci Communes*, by the addition of several philosophical illustrations, designed to expose the fallacious reasonings of the Roman catholic doctors. As yet, however, the discussions of philosophy were but sparingly used, and the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen was kept at a certain distance, and seldom borrowed. But when the founders of the Lutheran church were removed by death, and the Jesuits attacked the principles of the Reformation with redoubled animosity, armed with the intricate and perplexing dialectics of the schools; then, indeed, the scene changed, and theology assumed another aspect. The stratagem employed by the Jesuits corrupted our doctors, induced them to revive that intricate and abstruse manner of defending and illustrating religious truth that Luther and his associates had rejected, and to introduce, into the plain and artless paths of theology, all the thorns and thistles, all the dark and devious labyrinths of the scholastic philosophy. This unhappy change was deeply lamented by several divines of eminent piety and learning about the commencement of the seventeenth century, who regretted the loss of that amiable simplicity that is the attendant on divine truth; but they could not prevail upon the professors, in the different universities, to sacrifice the jargon of the schools to the dictates of common sense, nor to return to the plain, serious, and unaffected method of teaching theology that had been introduced by Luther. These obstinate doctors pleaded necessity in behalf of their scholastic divinity, and looked upon this pretended necessity as superior to all authorities, and all examples, however respectable.

The state of morality among the Lutherans.

XVIII. Those who are sensible of the intimate connexion that there is between faith and practice, between the truths and duties of religion, will easily perceive the necessity that there was of reforming the corrupt morality, as well as the superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome. It is therefore natural, that the same persons who had spirit enough to do the one, should think themselves obliged to attempt the other. This they accordingly attempted, and not without a certain degree of success; for it may be affirmed with truth, that there is more genuine piety and more excellent rules of conduct in the few practical productions of Luther, Melancthon, Weller, Rivius, to mention no more, than are to be found in the innumerable volumes of all the ancient Casuists and Moralists,^b as they are called in the barbarous language of these remote periods. It is not, however, meant even to insinuate, that the notions of these great men concerning the important science of morality were either sufficiently accurate or extensive. It appears, on the contrary, from the various debates that were carried on during this century, concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, and from the answers that were given by famous casuists to persons perplexed with religious scruples, that the true principles of morality were not as yet fixed with perspicuity and precision, the agree-

^b The moral writers of this century of which the English word Moralists bears some resemblance, were called Moralisanes, a barbarous term.

ment or difference between the laws of nature and the precepts of Christianity sufficiently examined and determined, nor the proper distinctions made between those parts of the gospel dispensation, which are agreeable to right reason, and those that are beyond its reach and comprehension. Had not the number of adversaries, with whom the Lutheran doctors were obliged to contend, given them perpetual employment in the field of controversy, and robbed them of that precious leisure which they might have consecrated to the advancement of real piety and virtue, they would certainly have been free from the defects now mentioned, and would, perhaps, have equalled the best moral writers of modern times. This consideration will also diminish our wonder at a circumstance which otherwise might seem surprising, that none of the famous Lutheran doctors attempted to give a regular system of morality. Melancthon himself, whose exquisite judgment rendered him peculiarly capable of reducing into a compendious system the elements of every science, never seems to have thought of treating morals in this manner; but has inserted, on the contrary, all his practical rules and instructions under the theological articles that relate to the law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity.

Polemical or controversial theology. XIX. All the divines of this century were educated in the school of controversy, and so trained up to spiritual war, that an eminent theologian, and a bold and vehement disputant, were considered as synonymous terms. It could scarcely indeed be otherwise, in an age when foreign quarrels and intestine divisions of a religious nature threw all the countries of Europe into a state of agitation, and obliged the doctors of the contending churches to be perpetually in action, or at least in a posture of defence. These champions of the Reformation were not, however, all animated with the same spirit, nor did they attack and defend with the same arms. Such of them as were contemporary with Luther, or lived near his time, were remarkable for the simplicity of their reasoning, and attacked their adversaries with no other arguments than those which they drew from the declarations of the inspired writers, and the decisions of the ancient fathers. Towards the latter end of the century this method was considerably changed, and we see those doctors, who were its chief ornaments, reinforcing their cause with the succours of the Aristotelian philosophy, and thus losing, in point of perspicuity and evidence, what they gained in point of subtlety and imagined science. It is true, as has been already observed more than once, they were too naturally, though inconsiderately, led to adopt this method of disputing by the example of their adversaries the Roman catholics. The latter having learned, by a disagreeable and discouraging experience, that their cause was unable to support that plain and perspicuous method of reasoning that is the proper test of religious and moral truth, had recourse to stratagem, when evidence failed, and involved both their arguments and their opinions in the dark and intricate mazes of the scholastic philosophy; and it was this that engaged the protestant doctors to change their weapons, and to employ methods of defence unworthy of the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

The spirit of zeal that animated the Lutheran divines was, generally speaking, very far from being tempered by a spirit of charity. If we except Melancthon, in whom a predominant mildness and sweetness of natural temper triumphed over the contagious ferocity of the times, all the disputants of this century discovered too much bitterness and animosity in their transactions and in their writings. Luther himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe, whom he far surpassed in invectives and abuse,

treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition, however elevated or respectable they might be. It must indeed be confessed, that the criminal nature of this asperity and vehemence will be much alleviated, when they are considered in one point of view with the genius of these barbarous times, and the odious cruelty and injustice of the virulent enemies, whom the oppressed reformers were called to encounter. When the impartial inquirer considers the abominable calumnies that were lavished on the authors and instruments of the Reformation; when he reflects upon the horrors of fire and sword, employed by bloodthirsty and bigoted tyrants, to extirpate and destroy those good men whom they wanted arguments to persuade and convince—will not his heart burn with a generous indignation? and will he not think it in some measure just, that such horrid proceedings should be represented in their proper colours, and be stigmatized by such expressions as are suited to their demerit?

Three periods
must be distin-
guished in the
history of the
Lutheran
church.

XX. In order to form a just idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church, and of the revolutions and changes that have happened in it, with their true springs and real causes, it is necessary to consider the history of that church under three distinct periods. The first of these extends from the commencement of the Reformation to the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546. The second takes in the space of time elapsed between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon, and consequently terminates in the year 1560; while the remainder of the century is comprehended in the third period.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

DURING the first period, all things* were transacted in the Lutheran church in a manner conformable to the sentiments, counsels, and orders of Luther. This eminent reformer, whose undaunted resolution, and amazing credit and authority, rendered him equal to the most arduous attempts, easily suppressed the commotions and dissensions that arose from time to time in the church, and did not suffer the sects, that several had attempted to form in its bosom, to gather strength, or to arrive at any considerable degree of consistence and maturity. The natural consequence of this was, that, during the life of that great man, the internal state of the Lutheran church was a state of tolerable tranquillity and repose: and all such as attempted to foment divisions, or introduce any essential changes, were either speedily reduced to silence, or obliged to retire from the new community.

Debates between
Luther and the
fanatics that
troubled the
church during
the first period.

XXI. The infancy of this church was troubled by an impetuous rabble of wrong-headed fanatics, who introduced the utmost confusion wherever they had occasion to spread their pestilential errors, and who pretended that they had received a divine inspiration, authorizing them to erect a new kingdom of Christ, in which sin and corruption were to have no place. The leaders of this turbulent and riotous sect were, Munzer, Storchius, Stubner, and others, partly Swiss, and partly Germans, who kindled the flame of discord and rebellion in several parts of Europe, and chiefly in Germany, and excited among the ignorant multitude tumults and commotions, which, though less violent in some places than in others, were nevertheless formidable wherever they appeared.^c The history of this seditious

^c Jo. Baptista Ottius, in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8, has collected a considerable number of facts relating to these fanatical

commotions, which are also mentioned by all the writers of the *History of the Reformation*.

band is full of obscurity and confusion. A regular, full, and accurate account of it neither has, nor could well be, committed to writing; since, on the one hand, the opinions and actions of these fanatics were a motley chaos of inconsistencies and contradictions, and, on the other, the age in which they lived produced few writers who had either the leisure or the capacity to observe with diligence, or to relate with accuracy, commotions and tumults of this extraordinary kind. It is however certain, that, from the most profligate and abandoned part of this enthusiastical multitude, those seditious armies were formed, which kindled in Germany the War of the Peasants, and afterwards seized upon the city of Munster, involving the whole province of Westphalia in the most dreadful calamities. It is also well known, that the better part of this motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and at length embraced the communion of those who are called Mennonites.⁴ The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of Luther happily prevented the divisions, which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that, had it not been for the vigour and fortitude of this active and undaunted reformer, the Lutheran church would, in its infancy, have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics.*

Carlostadt.

XXII. Fanatics and enthusiasts of the kind now described, while they met with the warmest opposition from Luther, found, on the contrary, in Carlostadt, his colleague, such a credulous attention to their seductions, as naturally flattered them with the hopes of his patronage and favour. This divine, who was a native of Franconia, was neither destitute of learning nor merit; but imprudence and precipitation were the distinguishing lines of his warm and violent character. Of these he gave the most evident marks, in the year 1523, when, during the absence of Luther, he excited no small tumult at Wittemberg, by ordering the images to be taken out of the churches, and other enterprizes of a rash and dangerous nature.⁵ This tumult was appeased by the

⁴ & The tumults of the anabaptists in Germany, and the junction of the better part of them with Mennon, have already been mentioned in a cursory manner, sect. i. chap. ii. par. xxi. For an ample account of the origin, doctrine, and progress of the Mennonites, see the third chapter of the second part of this third section, cent. xvi.

⁵ & The danger that threatened the Lutheran church in these tumults of the German anabaptists, was so much the greater on account of the inclination which Munzer and Stork discovered at first for the sentiments of Luther, and the favourable disposition which Carlostadt seemed for some time to entertain with respect to these fanatics.

⁶ & The reader may perhaps imagine, from Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter, that Carlostadt introduced these changes merely by his own authority; but this was far from being the case: the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, the abolition of the law which

imposed celibacy upon the clergy, which are the changes hinted at by our historian as rash and perilous, were effected by Carlostadt, in conjunction with Bugenhagen, Melancthon, Jonas, Amadorf, and others, and were confirmed by the authority of the elector of Saxony. So that there is some reason to apprehend that one of the principal causes of Luther's displeasure at these changes, was their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose, that he had not so far got rid of the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity and of the pernicious consequences of the use of images, &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known that it was the object of his warmest approbation. This appears from the following expressions in his letter to Amadorf: "Carlostadii nuptiæ mire placent: novi puellam: confortet cum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibenda et minuenda Pasticæ libidinis." He confirmed soon afterwards this approbation by his own example,

sudden return of Luther, whose presence and exhortations calmed the troubled spirits of the people; and here must we look for the origin of the rupture between him and Carlostadt. For the latter immediately retired from Wittemberg to Orlamund, where he not only opposed the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist,^a but also discovered, in several instances, a fanatical turn of mind.^b He was therefore commanded to leave the electorate of Saxony, which he did accordingly, and repaired to Switzerland, where he propagated his doctrines, and taught with success, first at Zurich, and afterwards at Basil, retaining still, however, as long as he lived, a favourable disposition towards the sect of the anabaptists, and, in general, to all enthusiastic teachers, who pretended to a divine inspiration.^c Thus then did Luther, in a short space of time, lay this new storm that the precipitation of Carlostadt had raised in the church.

Schwenkfeldt.

XXIII. The reforming spirit of Carlostadt, with respect to the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist, was not extinguished, by his exile, in the Lutheran church. It was revived, on the contrary, by a man of much the same turn of mind, a Silesian knight, and counsellor to the duke of Lignitz, whose name was Gasper

^a This difference of opinion between Carlostadt and Luther concerning the eucharist, was the true cause of the violent rupture between those two eminent men, and it was very little to the honour of the latter. For, however the explication, which the former gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's supper may appear forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance as a commemoration of Christ's death, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a consubstantiation with the bread and wine, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of Luther, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of transubstantiation. And if it be supposed that Carlostadt strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alleged that Christ pronounced the pronoun this (in the words, This is my body) pointing to his body, and not to the bread, what shall we think of Luther's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of consubstantiation by the similitude of a red-hot iron, in which two elements are united, as the body of Christ is with the bread in the eucharist? But of this more in its proper place.

^b This censure is with too much truth applicable to Carlostadt.—Though he did not adopt the impious and abominable doctrines of Munzer and his band, as Dr. Mosheim permits the uninstructed reader to imagine by mentioning, in general, his being a friend to these fanatics, yet he certainly was chargeable with some extravagances that were observable in the tenets of that wrong-headed tribe. He was for abolishing the civil law, with the municipal laws and constitutions of the German empire, and proposed substituting the law of Moses in their place. He distinguished himself by railing at the academies, declaiming against human learning, and other follies.

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

See Val. Ern. Loscheri, *Historia Motuum*

inter Lutheranos et Reformatos part. i. cap. i.; Dan. Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii* in *Miscell. Groningens. novis. tom. i.*

^c This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: "Dum vixit vero anabaptistarum, et hominum divina viam jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit"—i. e. as long as he lived, he showed himself a friend to the anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, who pretended to divine inspiration." But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carlostadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the anabaptists in particular? Nay, more; this treatise was addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carlostadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningens.* After his reconciliation with Luther, he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and having perused the writings of Zuingli, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired, a second time, to Zurich, and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil, to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shows how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Boesuet.

Schwenkfeldt. This nobleman, seconded by Valentine Crautwald, a man of eminent learning, who lived at the court of the prince now mentioned, took notice of many things, which he looked upon as erroneous and defective, in the opinions and rites established by Luther; and had not the latter been extremely vigilant, as well as vigorously supported by his friends and adherents, would have undoubtedly brought about a considerable schism in the church. Every circumstance in Schwenkfeldt's conduct and appearance was adapted to give him credit and influence. His morals were pure, and his life, in all respects, exemplary. His exhortations in favour of true and solid piety were warm and persuasive, and his principal zeal was employed in promoting it among the people. By this means he gained the esteem and friendship of many learned and pious men, both in the Lutheran and Helvetic churches, who favoured his sentiments, and undertook to defend him against all his adversaries.¹ Notwithstanding all this, he was banished by his sovereign both from the court and from his country, in the year 1528, only because Zuingle had approved of his opinions concerning the eucharist, and declared that they did not differ essentially from his own. From that time the persecuted knight wandered from place to place, under various turns of fortune, until death put an end to his trials in the year 1561.² He had founded a small congregation in Silesia, which were persecuted and ejected in our times by the popish possessors of that country; but have been restored to their former habitations and privileges, civil and religious, since the year 1742, by the present king of Prussia.³

The doctrine of
Schwenkfeldt.

XXIV. The upright intentions of Schwenkfeldt, and his zeal for the advancement of true piety, deserve, no doubt, the highest commendation; but the same thing cannot be said of his prudence and judgment. The good man had a natural propensity towards fanaticism, and fondly imagined that he had received a divine commission to propagate his opinions. He differed from Luther and the other friends of the reformation, in three points, which it is proper to select from others of less consequence: the first of these points related to the doctrine concerning the eucharist. Schwenkfeldt inverted the following words of Christ: This is my body, and insisted on their being thus understood: "My body is this, *i. e.* such as this bread which is broken and consumed: a true and real food, which nourisheth, satisfieth, and delighteth the soul. My blood is this, that is, such in its effects as the wine which strengthens and refresheth the heart." The poor man imagined that this wonderful doctrine had been revealed to him from heaven; which circumstance alone is a sufficient demonstration of his folly.

The second point in which he differed from Luther, was in his hypothesis relating to the efficacy of the divine word. He denied, for example, that the external word, which is committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures, was endowed with the power of healing, illuminating, and renewing the mind: and he ascribed this power to the internal word, which, according to his notion, was Christ himself. His discourses, however, concerning

¹ See Jo. Conr. Fueslini, *Centuria I. Epistolar à Reformatioribus Helveticis Scriptor.* 169, 175, 225. *Museum Helvetic.* tom. iv. p. 445.

² Jo. Wigandi, *Schwenkfeldianismus Lips.* 1586, in 4to.; *Conr. Schlussenburgii Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. x. published at Frankfort in the year 1599, in 8vo. The most accurate accounts of this nobleman have been given by

Chr. Aug. Salig. in his *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. iii. lib. xi. p. 951; and by Godf. Arnold, in a German work entitled, *Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, p. 720, both which authors have pleaded the cause of Schwenkfeldt.

³ See an account of Schwenkfeldt's Confession of Faith, in Jo. Chr. Koehert, *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbolicæ*, p. 457.

this internal word were, as usually happens to persons of his turn, so full of confusion, obscurity, and contradiction, that it was difficult to find out what his doctrine really was, and whether or not it resembled that of the Mystics and Quakers, or was borrowed from a different source.

His doctrine concerning the human nature of Christ, formed the third subject of debate between him and the Lutherans. He would not allow Christ's human nature, in its exalted state, to be called a creature, or a created substance, as such denomination appeared to him infinitely below its majestic dignity, united, as it is, in that glorious state, with the divine essence. This notion of Schwenkfeldt bears a remarkable affinity to the doctrine of Eutyches, which, however, he professed to reject; and, in his turn, accused those of Nestorianism who gave the denomination of a creature to the human nature of Christ.

XXV. An intemperate zeal, by straining too far certain truths, turns them into falsehood, or at least, often renders them the occasion of the most pernicious abuses. A striking instance of this happened during the ministry of Luther. For, while he was insisting upon the necessity of imprinting deeply on the minds of the people that doctrine of the gospel, which represents Christ's merits as the source of man's salvation, and while he was eagerly employed in censuring and refuting the popish doctors, who mixed the law and gospel together, and represented eternal happiness as the fruit of legal obedience, a fanatic arose, who abused his doctrine, by overstraining it, and thus opened a field for the most dangerous errors. This new teacher was John Agricola, a native of Aysleben, and an eminent doctor of the Lutheran church, though chargeable with vanity, presumption, and artifice. He first began to make a noise in the year 1538, when, from the doctrine of Luther now mentioned, he took occasion to declaim against the law, maintaining, that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a means of instruction; and that the gospel alone was to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of Agricola were called Antinomians, i. e. enemies of the law. But the fortitude, vigilance, and credit of Luther suppressed this sect in its very infancy, and Agricola, intimidated by the opposition of such a respectable adversary, acknowledged and renounced his pernicious system. But this recantation does not seem to have been sincere; since it is said, that when his fears were dispelled by the death of Luther, he returned to his errors, and gained proselytes to his extravagant doctrine.^m

The doctrine of
Agricola ex-
amined.

XXVI. The tenets of the Antinomians, if their adversaries are to be believed, were of the most noxious nature and tendency; for they are supposed to have taught the loosest and most dissolute doctrine in point of morals, and to have maintained that it was allowable to follow the impulse of every passion, and to transgress without reluctance the divine law, provided the transgressor laid hold on Christ, and embraced his merits by a lively faith. Such, at least, is the representation that is generally given of their doctrine; but it ought not to be received with too much credulity. For whoever looks into this matter with attention and impartiality, will soon be persuaded that such an absurd and impious doctrine is unjustly laid to the charge of Agricola, and that the principal fault of this presumptuous man lay in some

^m See Caspar. Sagittarius Introduct. ad Histor. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 838; Bayle, Dictionnaire, tom. ii. at the article Isebius;

Conr. Schlussenburgii Catalog. Hæret. lib. iv.; G. Arnold. Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie, p. 813.

harsh and inaccurate expressions that were susceptible of dangerous and pernicious interpretations. By the term law, he understood the Ten Commandments, promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation; and he considered this law as enacted for the Jews, and not for Christians. He explained at the same time the term Gospel, which he considered as substituted in the place of the law, in its true and extensive sense, as comprehending not only the doctrine of the merits of Christ rendered salutary by faith, but also the sublime precepts of holiness and virtue, delivered by the divine Saviour, as rules of obedience. If, therefore, we follow the intention of Agricola, without interpreting, in a rigorous manner, the uncouth phrases and improper expressions he so frequently and so injudiciously employed, his doctrine will plainly amount to this: "That the Ten Commandments, published during the ministry of Moses, were chiefly designed for the Jews, and on that account might be lawfully neglected and laid aside by Christians; and that it was sufficient to explain with perspicuity, and to enforce with zeal, what Christ and his apostles had taught in the New Testament, both with respect to the means of grace, and salvation, and the obligations of repentance and virtue." The greatest part of the doctors of this century are chargeable with a want of precision and consistency in expressing their sentiments; hence their real sentiments have been misunderstood, and opinions have been imputed to them which they never entertained.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

Debates that arise during the second period of the Lutheran church between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon.

XXVII. After the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, Philip Melancthon was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors. The merit, genius, and talents of this new chief were, undoubtedly, great and illustrious; though it must at the same time be confessed, that he was inferior to Luther in many respects,^a and more especially in courage, steadfastness, and personal authority. His natural temper was soft and flexible; his love of peace almost excessive, and his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit. He was ambitious of the esteem and friendship of all with whom he had any intercourse, and was absolutely incapable of employing the force of threatenings, or the restraints of fear, to suppress the efforts of religious faction, to keep within due bounds the irregular love of novelty and change, and to secure to the church the obedience of its members. It is also to be observed, that Melancthon's sentiments, on some points of no inconsiderable moment, were entirely different from those of Luther; and it may not be improper to point out the principal subjects on which they adopted different ways of thinking.

In the first place, Melancthon was of opinion, that for the sake of peace and concord many things might be connived at and tolerated in the church of Rome, which Luther considered as absolutely insupportable. The former carried so far the spirit of toleration and indulgence, as to discover no reluctance against retaining the ancient form of ecclesiastical government, and submitting to the dominion of the Roman pontiff, on certain conditions, and in such a manner, as might be without prejudice to the

^a It would certainly be very difficult to point out the many respects in which Dr. Mosheim affirms that Luther was superior to Melancthon. For if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I

know no other respect in which Melancthon is not superior, or at least equal, to Luther. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.

obligation and authority of all those truths that are clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A second occasion of a diversity of sentiments between these two great men was furnished by the tenets which Luther maintained in opposition to the doctrines of the church of Rome. Such were his ideas concerning faith, as the only cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of good works to our final happiness, and man's natural incapacity in promoting his own conversion. In avoiding the corrupt notions which were embraced by the Roman Catholic doctors on these important points of theology, Luther seemed, in the judgment of Melancthon, to lean too much towards the opposite extreme.^o Hence the latter inclined to think, that the sentiments and expressions of his colleague required to be somewhat mitigated, lest they should give a handle to dangerous abuses, and be perverted to the propagation of pernicious errors.

It may be observed, thirdly, that though Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist,^p yet he did not consider their controversy with the divines of Switzerland on that subject, as a matter of sufficient moment to occasion a breach of church communion and fraternal concord between the contending parties. He thought that this happy concord might be easily preserved by expressing the doctrine of the eucharist, and Christ's presence in that ordinance, in general and ambiguous terms, which the two churches might explain according to their respective systems.

Such were the sentiments of Melancthon, which, though he did not entirely conceal during the life of Luther, he delivered, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed, than he inculcated with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted at with timorousness and caution. The eminent rank Melancthon held among the Lutheran doctors rendered this bold manner of proceeding extremely disagreeable to many. His doctrine accordingly was censured and opposed; and thus the church was deprived of the tranquillity it had under Luther, and exhibited an unhappy scene of animosity, contention, and discord.

Adiaphoristic controversy, or the XXVIII. The rise of these unhappy divisions must be dated from the year 1548, when Charles V. attempted to

^o & It is certain that Luther carried the doctrine of justification by faith to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the conditions or means of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it.

^p & It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim affirming that Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist, when the contrary is well known. It is true, in the writings of Melancthon, which were published before the year 1529, or 1530, there are passages, which show that he had not, as yet, thoroughly examined the controversy relating to the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. It is also true, that during the disputes carried on between

Westphal and Calvin, after the death of Luther, concerning the real presence, he did not declare himself in an open manner for either side (which, however, is a presumptive proof of his leaning to that of Calvin), but expressed his sorrow at these divisions, and the spirit of animosity by which they were inflamed. But whoever will be at the pains to read the letters of Melancthon to Calvin upon this subject, or those extracts of them that are collected by Hospinian, in the second volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria*, p. 428, will be persuaded that he looked upon the doctrine of consubstantiation not only as erroneous, but even as idolatrous; and that nothing but the fear of inflaming the present divisions, and of not being seconded, prevented him from declaring his sentiments openly. See also *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, article Melancthon, note L.

dispute concern-
ing matters of
an indifferent
nature.

impose upon the Germans the famous edict called the Interim. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, desirous to know how far such an edict ought to be respected in his dominions, assembled the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic in the last-mentioned city, and proposed this nice and critical subject to their serious examination. Upon this occasion Melancthon, complying with the suggestions of that lenity and moderation that were the great and leading principles in the whole course of his conduct and actions, declared it as his opinion, that, in matters of an indifferent nature, compliance was due to the imperial edicts.⁴ But in this class of matters indifferent this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and could not, in consequence, be considered as indifferent by his true disciples.⁵ For he regarded as such, the doctrine of justification by faith alone; the necessity of good works to eternal salvation; the number of sacraments; the jurisdiction claimed by the pope and the bishops; extreme unction; the observation of certain religious festivals, and certain superstitious rites and ceremonies. Hence arose that violent scene of contention and discord, that was commonly called the *Adiaphoristic* Controversy, which divided the church during many years, and proved highly detrimental to the progress of the Reformation. The defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at their head, attacked with incredible bitterness and fury the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic, and particularly Melancthon, by whose counsel and influence every thing relating to the Interim had been conducted, and accused them of apostasy from the true religion. Melancthon, on the other hand, seconded by the zeal of his friends and disciples, justified his conduct with the utmost spirit and vigour.⁶ In this unlucky debate the two following questions were principally discussed: First, "Whether the matters that seemed indifferent to Melancthon were so in reality?" This his adversaries obstinately denied." Secondly, "Whether in things of an indifferent nature, and in which the interests of religion are not essentially concerned, it be lawful to yield to the enemies of the truth?"

A controversy set
on foot by
George Major,
concerning the
necessity of
good works.

XXIX. This debate concerning things indifferent became, as might well have been expected, a fruitful source of other controversies, which were equally detrimental to the tranquillity of the church, and to the cause of the Reformation. The first to which it gave rise was the warm dispute concerning the necessity of good works, that was carried on with such spirit against the rigid Lutherans, by George Major, an eminent teacher of theology at Wittemberg. Melancthon had long been of

⁴ The piece in which Melancthon and his associates delivered their sentiments relating to things indifferent, is commonly called in the German language, *Das Leipziger Interim*, and was republished at Leipsic in 1721, by Bielius, in a work entitled, *Das Dreyfache Interim*.

⁵ If they only are the true disciples of Luther, who submit to his judgment, and adopt his sentiments in theological matters, many doctors of that communion, and our historian among the rest, must certainly be supposed to have forfeited that title, as will abundantly appear hereafter. Be that as it may, Melancthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent the doctrines relating to faith and

good works, which are the fundamental points of the Christian religion, and, if I may use such an expression, the very hinges on which the gospel turns.

⁶ This controversy was called *Adiaphoristic*; and Melancthon and his followers *Adiaphorists*, from the Greek word *ἀδιαφορος*, which signifies indifferent.

⁷ *Schlussenburgii Catalog. Hæreticor. lib. xiii.*; Arnold's German work, entitled *Kirchen- und-Ketzer Historie*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. p. 816; *Salig. Histor. Aug. Confess. vol. i. p. 611.*—The German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1702, p. 339, 393; *Luc. Osiandri Epitome Histor. Eccles. Centur. xvi. p. 502.*

⁸ See above, note ⁷.

opinion, that the necessity of good works, in order to the attainment of everlasting salvation, might be asserted and taught, as conformable to the truths revealed in the gospel, and both he and his colleagues declared this to be their opinion, when they were assembled at Leipsic, in the year 1548, to examine the famous edict already mentioned.* This declaration was severely censured by the rigid disciples of Luther, as contrary to the doctrine and sentiments of their chief, and as conformable both to the tenets and interests of the church of Rome; but it found an able defender in Major, who, in the year 1552, maintained the necessity of good works against the extravagant assertions of Amsdorf. Hence arose a new controversy between the rigid and moderate Lutherans, which was carried on with that keenness and animosity that were peculiar to all debates of a religious nature during this century. In the course of this warm debate, Amsdorf was so far transported and infatuated by his excessive zeal for the doctrine of Luther, as to maintain, that good works were an impediment to salvation; from which imprudent and odious expression the flame of controversy received new fuel, and broke forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, Major complained of the malice or ignorance of his adversaries, who explained his doctrine in a manner quite different from that in which he intended it should be understood; and, at length, he renounced it entirely, that he might not appear fond of wrangling, or be looked upon as a disturber of the peace of the church. This step did not, however, put an end to the debate, which was still carried on, until it was terminated at last by the Form of Concord.†

The synergistical controversy. XXX. From the same source that produced the dispute concerning the necessity of good works, arose the Synergistical Controversy. The Synergists,‡ whose doctrine was almost the same with that of the Semi-Pelagians, denied that God was the only agent in the conversion of sinful man; and affirmed that man co-operated with divine grace in the accomplishment of this salutary purpose. Here also Melancthon renounced the doctrine of Luther; at least, the terms he employs in expressing his sentiments concerning this intricate subject, are such as Luther would have rejected with horror; for in the conference at Leipsic already mentioned the former of these great men did not scruple to affirm, that “God drew to himself and converted adult persons in such a manner, that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will.” The friends and disciples of Melancthon adopted this manner of speaking, and used the expressions of their master to describe the nature of the divine agency in man’s conversion. But this representation of the matter was far from being agreeable to the rigid Lutherans. They looked upon it as subversive of the true and genuine doctrine of Luther, relating to the absolute servitude of the human will,§ and the total inability of man to do any good action, or to bear any part in his own conversion; and hence they opposed the Synergists, or Semi-Pelagians, with the utmost animosity and bitterness. The

* The Interim of Charles V.

† Schlussenburgii, lib. vii. Catal. Hæreticor.; Arnoldi Hist. Ecclesiae, lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. p. 822; Jo. Musæi Pærelection. in Form. Concord. p. 181; Arn. Grevii Memoria Joh. Westphali, p. 166.

‡ As this controversy turned upon the co-operation of the human will with the divine grace, the persons who maintained this joint agency were called Synergists, from a

Greek word (*συνεργεια*), which signifies co-operation.

§ The doctrines of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and human impotence, were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther. But in these times he has very few followers in this respect, even among those that bear his name. But of this more hereafter.

principal champions in this theological conflict were, Strigelius, who defended the sentiments of Melancthon with singular dexterity and perspicuity, and Flackius, who maintained the ancient doctrine of Luther: of these doctors, as also of the subject of their debate, a farther account will be given presently.*

Flackius, by his
intemperate
zeal, excites
many divisions
in the church.

XXXI. During these dissensions, a new academy was founded at Jena by the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, the sons of the famous John Frederick, whose unsuccessful wars with the emperor Charles V. had involved him in so many calamities, and deprived him of his electoral dominions. The noble founders of this academy, having designed it for the bulwark of the protestant religion, as it was taught and inculcated by Luther, were particularly careful in choosing such professors and divines as were remarkable for their attachment to the genuine doctrine of that great reformer, and their aversion to the sentiments of those moderate Lutherans who had attempted, by certain modifications and corrections, to render it less harsh and disgusting. And as none of the Lutheran doctors were so eminent on account of their uncharitable and intemperate zeal for this ancient doctrine, as Matthew Flackius, the virulent enemy of Melancthon, and all the Philipists, he was appointed, in the year 1557, professor of divinity at Jena. The consequences of this nomination were, indeed, deplorable. For this turbulent and impetuous man, whom nature had formed with an uncommon propensity to foment divisions and propagate discord, did not only revive all the ancient controversies that had distracted the church, but also excited new debates; and sowed, with such avidity and success, the seeds of contention between the divines of Weimar and those of the electorate of Saxony, that a fatal schism in the Lutheran church was apprehended by many of its wisest members.^a And, indeed, this schism would have been inevitable, if the machinations and intrigues of Flackius had produced the desired effect. For, in the year 1559, he persuaded the dukes of Saxe-Weimar to order a refutation of the errors that had crept into the Lutheran church, and particularly of those that were imputed to the followers of Melancthon, to be drawn up with care, to be promulgated by authority, and to be placed among the other religious edicts and articles of faith that were in force in their dominions. But this pernicious design of dividing the church proved abortive; for the other Lutheran princes, who acted from the true and genuine principles of the reformation, disapproved of this seditious book from a just apprehension of its tendency to increase the present troubles, and to augment, instead of diminishing, the calamities of the church.^b

The contest between
Flackius
and Strigelius.

XXXII. This theological incendiary kindled the flame of discord and persecution even in the church of Saxe-Weimar, and in the university of Jena, to which he belonged, by venting his fury against Strigelius,^c the friend and disciple of Melancthon. This moderate divine adopted, in many things, the sentiments of his master, and maintained, particularly in his public lectures, that the human will, when under the influence of the divine grace leading it to repentance, was not totally inactive, but bore a certain part in the

* See Schlussenburgii Catal. Hæreticor. lib. v.; G. Arnold. Histor. Eccles. lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 826; Bayle, Dictionnaire, at the article Synergistes; Salig. Histor. August. Confess. vol. iii. p. 474, 587, 880; Musæi Prælect. in Formulam Concordiæ, p. 88.

^a See the famous letter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, concerning Flackius and his ma-

lignant attempts, which is published by Arn. Grevius in his Memoria Joh. Westphali, p. 393.

^b Salig. Historia. August. Confess. vol. iii. p. 476.

^c See the writers cited in the preceding notes; and also Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Strigelius.

salutary work of its conversion. In consequence of this doctrine, he was accused by Flackius of Syncretism at the court of Saxe-Weimar; and by the order of the prince was cast into prison, where he was treated with severity and rigour. He was at length delivered from this confinement in the year 1562, and allowed to resume his former vocation, in consequence of a declaration of his real sentiments, which, as he alleged, had been greatly misrepresented. This declaration, however, did not either decide or terminate the controversy; since Strigelius seemed rather to conceal his erroneous sentiments^d under ambiguous expressions, than to renounce them entirely. And, indeed, he was so conscious of this himself, that to avoid being involved in new calamities and persecutions, he retired from Jena to Leipsic, and from Leipsic to Heidelberg, where he spent the remainder of his days; and appeared so unsettled in his religious opinions, that it is really doubtful whether he is to be placed among the followers of Luther or Calvin.

Some particulars
of the dispute
carried on by
Flackius, of
Saxe-Weimar.

XXXIII. The issue, however, of this controversy, which Flackius had kindled with such an intemperate zeal, proved highly detrimental to his own reputation and influence in particular, as well as to the interests of the Lutheran church in general. For while this vehement disputant was assailing his adversary with an inconsiderate ardour, he exaggerated so excessively the sentiments which he looked upon as orthodox, as to maintain an opinion of the most monstrous and detestable kind; an opinion which made him appear, even in the judgment of his warmest friends, an odious heretic, and a corruptor of the true religion. In the year 1560, a public dispute was held at Weimar, between him and Strigelius, concerning the natural powers and faculties of the human mind, and their influence in the conversion and conduct of the true Christian. In this conference the latter seemed to attribute to unassisted nature too much, and the former too little. The one looked upon the fall of man as an event that extinguished in the human mind every virtuous tendency, every noble faculty, and left nothing behind it but universal darkness and corruption. The other maintained, that this degradation of the powers of nature was by no means universal or entire; that the will retained still some propensity to worthy pursuits, and a certain degree of activity that rendered it capable of attainments in virtue. Strigelius, who was well acquainted with the wiles of a captious philosophy, proposed to defeat his adversary by puzzling him, and addressed to him with that view the following question: "Whether original sin, or the corrupt habit which the human soul contracted by the fall, is to be placed in the class of substances or accidents?" Flackius answered with unparalleled imprudence and temerity, that it belonged to the former; and maintained, to his dying hour, this most extravagant and dangerous proposition, that original sin is the very substance of human nature. Nay, so invincible was the obstinacy with which he persevered in this strange doctrine, that he chose to renounce all worldly honours and advantages, rather than depart from it. It was condemned by the greatest and soundest part of the Lutheran church, as a doctrine that bore no small affinity to that of the Manichæans. But, on the other hand, the merit, erudition, and credit of Flackius procured him many respectable patrons and able defenders among the most learned doctors of the church, who embraced his sentiments, and maintained his cause with the greatest spirit

^d The sentiments of Strigelius were not, I have reason to believe, very erroneous in the judgment of Dr. Mosheim, nor

are they such in the estimation of the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors at this day.

and zeal ; of whom the most eminent were, Cyriac, Spangenberg, Christopher Irenæus, and Celestine.*

Consequences that
arose from the
imprudence of
Flackius.

XXIV. It is scarcely possible to imagine how much the Lutheran church suffered from this new dispute in all those places where its contagion had reached, and how detrimental it was to the progress of Lutheranism, among those who still adhered to the religion of Rome. For the flame of discord spread far and wide ; it was communicated even to those churches which were erected in popish countries, and particularly in the Austrian territories, under the gloomy shade of a dubious toleration ; and it so animated the Lutheran pastors, though surrounded on all sides by their cruel adversaries, that they could neither be restrained by the dictates of prudence, nor by the sense of danger.^f Many are of opinion that an ignorance of philosophical distinctions and definitions threw Flackius inconsiderately into the extravagant hypothesis he maintained with such obstinacy, and that his greatest heresy was no more than a foolish attachment to an unusual term. But Flackius seems to have fully refuted this plea in his behalf, by declaring boldly, in several parts of his writings, that he knew perfectly well the philosophical signification and the whole energy of the word substance, and was by no means ignorant of the consequences that would be drawn from the doctrine he had embraced.^g Be that as it may, we cannot but wonder at the senseless and excessive obstinacy of this turbulent man, who chose rather to sacrifice his fortune, and disturb the tranquillity of the church, than to abandon a word, which was entirely foreign to the subject in debate, and renounce a hypothesis that was composed of the most palpable contradictions.

The disputes kindled by Osiander.

XXXV. The last controversy that we shall mention of those that were occasioned by the excessive lenity of Melancthon, was set on foot by Osiander, in the year 1549, and produced much discord and animosity in the church. Had its first founder been yet alive, his influence and authority would have suppressed in their birth these wretched disputes ; nor would Osiander, who despised the moderation of Melancthon, have dared either to publish or defend his crude and chimerical opinions within the reach of Luther. Arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character ; he loved to strike out new notions ; but his views seemed always involved in an intricate obscurity. The disputes that arose concerning the Interim, induced him to retire from Nuremberg, where he had exercised the pastoral charge, to Königsberg, where he was chosen professor of divinity. In this new station he began his academical functions by propagating notions concerning the Divine Image, and the nature of repentance, very different from the doctrine that Luther had taught on these interesting subjects ; and

* Schlussemburgi Catalog. Hereticor. lib. ii.—The life of Flackius, written in German by Ritter, and published in 8vo, at Frankfort, in the year 1725 ; Salig. Histor. Aug. Confession. vol. iii. p. 593 ; Arnoldi Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. xvi. cap. xxix. p. 829 ; Musæi Prælect. in Formul. Concordiæ, p. 29 ; Jo. Georgii Leuckfeldii Historia Spangenbergensis.—For a particular account of the dispute that was held publicly at Weimar, see the German work entitled, Unschuld. Nachrichten, p. 383.

^f See a German work of Bern. Raupach, entitled, Zwiefache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch. Oesterrich. p. 25, 29, 32, 34, 43, 64.

The same author speaks of the friends of Flackius in Austria ; and particularly of Irenæus, in his Presbyterol. Austriacæ, p. 69.—For an account of Celestine, see the German work mentioned at the end of the preceding note.

^g This will appear evident to such as will be at the pains to consult the letters which Westphal wrote to his friend Flackius, in order to persuade him to abstain from the use of the word substance, with the answers of the latter. These Letters and Answers are published by Arnold Grevius, in his Memoria Jo. Westphali, p. 186.

not contented with this deviation from the common track, he thought proper, in the year 1550, to introduce considerable alterations and corrections into the doctrine that had been generally received in the Lutheran church, with respect to the means of our justification before God. When we examine his discussion of this important point, we shall find it much more easy to perceive the opinions he rejected, than to understand the system he had invented or adopted; for as was but too usual in this age, he not only expressed his notions in an obscure manner, but seemed moreover perpetually in contradiction with himself. His doctrine, however, when carefully examined, will appear to amount to the following propositions: "Christ, considered in his human nature only, could not, by his obedience to the divine law, obtain justification and pardon for sinners; neither can we be justified before God by embracing and applying to ourselves, through faith, the righteousness and obedience of the man Christ. It is only through that eternal and essential righteousness, which dwells in Christ considered as God, and which resides in his divine nature, that is united to the human, that mankind can obtain complete justification. Man becomes a partaker of this divine righteousness by faith; since it is in consequence of this uniting principle that Christ dwells in the heart of man with his divine righteousness; now, wherever this divine righteousness dwells, there God can behold no sin; and, therefore, when it is present with Christ in the hearts of the regenerate, they are, on its account, considered by the Deity as righteous, although they be sinners. Moreover, this divine and justifying righteousness of Christ excites the faithful to the pursuit of holiness, and to the practice of virtue." This doctrine was zealously opposed by the most eminent doctors of the Lutheran church, and in a more especial manner by Melancthon and his colleagues. On the other hand, Osiander and his sentiments were supported by persons of considerable weight. But, upon the death of this rigid and fanciful divine, the flame of controversy was cooled, and dwindled by degrees into nothing.^b

The debates excited by Stancarus.

XXXVI. The doctrine of Osiander, concerning the method of being justified before God, appeared so absurd to Stancarus, professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, that he undertook to refute it. But while this turbulent and impetuous doctor was exerting all the vehemence of his zeal against the opinion of his colleague, he was hurried by his violence into the opposite extreme, and fell into a hypothesis, that appeared equally groundless, and not less dangerous in its tendency and consequences. Osiander had maintained that the man Christ, in his character of moral agent, was obliged to obey for himself the divine law, and therefore could not, by the imputation of this obedience, obtain righteousness or justification for others. From hence he concluded that the Saviour of the world had been empowered, not by his character as man, but by his nature as God, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the favour of an offended Deity. Stancarus, on the other hand, excluded entirely Christ's divine nature from all concern in the satisfaction he made, and in the redemption he procured for offending mortals, and

^b See Schlussenburgii Catalogus Hæreticor. lib. vi.; Arnoldi Hist. Eccles. lib. xvi. cap. xxiv. p. 804; Christ. Hartknoch Preussische Kirchen Hist. p. 309; Salig. Historia August. Confession. t. ii. p. 922. The judgment that was formed of this controversy by the divines of Wittemberg, may be seen in the German work entitled, Unschuldige Nachrichten, p. 141;

and that of the doctors of Copenhagen, in der Danischen Bibliothec. part vii. p. 150, where there is an ample list of the writings published on this subject.—To form a just idea of the insolence and arrogance of Osiander, those who understand the German language will do well to consult Hiuschius, Nuremberg Interim-Historie, p. 44, 59, 60, &c.

maintained, that the sacred office of a mediator between God and man belonged to Jesus, considered in his human nature alone. Having perceived, however, that this doctrine exposed him to the enmity of many divines, and even rendered him the object of popular resentment and indignation, he retired from Königsberg into Germany, and from thence into Poland, where he excited no small commotions,¹ and where also he concluded his days, in the year 1574.¹

The methods that
were employed
to heal these di-
visions.

XXXVII. All those who had the cause of virtue and the advancement of the reformation really at heart, looked with an impatient ardour for an end to these bitter and uncharitable contentions; and their desires of peace and concord in the church were still increased, by their perceiving the industrious assiduity with which Rome turned these unhappy divisions to the advancement of her interests. But during the life of Melancthon, who was principally concerned in these warm debates, no effectual method could be found to bring them to a conclusion. The death of this great man, which happened in the year 1560, changed indeed the face of things, and enabled those who were disposed to terminate the present contests, to act with more resolution, and a surer prospect of success, than had accompanied their former efforts. Hence it was that, after several vain attempts, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and John William, duke of Saxe-Weimar, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at Altenburg, in the year 1568, and there to propose, in an amicable manner, and with a charitable spirit, their respective opinions, that thus it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible, and what was the most probable method of bringing it about. But the intemperate zeal and warmth of the disputants, with other unlucky circumstances, blasted the fruits that were expected from this conference.² Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran church was therefore proposed; and this was, that a certain number of wise and moderate divines should be employed in composing a form of doctrine, in which all the controversies that divided the church should be terminated and decided; and that this new compilation, as soon as it was approved of by the Lutheran princes and consistories, should be clothed with ecclesiastical authority, and added to the symbolical, or standard books of the Lutheran church. James Andreæ, professor at Tübingen, whose theological abilities had procured him the most eminent and shining reputation, had been employed so early as the year 1569, in this critical and difficult undertaking, by the special command of the dukes of Wirtem-

¹ See a German work of Chr. Hartknoch, entitled, *Preussische Kirchen geschichte*, p. 350; *Schlussemburgi Catalog. Hæreticor. lib. ix.*; *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, at the article *Stancarus*. Before the arrival of Stancarus at Königsberg, in the year 1548, he had lived for some time in Switzerland, where also he had occasioned religious disputes; for he adopted several doctrines of Luther, particularly that concerning the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, which were rejected by the Swiss and Grisons. See the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484, 490, 491. For an account of the disturbances he occasioned in Poland, in 1556, see Bullinger, in Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistolar. à Reformator. Helvetic. Scriptor. p. 371, 459.*

² The main argument alleged by Stancarus,

in favour of his hypothesis, was this, that if Christ was mediator by his divine nature only, then it followed evidently, that even considered as God he was inferior to the Father; and thus, according to him, the doctrine of his adversary Osiander led directly to the Unitarian system. This difficulty, which was presented with great subtlety, engaged many to strike into a middle road, and to maintain, that both the divine and human natures of Christ were immediately concerned in the work of redemption.

³ Casp. Sagittarii *Introduction ad Hist. Ecclesiasticam*, part ii. p. 1542.

⁴ The Lutherans call symbolical (from a Greek word that signifies collection, or compilation) the books which contain their articles of faith, and rules of discipline.

berg and Brunswick. The elector of Saxony,^m with several persons of distinction, embarked with these two princes in the project they had formed; so that Andr  , under the shade of such a powerful protection and patronage, exerted all his zeal, travelled through different parts of Germany, negotiated alternately with courts and synods, and took all the measures which prudence could suggest, in order to render the form that he was composing universally acceptable.

The Saxon crypto-Calvinists, or secret favourers of Calvinism.

XXXVIII. The persons embarked in this new and critical design, were persuaded that no time ought to be lost in bringing it into execution when they perceived the imprudence and temerity of the disciples of Melancthon, and the changes they were attempting to introduce into the doctrine of the church. For his son-in-law, Peucer,ⁿ who was a physician and professor of natural philosophy at Wittemberg, together with the divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic, encouraged by the approbation, and relying on the credit of Cracovius, chancellor of Dresden, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction at the Saxon court, aimed at nothing less than abolishing the doctrine of Luther, concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ, with a design to substitute the sentiments of Calvin in its place. This new reformation was attempted in Saxony in the year 1570, and a great variety of clandestine arts and stratagems were employed, in order to bring it to a happy and successful issue. What the sentiments of Melancthon concerning the eucharist were towards the conclusion of his days, appears to be extremely doubtful. It is, however, certain, that he had a strong inclination to form a coalition between the Saxons and Calvinists, though he was prevented, by the irresolution and timidity of his natural character, from attempting openly this much-desired union. Peucer, and the other disciples of Melancthon already mentioned, made a public profession of the doctrine of Calvin: and though they had much more spirit and courage than their soft and yielding master, yet they wanted his circumspection and prudence, which were not less necessary to the accomplishment of their designs. Accordingly, in the year 1571, they published in the German language a work entitled, *Stereoma*,^o and other writings, in which they openly declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther, concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ;^p and, that they might execute their purposes

^m Augustus.

ⁿ ⚡ This Peucer, whom Dr. Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well-known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings abundantly testify. Nor was he more remarkable for his merit than for his sufferings. After his genius and virtues had rendered him the favourite of the elector of Saxony, and placed him at the head of the university of Wittemberg, he felt, in a terrible manner, the effects of the bigotry and barbarity of the rigid Lutherans, who, on account of his denying the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, united, with success, their efforts to deprive him of the favour of his sovereign, and procured his imprisonment. His confinement, which lasted ten

years, was accompanied with all possible circumstances of severity. See Melchior Adam, *Vit. Medicor. Germanor.*

^o ⚡ A term which signifies foundation.

^p ⚡ The learned historian seems to deviate here from his usual accuracy. The authors of the book entitled *Stereoma*, did not declare their dissent from the doctrine of Luther, but from the extravagant inventions of some of his successors. This great man, in his controversy with Zuingli, had indeed thrown out some unguarded expressions, that seemed to imply a belief of the omnipresence of the body of Christ; but he became sensible afterwards that this opinion was attended with great difficulties, and, particularly, that it ought not to be made use of as a proof of Christ's corporeal presence in the eucharist.* But this absurd hypothesis was renewed after the death of Luther, by Tinman and Westphal, and was dressed up in a still more specious

* *Lutheri Opp. tom. viii. p. 375, edit. Jeniens.*

with greater facility, introduced into the schools a catechism, compiled by Pezelius, which was favourable to the sentiments of Calvin. As this bold step excited great commotions and debates in the church, Augustus held at Dresden, in the year 1571, a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines, and of all other persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and commanded them to adopt his opinion in relation to the eucharist.^a The assembled doctors complied with this order in appearance; but their compliance was feigned;^b for on their return to the places of their abode, they resumed their original design, pursued it with assiduity and zeal, and by their writings, as also by their public and private instructions, endeavoured to abolish the ancient doctrine of the Saxons, relating to the presence of Christ's body in that holy sacrament. The elector, informed of these proceedings, convened anew the Saxon doctors, and held, in the year 1574, the famous convocation of Torgaw,^c where, after a strict inquiry into the doctrines of those who, from their secret attachment to the sentiments of the Swiss divines, were called Crypto-Calvinists,^d he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number by the force of the secular arm to change their sentiments. Peucer, who had been principally concerned in moderating the rigour of some of Luther's doctrines, felt, in a more especial manner, the dreadful effects of the elector's severity: for he was confined to a hard prison, where he lay in the most affecting circumstances of distress until the year 1585, when, having obtained his liberty through the intercession of the prince of Anhalt, who had given his daughter in marriage to Augustus, he retired to Zerbst, where he ended his days in peace.^e

and plausible form, by Brentius, Chemnitz, and Andreæ, who maintained the communication of the properties of Christ's divinity to his human nature, in the manner that it was afterwards adopted by the Lutheran church. This strange system gave occasion to the book entitled *Stereoma*, in which the doctrine of Luther was respected, and the inventions alone of his successors renounced, and in which the authors declared plainly, that they did not adopt the sentiments of Zuingli or Calvin; nay, that they admitted the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist.

^f In this passage, compared with what follows, Dr. Mosheim seems to maintain, that the opinion of Augustus, which he imposed upon the assembled divines, was in favour of the adversaries of Melancthon, and in direct opposition to the authors of the *Stereoma*. But here he has committed a palpable oversight. The convocation of Dresden, in the year 1571, instead of approving or maintaining the doctrine of the rigid Lutherans, drew up, on the contrary, a form of agreement (formula consensus), in which the omnipresence, or ubiquity, of Christ's body was denied, and which was, indeed, an abridgment of the book entitled *Stereoma*. So that the transactions at Dresden were entirely favourable to the moderate Lutherans, who embraced openly and sincerely, and not by a feigned consent (subdole) as our historian remarks, the sentiment of the elector Augustus, who at that time patronised the disciples of Melancthon.

This prince, it is true, seduced by the crafty and artful insinuations of the Ubiquitarians, or rigid Lutherans, who made him believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, changed sides soon after, and was pushed on to the most violent and persecuting measures, of which the convocation of Torgaw was the first step, and the Form of Concord the unhappy issue.

^g The compliance was sincere, but the order was very different from that mentioned by our author, as appears from the preceding note.

^h It is to be observed that there were but fifteen of the Saxon doctors convened at Torgaw by the summons of the elector; a small number this to give law to the Lutheran church. For an account of the declaration drawn up by this assembly on the points relating to the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, the omnipresence of that body, and the oral manducation of the flesh and blood of the divine Saviour, see Hospiniani *Concordia Discors*, p. 39.

ⁱ i. e. Hidden, or disguised Calvinists.

^k See Schlussenburgii *Theologia Calvinistica*, lib. ii. p. 207, lib. iii. *Præf.* et p. 1—22, 52—57, 69, lib. iv. p. 246; Hutteri, *Concordia Concors*, cap. i.—viii.; Arnoldi *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxxii. p. 389—395; Loscheri *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos* part. ii. p. 176, part. iii. p. 1.—All these are writers favourable to the rigid Lutherans; see, therefore, on the

The Form of Concord.

XXXIX. The schemes of the Crypto-Calvinists, or secret abettors of Calvinism, being thus disconcerted, the elector of Saxony, and the other princes who had entered into his views, redoubled their zeal and diligence in promoting the Form of Concord that has been already mentioned. Accordingly, various conferences were held preparatory to this important undertaking; and, in the year 1576, while the Saxon divines were convened at Torgaw by the order of Augustus, a treatise was composed by James Andreæ, with a design to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the reformed doctors.* This production, which received the denomination of the Book of Torgaw, from the place where it was composed, having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected, by the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors in Germany, the matter was again proposed to the deliberations of a select number of divines, who met at Berg, a Benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg.† Here all things relating to the intended project were accurately weighed, the opinions of the assembled doctors carefully discussed, and the result of all was the famous Form of Concord, which has made so much noise in the world. The persons who assisted Andreæ in the composition of this celebrated work, or at least in the last perusal of it at Berg, were Martin Chemnitz, Nicholas Selnecker, Andrew Musculus, Christopher Cornerus, and David Chytræus.‡ This new confession of the Lutheran faith was adopted first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of Augustus; and their example was afterwards followed by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, by some sooner, by others later.⁴ The authority of this confession, as is

other side, Casp. Peuceri *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*, which was published in 8vo, at Zurich, in the year 1605, by Pezelius.

* & The term Reformed was used to distinguish the other Protestants of various denominations from the Lutherans; and it is equally applied to the friends of episcopacy and presbytery. See the following chapter.

† & The book that was composed by Andreæ and his associates at Torgaw, was sent, by the elector of Saxony, to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view to its being examined, approved, and received by them. It was, however, rejected by several princes, and censured and refuted by several doctors. These censures engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and it was from this book, thus changed and new-modelled, that the Form of Concord, published at Berg, was entirely drawn.

‡ & The Form of Concord composed at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, consists of two parts. In the first is contained a system of doctrine, drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors here mentioned. In the second is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that persecuting and tyrannical spirit, which the Protestants complained of in the church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all those who differed from these six doctors, particularly in their strange opinions concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ's body, and the real manducation of his flesh and blood in the eucharist. This condemnation

branded with the denomination of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians, of all nations, who refused to subscribe these doctrines. More particularly in Germany, the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the famous testament of Brentius. For a full account of the Confession of Torgaw and Berg, see Hospinian's *Concordia Discors*, where the reader will find large extracts out of this confession, with an ample account of the censures it underwent, the opposition that was made to it, and the arguments that were used by its learned adversaries.

⁴ A list of the writers who have treated concerning the Form of Concord, may be found in Jo. Georg. Walchii *Introduct. in Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 707, and Koecheri *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 188. There are also several documents in MSS. relative to this famous confession, of which there is an account in the German work, entitled *Unschuld. Nachricht. A. 1753*, p. 322.—The principal writers who have given the history of the Form of Concord, and the transactions relating to it, are, Hospinian, an eminent divine of Zurich, in his *Concordia Discors*; and Leon. Hutter, in his *Concordia Concors*. These two historians have written on opposite sides, and whoever will be at the pains of comparing their accounts with attention and impartiality, will easily perceive where the truth lies, and receive satisfactory information with respect to the true state of these

sufficiently known, was employed for the two following purposes: first, to terminate the controversies which divided the Lutheran church, more especially after the death of its founder; and, secondly, to preserve that church against the opinions of the Reformed, in relation to the eucharist.

The Form of Concord produces much disturbance.

XL. It so fell out, however, that this very Form, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became, nevertheless, a source of new tumults, and furnished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with

Is opposed by the Reformed or Calvinist:

a warm opposition from the Reformed, and also from all those who were either secretly attached to their doctrine, or who, at least, were desirous of living in concord

and communion with them, from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived that this Form removed all the flattering hopes they had entertained of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the Reformed from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new Confession of Faith, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines,* those of the Palatinate,† together with the principalities of Anhalt and Baden, declared war against the Form of Concord. And accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new creed and its compilers, in many laborious productions.‡

And even by the Lutherans themselves.

XLI. Nor were the followers of Zuingle and Calvin the only opposers of this Form of Concord; it found adversaries even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several

of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments nor entreaties could engage them to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a means of instruction. It was rejected by the churches of Hesse, Pomerania, Nuremberg, Holstein, Silesia, Denmark, Brunswick, and others.¶ But though they all united

controversies, and the motives that animated the contending parties.

* See Petri Vilerii *Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis dicti "Concordiæ."*—This work was published a second time, with the annotations of Lud. Gerhard à Renesse, by the learned Dr. Gordes of Groningen, in his *Scriniarum Antiquarium seu Miscellan. Groningens. Nov. tom. i. p. 121.* Add to these the *Unschuld. Nachricht. A. 1747, p. 957.*

† John Casimir, Prince Palatine, convoked an assembly of the reformed divines at Frankfurt, in the year 1577, in order to annul and reject this Form of Concord. See Hen. Altingii, *Histor. Eccles. Palatin. sect. clxxxix. p. 143.*

‡ See Jo. Georg. Walchii *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranorum. lib. I. cap. vii. p. 784.*

¶ For an account of the ill success the Form of Concord met with in the duchy of Holstein, see the German work entitled, *Die*

*Danische Bibliothec. vol. iv. p. 212, vol. v. p. 355, vol. viii. p. 333—468, vol. ix. p. 1; Muhlilii Dissert. Histor. Theol. Diss. i. de Reformat. Holsat. p. 108; Arn. Grevii Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen. The transactions in Denmark, in relation to this Form, and the particular reasons for which it was rejected, may be seen in the Danish Library above quoted, vol. iv. p. 222—282, and also in Pontoppidan's *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ Diplomaticæ, tom. iii. p. 456.* This latter author evidently proves, p. 476, a fact which Herman ab Elswich, and other authors, have endeavoured to represent as dubious, viz. that Frederic II. king of Denmark, as soon as he received a copy of the form in question, threw it into the fire, and saw it consumed before his eyes.—The opposition that was made by the Hessians to the same form, may be seen in Tilemanni Vitæ Theologor. Marburgens. p. 99; *Danischen Bibliothec. vol. vii. p. 273—364, tom. ix. p. 1—87.* The ill fate of this famous Confession, in the principalities of Lignitz and Brieg, is amply related in the*

in opposing it, their opposition was, nevertheless, founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives and the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melancthon was, with some, the only, or at least, the predominant motive that induced them to declare against the Form in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of Holstein. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for Melancthon, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions condemned in the new creed were more conformable to truth, than those that were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving of the Form under consideration; the hopes of uniting the Reformed and Lutheran churches engaged many to declare against it: and a considerable number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that adding a new creed to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alleged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the Form of Concord.

The conduct of
Julius, duke of
Brunswick, in
the matter.

XLII. This form was patronised in a more especial manner by Julius, duke of Brunswick, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when that zealous prince changed his mind, suffered the Form to be publicly opposed by Heshusius, and other divines of his university of Helmstadt, and to be excluded from the number of the creeds and confessions that were received by his subjects. The reasons alleged by the Lutherans of Brunswick, in behalf of this step, were, 1st, That the Form of Concord, when printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy, to which they had given their approbation; 2dly, That the doctrine relating to the freedom of the human will was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that Luther had employed in treating that subject; 3dly, That the ubiquity, or universal and indefinite presence of Christ's human nature, was therein positively maintained, notwithstanding that the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Besides these reasons for rejecting the Form of Concord which were publicly avowed, others, perhaps of a secret nature, contributed to the remarkable change which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of Brunswick. Various methods and negotiations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince, and the divines that lived in his territories, had conceived against the creed of Berg. Particularly in the year 1583, a convocation of divines, from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, was held at Quedlinburg for this purpose. But Julius persisted stedfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the Form of Concord should be examined, and its authority discussed by a general assembly or synod of the Lutheran church.⁴

German work entitled, Unschuld. Nachricht. A. 1745, p. 173.

⁴ Leon. Hutteri Concordia Concors, cap. xlv. p. 1051; Phil. Jul. Richtmeyeri Braun-

schweig Kirchen Historie, part III. cap. viii. p. 483; see also the authors mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaffius, in his Acta et Scripta Ecclesie Wurttemberg, p. 62, and Histor. Littérar.

The crypto-Calvinists make new attempts to spread that doctrine.

XLIII. This Form was not only opposed from abroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth. For even in Saxony, many, who had been obliged to subscribe it, beheld it with aversion, in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of Melancthon. During the life of Augustus they were forced to suppress their sentiments; but as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by Christian I., the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed, from his tender years, to the moderate sentiments of Melancthon, and is also said to have discovered a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government, therefore, a fair opportunity was offered to the persons above-mentioned of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs. Nor was this opportunity neglected. The attempts to abolish the Form of Concord that had in time past proved unsuccessful, seemed again to be renewed, and that with a design to open a door for the entrance of Calvinism into Saxony. The persons who had embarked in this design were greatly encouraged by the protection they received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and particularly from Crellius, the first minister of Christian. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons, it was natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and some time after the form of exorcism was omitted in the administration of baptism.^f These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans; for not only a new German Catechism, favourable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists, was industriously distributed among the people, but also a new edition of the Bible, in the same language, enriched with the observations of Henry Salmuth, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in the year 1591, published at Dresden. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the magistrates endeavoured to suppress, by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was, all of a sudden, overturned by the unexpected death of Christian, which happened in the year 1591. Then the face of affairs changed again, and assumed its former aspect. The doctors who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project were committed to prison, or sent into banishment, after the death of the elector; and its chief encourager and patron, Crellius, suffered death in the year 1601, as the fruit of his temerity.^g

Theologie, part II. p. 423.—For an account of the convocation of Quedlinburg, and the acts that passed in that assembly, see the German work entitled, *Danische Bibliothec*. part VIII. p. 595.

^f In the year 1591.

^g The custom of exorcising, or casting out evil spirits, was used in the fourth century at the admission of Catechumens, and was afterwards absurdly applied in the baptism of infants. This application of it was retained by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches. It was indeed abolished by the elector, Chris-

tian I. but was restored after his death; and the opposition that had been made to it by Crellius was the chief reason of his unhappy end. See Justi. H. Boechmeri Jus. Eccles. Protestant. t. iii. p. 845. Ed. Secund. Halæ 1727. As also a German work of Melchior Kraft, entitled *Geschichte des Exorcismes*, p. 401.

^h See the German work of Godf. Arnold, entitled *Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, part II. book XVI. cap. xxxii. p. 863; as also the authors mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelken, in his *Dissertat. de Nic. Crellio ejusque Supplicio*, Rostochii, 1724, edit.

The dispute set on
foot by Huber.

XLIV. Towards the conclusion of this century, a new controversy was imprudently set on foot at Wittemberg, by Samuel Huber, a native of Switzerland, and professor of divinity in that university. The Calvinistic doctrine of absolute predestination and unconditional decrees was extremely offensive to this adventurous doctor, and even excited his warmest indignation. Accordingly, he affirmed, and taught publicly, that all mankind were elected from eternity by the Supreme Being to everlasting salvation, and accused his colleagues in particular, and the Lutheran divines in general, of a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin, on account of their asserting that the divine election was confined to those whose faith, foreseen by an omniscient God, rendered them the proper objects of his redeeming mercy. The opinion of Huber, as is now acknowledged by many learned men, differed more in words than in reality from the doctrine of the Lutheran church; for he did no more than explain, in a new method, and with a different turn of phrase, what that church had always taught concerning the unlimited extent of the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding none by an absolute decree from everlasting salvation. However, as a disagreeable experience and repeated examples had abundantly shown, that new methods of explaining or proving, even received doctrines, were as much adapted to excite divisions and contests as the introduction of new errors, Huber was exhorted to adhere to the ancient method of proposing the doctrine of election, and instead of his own peculiar forms of expression, to make use of those that were received and authorized by the church. This compliance, nevertheless, he refused to submit to, alleging, that it was contrary to the dictates of his conscience; while his patrons and disciples, in many places, gave several indications of a turbulent and seditious zeal for his cause. These considerations engaged the magistrates of Wittemberg to depose him from his office, and to send him into banishment.^a

The judgment
that ought to be
formed of these
controversies.

XLV. The controversies, of which a succinct account has now been given, and others of inferior moment which it is needless to mention, were highly detrimental to the true interests of the Lutheran church, as is abundantly known by all who are acquainted with the history of this century. It must also be acknowledged, that the manner of conducting and deciding these debates, the spirit of the disputants, and the proceedings of the judges, if we form our estimate of them by the sentiments that prevail among the wiser sort of men in modern times, must be considered as inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. It betrays, nevertheless, a want of both candour and justice to inveigh indiscriminately against the authors of these misfortunes, and to represent them as totally destitute of rational sentiments and virtuous principles. And it is yet more unjust to throw the whole blame upon the triumphant party, while the suffering side are all fondly represented as men of unblemished virtue, and worthy of a better fate. It ought not certainly to be a matter of surprise, that persons long accustomed to a state of darkness, and suddenly transported from thence into the blaze of day, did not at first behold the objects that were presented to their view with that distinctness and precision that are natural to those who have long enjoyed the light. And such really was the case of the first protestant doctors, who were delivered from the gloom of papal superstition and tyranny. Besides, there was something gross and indelicate in

^a For an account of the writers that appeared in this controversy, see Christ. Matth.

Pfaffi Introductio in Histor. Litter. Theologicæ, part II. iii. p. 431.

the reigning spirit of this age, which made the people not only tolerate but even applaud many things relating both to the conduct of life and the management of controversy, which the more polished manners of modern times cannot relish, and which, indeed, are by no means worthy of imitation. As to the particular motives or intentions that ruled each individual in this troubled scene of controversy, whether they acted from the suggestions of malice and resentment, or from an upright and sincere attachment to what they looked upon to be the truth, or how far these two springs of action were jointly concerned in their conduct, all this must be left to the decision of Him alone, whose privilege it is to search the heart, and to discern its most hidden intentions and its most secret motives.

The principal doctors and writers of this century.

XLVI. The Lutheran church furnished, during this century, a long list of considerable doctors, who illustrated in their writings the various branches of theological science. After Luther and Melancthon, who stand foremost in this list, on account of their superior genius and erudition, we may select the following writers as the most eminent, and as persons whose names are worthy to be preserved in the annals of literature: viz. Weller, Chemnitz, Brentius, Flacius, Regius, Major, Amsdorf, Sarcerius, Mathesius, Wigandus, Lambertus, Andreae, Chytræus, Salnecker, Bucer, Fagius, Cruciger, Strigelius, Spangenberg, Judex, Heshusius, Westphal, Æpinus, Osiander, and others.¹

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMED^a CHURCH.

The constitution of the Reformed Church.

I. THE nature and constitution of the reformed church, which was formerly denominated by its adversaries after its founders Zuingle and Calvin, is entirely different from that of all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other Christian church hath some common centre of union, and its members are connected together by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the Reformed church,^b whose several branches are

¹ For an ample account of these Lutheran doctors, see Melchior Adami *Vitæ Theologorum*, and Louis Ellis Dupin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs séparés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine du xvii. Siècle*. The lives of several of these divines have been also severally composed by different authors of the present times; as for example, that of Weller by Læmelius, that of Flacius by Ritter, those of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Lœnckfeldt, that of Fagius by Peverlin, that of Chytræus by Schutz, that of Bucer by Verportenius, those of Westphal and Æpinus by Arn. Greuvius, &c.

^a It has already been observed, that the denomination of Reformed was given to those protestant churches which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of Luther. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent. I say, on the continent; since in England the term reformed is generally used,

as standing in opposition to popery alone. Be that as it may, this part of Dr. Mosheim's work would have been perhaps with more propriety entitled, "The History of the Reformed Churches," than "the History of the Reformed Church." This will appear still more evident from the following note.

^b This, and the following observations, are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of unity, which is not to be found in the Reformed. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The Reformed church, when considered in the true extent of the term reformed, comprehends all these religious communities that separated themselves from the church of Rome; and, in this sense, includes the Lutheran church, as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents, not a single church, as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they be invisibly united by a

neither united by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed, that this church does not require from its ministers, either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrines, but permits them to explain in different ways several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity, and the practical precepts of that divine religion, be maintained in their original purity. This great community, therefore, may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of several churches, that vary more or less from each other in their form or constitution; but which are preserved, however, from anarchy and schisms, by a general spirit of equity and toleration, that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union.

The causes that produced this state of things.

II. This indeed was not the original state and constitution of the Reformed church, but was the result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it by a sort of necessity into this ambiguous form. The doctors of Switzerland, from whom it derived its origin, and Calvin, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts, in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments, under one rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lutherans as their brethren, yet they showed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favoured the opinions of Luther, concerning the Eucharist, the Person of Christ, Predestination, and other matters that were connected with these doctrines; nor would they permit the other protestant churches, that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in Britain, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of church communion. For when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of Episcopacy and the Puritans,* it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the Reformed church, and rank in the class of its true members even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at Geneva.

belief and profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent separate places of worship, and have each a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government.* An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches being governed by bishops, and not admitting of the validity of presbyterian ordination, differs from the other three more than any of these three differ from each other. There are, however, peculiarities of government and worship that distinguish the church of Holland from that of Scotland. The institutions of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary

form of prayer, the observation of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it is well known that the church of Scotland differs from it extremely in these respects. But, after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shown, in its proper place, that even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.

† The Puritans, who inclined to the presbyterian form of church government, of which Knox was one of the earliest abettors in Britain, derived this denomination from their pretending to a purer method of worship than that which had been established by Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

* See the general sketch of the state of the church in the sixteenth century, paragraph XXI.

This spirit of toleration and indulgence grew still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous synod of Dort. For though the sentiments and doctrines of the Arminians were rejected and condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of England, under the reign of Charles I., publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the divine decrees, and made several attempts to model its doctrines and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs, that were observed by the primitive Christians.⁴ On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in Germany entertained a strong propensity to the doctrines and discipline of the church of Geneva; though they were restrained from declaring themselves fully and openly on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges they derived from their adherence to the confession of Augsburg. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favour of religious liberty. All these circumstances, accompanied with others, whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, instilled, by degrees, such a spirit of lenity and forbearance into the minds of protestants, that at this day all Christians, if we except Roman catholics, Socinians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, may claim a place among the members of the Reformed church. It is true, great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church communion; and even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons, who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of Calvin universally adopted and rigorously observed. The number, however, of these rigid doctors is not very great, nor is their influence considerable. And it may be affirmed with truth, that both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity towards those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure (if I may use that expression) of the Reformed church rendered as large and comprehensive as is possible.*

Foundation of the
Reformed Church
laid by Zuingli.

III. The founder of the Reformed church was Ulrick Zuingli, a native of Switzerland, and a man of uncommon penetration and acuteness, accompanied with an ardent zeal

⁴ & This assertion is equivocal. Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did, indeed, propagate the doctrines of Arminius, both in their pulpits and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say that the church of England renounced publicly, in that reign, the opinions of Calvin. See this matter farther discussed in a note on Cent. XVII. sect. II. p. ii. ch. ii. paragraph xx.

* The annals of theology have not yet been enriched with a full and accurate history of the Reformed Church. This task was indeed undertaken by Scultet, and even carried down so far as his own time, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; but the greatest part of this

work is lost. Theod. Hasseus, who proposed to give the *Annals of the Reformed Church*, was prevented by death from fulfilling his purpose. The famous work of James Bagnage, published in two volumes 4to, at Rotterdam, in the year 1725, under the title of *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées*, instead of giving a regular History of the Reformed church, is only designed to show that its peculiar and distinguishing doctrines are not new inventions, but were taught and embraced in the earliest ages of the church. Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinisme*, is remarkable for nothing but the partiality of its author, and the wilful errors with which it abounds.

for truth. This great man was for removing out of the churches, and abolishing in the ceremonies and appendages of public worship, many things which Luther was disposed to treat with toleration and indulgence, such as images, altars, wax-tapers, the form of exorcism, and private confession. He aimed at nothing so much as establishing in his country a method and form of divine worship remarkable for its simplicity, and as far remote as could be from every thing that might have the smallest tendency to nourish a spirit of superstition.¹ Nor were these the only circumstances in which he differed from the Saxon Reformer; for his sentiments concerning several points of theology, the more especially his opinions relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, varied widely from those of Luther. The greatest part of these sentiments and opinions were adopted in Switzerland, by those who had joined themselves to Zuingle in promoting the cause of the Reformation, and were by them transmitted to all the Helvetic churches that threw off the yoke of Rome. From Switzerland these opinions were propagated among the neighbouring nations by the ministerial labours and the theological writings of the friends and disciples of Zuingle: and thus the primitive Reformed church, that was founded by this eminent ecclesiastic, and whose extent at first was not very considerable, gathered strength by degrees, and made daily new acquisitions.

The controversy
between the
Lutherans and
Reformed re-
specting the
eucharist.

IV. The separation between the Lutheran and Swiss churches was chiefly occasioned by the doctrine of Zuingle, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Luther maintained that the body and blood of Christ were really, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, present in the eucharist, and were exhibited together with the bread and wine. On the contrary, the Swiss reformer looked upon the bread and wine in no other light, than as the signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ; and from the year 1524, propagated this doctrine in a public manner by his writings, after having entertained and taught it privately before that period.² In a little time after this,³ his example was followed by Cœcolampadius, a divine of Basil, and one of the most learned men of this century.⁴ But they were both opposed with obstinacy and spirit by Luther and his associates, particularly those of the circle of Suabia. In the mean time, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, apprehending the pernicious effect that these debates might have upon the affairs of the protestants, which were, as yet, in that fluctuating and unsettled state that marks the

¹ > The design of Zuingle was certainly excellent; but in the execution of it perhaps he went too far, and consulted rather the dictates of reason than the real exigencies of human nature in its present state. The present union between soul and body, which operate together in the actions of moral agents, even in those that appear the most abstracted and refined, renders it necessary to consult the external senses, as well as the intellectual powers, in the institution of public worship. Besides, between a worship purely and philosophically rational, and a service grossly and palpably superstitious, there are many intermediate steps and circumstances, by which a rational service may be rendered more affecting and awakening, without becoming superstitious. A noble edifice, solemn music, a well-ordered set of external gestures, though they do not, in themselves, render our prayers

one whit more acceptable to the Deity than if they were offered up without any of these circumstances, produce, nevertheless, a good effect. They elevate the mind, they give it a composed and solemn frame, and thus contribute to the fervour of its devotion.

² Zuingle certainly taught this doctrine in private before the year 1524, as appears from Gerdes, *Historia Renovat. Evangelii*, tom. I. Append. p. 228.

³ In the year 1525.

⁴ Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* p. 31, 35, 44, 49.—

> Cœcolampadius was not less remarkable for his extraordinary modesty, his charitable, forbearing, and pacific spirit, and his zeal for the progress of vital and practical religion, than for his profound erudition, which he seemed rather studious to conceal than display.

infancy of all great revolutions, was desirous of putting an end to these differences, and appointed for that purpose a conference at Marburg, between Zuingle, Luther, and other doctors of both parties.¹ This meeting, however, only covered the flame instead of extinguishing it; and the pacific prince, seeing it impossible to bring about a definitive treaty of peace and concord between these jarring divines, was obliged to rest satisfied with having engaged them to consent to a truce. Luther and Zuingle came to an agreement about several points; but the principal matter in debate, even that which regarded Christ's presence in the eucharist, was left undecided; each party appealing to the Fountain of wisdom to terminate this controversy, and expressing their hopes that time and impartial reflection might discover and confirm the truth.²

The progress of these disputes so far down as the death of Luther.

V. The Reformed church had scarcely been founded in Switzerland by Zuingle, when this Christian hero fell in a battle that was fought, in the year 1530, between the protestants of Zurich, and their Roman catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of Popery. It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuingle was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate, by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause.³ After his death, several Lutheran doctors of the more moderate sort, and particularly Martin Bucer, used their utmost endeavours to bring about some kind of reconciliation between the contending parties. For this purpose, they exhorted the jarring theologians to concord, interpreted the points in dispute with a prudent regard to the prejudices of both sides, admonished them of the pernicious consequences that must attend the prolongation of these unhappy contests, and even went so far as to express the respective sentiments of the contending doctors in terms of considerable ambiguity and latitude, that thus the desired union might be the more easily effected. There is no doubt, but that the intentions and designs of these zealous intercessors were pious and upright;⁴ but it will be difficult to decide, whether or no the means they employed were adapted to promote the end

¹ Zuingle was accompanied by Ecolampadius, Bucer, and Hideoen. Luther had with him Melancthon and Justus Jonas from Saxony, together with Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola.

² Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse*, vol. i. passim, vol. ii. livr. vi. p. 463; Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, part III. p. 27, 51, 483; Val. Ern. Loscheri, *Historia Motuum*, part I. cap. ii. iii. p. 55, cap. vi. p. 143; Fueslin, *Beytrag zur Schweizer Reformation*, tom. iv. p. 120.

³ The Lutherans, who consider this unhappy fate of Zuingle as a reproach upon that great man in particular, and upon the Reformed church in general, discover a gross ignorance of the genius and manners of the Swiss nation in this century. For as all the inhabitants of that country are at present trained to arms, and obliged to take the field when the defence of their country requires it, so in the time of Zuingle this obligation was so universal, that neither the ministers of the gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from this military service. Accordingly, in the same battle in which Zuingle

fell, Jerome Potanus, one of the theological doctors of Basil, also lost his life. See Fueslini, *Centuria I. Epistolar. Theol. Reformatar.* p. 84. Zuingle also spoke in a very unfriendly manner of the death of Zuingle and his friend Ecolampadius. See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 522. It is not therefore surprising to find the bigoted Sir Thomas More insulting, with the barbarity that superstition seldom fails to produce in a narrow and peevish mind, the memory of these two eminent reformers, in a letter to the furious and turbulent Cochleus; of which the following words show the spirit of the writer: "Postrema fuit, quam de Zuinglio et Ecolampadio scriptam misisti, quorum nuntiata mors nihil ætiam attulit.—Sublatos e medio esse tam immanes Fidei Christianæ hostes, tam intentos ubique in omnem perimendæ pietatis occasionem, jure gaudere possum." Jortin, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 702. Ap. No. xvi. N.

⁴ See Alb. Menon. Verpoorten, *Comment. de Mart. Bucer et ejus Sententia de Cena Domini*, sect. ix. p. 23, published in 8vo, at Coburg, in the year 1709; Loscheri *Histor. Motuum*, part I. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181, and part II. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

they had in view. Be that as it may, these pacific councils of Bucer excited divisions in Switzerland; for some persevered obstinately in the doctrine of Zuingle, while others adopted the explications and modifications of his doctrine that were offered by Bucer.^a But these divisions and commotions had not the least effect on that reconciliation with Luther, that was earnestly desired by the pious and moderate doctors on both sides. The efforts of Bucer were more successful out of Switzerland, and particularly among those divines in the upper parts of Germany, who inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church; for they retired from the communion of that church, and joined themselves to Luther by a public act, which was sent to Wittenberg, in the year 1536, by a solemn deputation appointed for that purpose.^b The Swiss divines could not be brought to so great a length. There was, however, still some prospect of effecting a reconciliation between them and the Lutherans. But this fair prospect entirely disappeared in the year 1544, when Luther published his Confession of Faith in relation to the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was directly opposite to the doctrine of Zuingle and his followers on that head. The doctors of Zurich pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon reformer the year following: and thus the purposes of the peace-makers were totally defeated.^c

The transactions
that succeeded
the death of
Luther.

VI. The death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, was an event that seemed adapted to calm these commotions, and to revive, in the breasts of the moderate and pacific, the hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties. For this union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians was so ardently desired by Melancthon and his followers, that this great man left no means unemployed to bring it about, and seemed resolved rather to submit to a dubious and forced peace, than to see those flaming discords perpetuated, which reflected such dishonour on the protestant cause. On the other hand, this salutary work seemed to be facilitated by the theological system that was adopted by John Calvin, a native of Noyon in France, who was pastor and professor of divinity at Geneva, and whose genius, learning, eloquence, and talents, rendered him respectable, even in the eyes of his enemies. This great man, whose particular friendship for Melancthon was an incidental circumstance highly favourable to the intended reconciliation, proposed an explication of the point in debate, that modified the crude hypothesis of Zuingle, and made use of all his credit and authority among the Swiss, and more particularly at Zurich, where he was held in the highest veneration, in order to obtain their assent to it.^d The explication he proposed was not, indeed, favourable to the doctrine of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, which he persisted in denying; he supposed, however, that a certain divine virtue or efficacy was communicated by Christ, with the bread and wine, to those who approached this holy sacrament with a lively faith, and with upright hearts; and to render this notion still more satisfactory, he expressed it in almost the same terms which the Lutherans employed in inculcating their doctrine of Christ's real presence in the eucharist.^e For the great and common error of all

^a Fucalini Centur. I. Epistol. Theolog. p. 162, 170, 181, 182, 190, &c.

^b Loscherus, loc. cit. cap. ii. p. 205; Ruchat, Histoire de la Reformat. de la Suisse, tom. v. p. 535; Hottingeri Histor. Eccles. Helvet. tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 702.

^c Loscherus, loc. cit. part i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 241.

^d Christ. Aug. Selig. Historia Aug. Confession, tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. p. 1075.

^e Calvin went certainly too far in this matter; and in his explication of the benefits that arise from a worthy commemoration of Christ's death in the eucharist, he dwelt too grossly upon the allegorical expressions of scripture, which the papists had so egregiously

those who, from a desire of peace, assumed the character of arbitrators in this controversy, lay in this, that they aimed rather at a uniformity of terms, than of sentiments; and seemed satisfied when they had engaged the contending parties to use the same words and phrases, though their real difference in opinion remained the same, and each explained these ambiguous or figurative terms in a manner agreeable to their respective systems.

The concord so much desired, did not, however, seem to advance much. Melancthon, who stood foremost in the rank of those who longed impatiently for it, had not courage enough to embark openly in the execution of such a perilous project. Besides, after the death of Luther, his enemies attacked him with redoubled fury, and gave him so much disagreeable occupation, that he had neither that leisure, nor that tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to prepare his measures properly for such an arduous undertaking. A new obstacle to the execution of this pacific project was also presented by the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor at Hamburg, who in the year 1552 renewed with greater vehemence than ever this deplorable controversy, which had been for some time suspended, and who, after Flackius, was the most obstinate defender of the opinions of Luther. This violent theologian attacked, with that spirit of acrimony and vehemence that was too remarkable in the polemic writings of Luther, the act of uniformity, by which the churches of Geneva and Zurich declared their agreement concerning the doctrine of the eucharist. In the book which he published with this view,¹ he censured with the utmost severity the variety of sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper that was observable in the Reformed church, and maintained, with his usual warmth and obstinacy, the opinion of Luther on that subject. This engaged Calvin to enter the lists with Westphal, whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance as the rigid Lutherans had showed towards the Helvetic churches. The consequences of this debate were, that Calvin and Westphal had each their zealous defenders and patrons; hence the breach widened, the spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with such violence and fury, that to extinguish it entirely seemed to be a task beyond the reach of human wisdom or human power.²

The controversy concerning predestination.

VII. These disputes were unhappily augmented in process of time, by that famous controversy concerning the decrees of God, with respect to the eternal condition of men, which was set on foot by Calvin, and became an inexhaustible source of intricate researches, and abstruse, subtle, and inexplicable questions. The most ancient Helvetic doctors were far from adopting the doctrine of those, who represent the Deity as allotting, from all eternity, by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, to some everlasting happiness, and to others endless misery, without any previous regard to the moral characters and circumstances of either. Their sentiments seemed to differ but very little from those of the Pelagians; nor did they hesitate in declaring, after the example of Zuingle, that the kingdom of heaven was open to all who lived according to the dictates of right reason.³ Calvin

abused, and talked of really eating by faith the body, and drinking the blood of Christ.

² &c. This book, which abounds with senseless and extravagant tenets that Luther never so much as thought of, and breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution, is entitled, "Farrago confusaneorum et inter se

dissidentium de S. Cena opinionum ex Sacramentariorum Libris congesta."

³ Loescheri *Historia Motuum*, part ii. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83; Mollerii *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 642; Arn. Grevii *Memoria Joac. Westphali*, p. 62, 106.

⁴ For the proof of this assertion, see Dellei

had adopted a quite different system with respect to the divine decrees. He maintained, that the everlasting condition of mankind in a future world was determined from all eternity by the unchangeable order of the Deity, and that this absolute determination of his will and good pleasure, was the only source of happiness or misery to every individual. This opinion was in a very short time propagated through all the reformed churches, by the writings of Calvin, and by the ministry of his disciples, and in some places was inserted in the national creeds and confessions; and thus made a public article of faith. The unhappy controversy, which took its rise from this doctrine, was opened at Strasburg, in the year 1560, by Jerome Zanchius, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was particularly attached to the sentiments of Calvin; and was afterwards carried on by others with such zeal and assiduity, that it drew, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of the public, and tended as much to exasperate the passions and foment the discord of the contending parties, as the dispute about the eucharist had already done.*

The discord is
carried to the
greatest height.

VIII. The Helvetic doctors had no prospect left of calming the troubled spirits, and tempering at least the vehemence of these deplorable feuds, but the moderation of the Saxon divines who were the disciples of Melancthon, and who, breathing the pacific spirit of their master, seemed, after his death, to have nothing so much at heart as the restoration of concord and union in the protestant church. Their designs, however, were not carried on with that caution and circumspection, with that prudent foresight, or that wise attention to the nature of the times, which distinguished always the transactions of Melancthon, and which the critical nature of the cause they were engaged in indispensably required. And hence they had already taken a step which was adapted to render ineffectual all the remedies they could apply to the healing of the present disorders. For, by dispersing every where artful and insidious writings, with a design to seduce the ministers of the church, and the studious youth, into the sentiments of the Swiss divines, or at least to engage them to treat these sentiments with toleration and forbearance, they drew upon themselves the indignation of their adversaries, and ruined the pacific cause in which they had embarked. It was this conduct of theirs that gave occasion to the composition of that famous Form of Concord, which condemned the sentiments of the Reformed churches, in relation to the person of Christ and the Sacrament of the Lord's supper. And as this form is received by the greatest part of the Lutherans as one of the articles of their religion, hence arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord.

What those things
are that are
most worthy of

IX. So much did it seem necessary to premise concerning the causes, rise, and progress of the controversy, which

Apologia pro Duabus Ecclesiis Gallicis. Synodis adversus Frid. Spanheim. part IV. p. 946; Jo. Alphons. Turretini, Epistolæ ad Antistitem Cantuariensem, which is inserted in the Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 92; Simon, Bibliothèque Critique, published under the fictitious name of Sainior, tom. iii. ch. xxviii. p. 292, 298, and also the author of a book, entitled Observations Gallicæ in Formul. Consensus Helveticæ, p. 52. The very learned Dr. Geddes, instead of being persuaded by these testimonies, maintains,

on the contrary, in his Miscellan. Groningens. tom. ii. p. 476, 477, that the sentiments of Calvin were the same with those of the ancient Swiss doctors. But this excellent author may be refuted, even from his own account of the tumults that were occasioned in Switzerland, by the opinion that Calvin had propagated in relation to the divine decrees.

* *Loscheri Historia Motuum, part III. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27. S. c. x. p. 227; Salig. Historia August. Confession. tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 441.*

observation in the rise and progress of the Reformed church. formed that separation that still subsists between the Lutheran and Reformed churches. From thence it will be proper to proceed to an account of the internal state of the latter, and to the history of its progress and revolutions. The history of the Reformed church, during this century, comprehends two distinct periods. The first commences with the year 1519, when Zuingli withdrew from the communion of Rome, and began to form a Christian church beyond the bounds of the pope's jurisdiction; and it extends to the time of Calvin's settlement at Geneva, where he acquired the greatest reputation and authority. The second period takes in the rest of this century.

During the first of these periods, the Helvetic church, which assumed the title of Reformed after the example of the French protestants in their neighbourhood, who had chosen this denomination in order to distinguish themselves from the Roman catholics, was very inconsiderable in its extent, and was confined to the cantons of Switzerland. It was indeed augmented by the accession of some small states in Suabia and Alsace, such as the city of Strasburg, and some little republics. But, in the year 1536, these petty states changed sides, through the suggestions and influence of Bucer, returned to the communion of the Saxon church, and thus made their peace with Luther. The other religious communities, which abandoned the church of Rome, either openly embraced the doctrine of Luther, or consisted of persons who were not agreed in their theological opinions, and who really seemed to stand in a kind of neutrality between the contending parties. All things being duly considered, it appears probable enough that the church founded by Zuingli would have remained still confined to the narrow limits which bounded it at first, had not Calvin risen to augment its extent, authority, and lustre. For the natural and political character of the Swiss, which is neither bent towards the lust of conquest nor the grasping views of ambition, discovered itself in their religious transactions. And, as a spirit of contentment with what they had, prevented their aiming at an augmentation of their territory, so did a similar spirit hinder them from being extremely solicitous about enlarging the borders of their church.

Religious points that first excited divisions between the Swiss and Lutherans.

X. In this infant state of the Reformed church, the only point that prevented its union with the followers of Luther was the doctrine they taught with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This first controversy, indeed, soon produced a second, relating to the person of Jesus Christ, which, nevertheless, concerned only a part of the Lutheran church.* The Lutheran divines of Suabia, in the course of their debates with those of Switzerland, drew an argument in favour of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, from the following proposition:—That "all the properties of the divine nature, and consequently its omnipresence, were communicated to the human nature of Christ by the hypostatic union." The Swiss doctors, in order to destroy the force of this argument, denied this communication of the divine attributes to Christ's human nature; and denied, more especially, the ubiquity or omnipresence of the man Jesus. And hence arose that most intricate and abstruse controversy concerning ubiquity, and the communication of properties, that produced so many learned and unintelligible treatises, so many subtle

* It was only a certain number of those Lutherans, that were much more rigid in their doctrine than Luther himself, that believed the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's person,

considered as a man. By this we may see that the Lutherans have their divisions as well as the Reformed, of which several instances may yet be given in the course of this history.

disputes, and occasioned that multitude of invectives and accusations that the contending parties threw out against each other with such liberality and profusion.

It is proper to observe, that at this time the Helvetic church universally embraced the doctrine of Zuingle concerning the eucharist. This doctrine, which differed considerably from that of Calvin, amounted to the following propositions:—"That the bread and wine were no more than a representation of the body and blood of Christ; or, in other words, the signs appointed to denote the benefits that were conferred upon mankind in consequence of the death of Christ; that, therefore, Christians derived no other fruit from the participation of the Lord's supper than a mere commemoration and remembrance of the merits of Christ, which, according to an expression common in the mouths of the abettors of this doctrine, was the only thing that was properly meant by the Lord's supper."* Bucer, whose leading principle was the desire of peace and concord, endeavoured to correct and modify this doctrine in such a manner, as to give it a certain degree of conformity to the hypothesis of Luther. But the memory of Zuingle was too fresh in the minds of the Swiss to permit their accepting of these corrections and modifications, or to suffer them to depart, in any respect, from the doctrine of that eminent man, who had founded their church, and been the instrument of their deliverance from the tyranny and superstition of Rome.

John Calvin the
principal founder
of the Reformed
church.

XI. In the year of 1541, John Calvin, who surpassed almost all the doctors of this age in laborious application, constancy of mind, force of eloquence, and extent of genius, returned to Geneva, from whence the opposition of his enemies had obliged him to retire. On his settlement in that city, the affairs of the new church were committed to his direction, and he acquired also a high degree of influence in the political administration of that republic. This event changed entirely the face of affairs, and gave a new aspect to the Reformed church. The views and projects of this great man were grand and extensive; for he not only undertook to give strength and vigour to the rising church, by framing the wisest laws and the most salutary institutions for the maintenance of order, and the advancement of true piety, but even proposed to render Geneva the mother, the seminary of all the Reformed churches, as Wittenberg was of all the Lutheran communities. He laid a scheme for sending forth from this little republic the succours and ministers that were to promote and propagate the protestant cause through the most distant nations, and aimed at nothing less than rendering the government, discipline, and doctrine of Geneva, the model and rule of imitation to the Reformed churches throughout the world. The undertaking was certainly great, and worthy of the extensive genius and capacity of this eminent man: and, great and arduous as it

* Nil esse in cœna, quam memoriam Christi. That this was the real opinion of Zuingle, appears evidently from various testimonies, which may be seen in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 485, 490, tom. iii. p. 631. —This is also confirmed by the following sentence in Zuingle's book concerning baptism: (tom. ii. Opp. p. 85:) "*Cœna Domini non aliud, quam commemorationis nomen meretur.*" Compare with all this *Fucalini Centur. I. Epistolar. Theologor. Reformator.* p. 255, 262, &c.

† Calvin, in reality, enjoyed the power and authority of a bishop at Geneva; for, as long as he lived, he presided in the assembly of the clergy, and in the consistory, or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when he was at the point of death, he advised the clergy not to give him a successor, and proved to them evidently the dangerous consequences of intrusting with any one man, during life, a place of such high authority. After him, therefore, the place of president ceased to be perpetual. See *Spon, Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 111.

was, it was executed in part, nay, carried on to a very considerable length, by his indefatigable assiduity and inextinguishable zeal. It was with this view, that, by the fame of his learning, as well as by his epistolary solicitations and encouragements of various kinds, he engaged many persons of rank and fortune in France, Italy, and other countries, to leave the places of their nativity, and to settle at Geneva; while others repaired thither, merely out of curiosity, to see a man whose talents and exploits had rendered him so famous, and to hear the discourses which he delivered in public. Another circumstance, that contributed much to the success of his designs, was the establishment of an academy at Geneva, which the senate of that city founded at his request, and in which he himself, with his colleague, Theodore Beza, and other divines of eminent learning and abilities, taught the sciences with the greatest reputation. In effect, the lustre which these great men reflected upon this infant seminary of learning, spread its fame through the distant nations with such amazing rapidity, that all who were ambitious of a distinguished progress in either sacred or profane erudition repaired to Geneva, and that England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, seemed to vie with each other in the numbers of their studious youth that were incessantly repairing to the new academy. By these means, and by the ministry of these his disciples, Calvin enlarged considerably the borders of the Reformed church, propagated his doctrine, and gained proselytes and patrons to his theological system in several countries of Europe. In the midst of this glorious career, he ended his days in the year 1564; but the salutary institutions and wise regulations, of which he had been the author, were both respected and maintained after his death. In a more special manner, the academy of Geneva flourished as much under Beza as it had done during the life of its founder.*

The form of doctrine and ecclesiastical government drawn up by this Reformer.

XII. The doctrine and plan of discipline that had been formed by Zuingle was altered and corrected by Calvin; and that more especially in three points, of which it will not be improper to give a particular account.

1st, Zuingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power in religious matters to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many. But at the same time he allowed of a certain subordination and difference of rank among the ministers of the church, and even thought it expedient to place at their head a perpetual president, or superintendent, with a certain degree of inspection and authority over the whole body. Calvin, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate, in religious matters, within narrow bounds. He declared the church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of elders, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns. Thus this eminent Reformer introduced into the republic of Geneva, and endeavoured to

* The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by Calvin, in behalf both of the republic and church of Geneva, are related by the learned person, who in 1730, gave a new edition (enriched with interesting

historical notes and authentic documents) of Spon's *Histoire de Genève*. The particular accounts of Calvin's transactions, given by this anonymous editor in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts of undoubted credit. See Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, t. ii. p. 87, 100, &c.

introduce into all the Reformed churches throughout Europe, that form of ecclesiastical government which is called Presbyterian, from its neither admitting of the institution of bishops, nor any subordination among the clergy; and which is founded on this principle, that all ministers of the gospel are, by the law of God, declared to be equal in rank and authority. In consequence of this principle, he established at Geneva a consistory, composed of ruling elders, partly pastors and partly laymen, and invested this ecclesiastical body with a high degree of power and authority. He also convened synods, composed of the ruling elders of different churches, and in these consistories and synods had laws enacted for the regulation of all matters of a religious nature; and, among other things, restored to its former vigour the ancient practice of excommunication. All these things were done with the consent of the greatest part of the synod of Geneva.

2dly, The system that Zuingle had adopted with respect to the eucharist was by no means agreeable to Calvin, who, in order to facilitate the desired union with the Lutheran church, substituted in its place another, which appeared more conformable to the doctrine of that church, and in reality differed but little from it. For while the doctrine of Zuingle supposed only a symbolical or figurative presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and represented a pious remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits it procured to mankind, as the only fruits that arose from the celebration of the Lord's supper, Calvin explained this critical point in a quite different manner. He acknowledged a real though spiritual presence of Christ in this sacrament; or, in other words, he maintained that true Christians, who approached this only ordinance with a lively faith, were, in a certain manner, united to the man Christ; and that from this union the spiritual life derived new vigour in the soul, and was still carried on, in a progressive motion, to greater degrees of purity and perfection. This kind of language had been used in the forms of doctrine drawn up by Luther; and as Calvin observed, among other things, that the divine grace was conferred upon sinners, and sealed to them by the celebration of the Lord's supper, this induced many to suppose that he adopted the sentiment implied in the barbarous term *impanation*,^a and differed but little from the doctrine of the Lutheran church on this important subject.^b Be that as it may, his sentiments differed considerably from

^a The term *impanation*, (which signifies here the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, in or with the bread that is there exhibited) amounts to what is called *Consubstantiation*. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by Luther and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For, in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of substances, subsistences, attributes, properties, and accidents, that did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical unintelligible logic that reigned in the attempts of the Roman catholics to defend the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, were visible in

the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of *Consubstantiation*, or *impanation*. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert, in opposition to intuitive evidence and unchangeable truth, that the same body can be in many places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools, to hide the nonsense of this unaccountable doctrine. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least, they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.

^b See Fœnelin *Centur. I. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* tom. i. p. 255, 260, 262, 263; *Lettres de Calvin à Mons. Jac. de Falaise*, p. 84, 85.—We learn in Fœnelin, p. 263, that Calvin wrote to Bucer a letter, intimating, that he approved of his sentiments. It is possible, that he may have derived from Bucer the opinion he entertained with respect to the eucharist. See Bossuet, *Histoire des*

those of Zuingle; for while the latter asserted that all Christians, without distinction, whether regenerate or unregenerate, might be partakers of the body and blood of Christ, Calvin confined this privilege to the pious and regenerate believer alone.

3dly, The absolute decree of God with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, which made no part of the theology of Zuingle, was an essential tenet in the creed of Calvin, who inculcated with zeal the following doctrine: "That God, in predestinating from all eternity one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than his own good pleasure and free-will."

These changes made by Calvin are not approved of, nor received by all the Reformed churches.

XIII. The first of the three points now mentioned was of such a nature, that, great as the credit and influence of Calvin were, he could not procure a universal reception for it in the reformed churches. The English and Germans rejected it, and even the Swiss refused to adopt it.

It was, however, received by the reformed churches in France, Holland, and Scotland. The Swiss remained firm in their opposition; they would not suffer the form of ecclesiastical government that had once been established under the inspection of Zuingle to be changed in any respect, nor the power of the civil magistrate, in religious matters, to receive the smallest prejudice. The other two points were long debated, even in Switzerland, with the greatest warmth. Several churches, more especially those of Zurich and Bern, maintained obstinately the doctrine of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist;* neither could they be easily persuaded to admit, as an article of faith, the doctrine of predestination, as it had been taught by Calvin.⁴ The prudence, however, of this great man, seconded by his resolute perseverance and his extraordinary credit, triumphed so far as to bring about a union between the Swiss churches and that of Geneva, first, in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist,⁵ and afterwards also on the subject of predestination.⁶ The followers of Calvin extended still farther the triumphs of their chief, and improved with such success the footing he had gained, that in process of time almost all the reformed churches adopted his theological system, to which, no doubt, his learned writings contributed a good deal.⁷

Variations des Eglises Protestantes, tom. ii. p. 8, 14, 19; Courayer, Examen des Défauts des Théologiens, tom. ii. p. 72. These two writers pretend that the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the eucharist, were almost the same with those of the Roman Catholics.* The truth of the matter is, that the obscurity and inconsistency with which this great man expressed himself upon that subject, render it extremely difficult to give a clear and accurate account of his doctrine.

^c See Fœnelini Centur. Epistolar. p. 264; Museum Helvet. tom. i. p. 490, tom. v. p. 479, 483, 490, tom. ii. p. 79.

⁴ Besides Ruchat and Hottinger, see Museum Helveticum, tom. ii. p. 105, 107, 117; Gerdas, Miscellan. Groningens. Nova, tom. ii. p. 476, 477.

⁵ The agreement between the churches of Switzerland and that of Geneva was concluded in 1549 and 1554.

⁶ See the Consensus Genæv. et Tigurinor. in Calvini Opusculis, p. 754.

⁷ The learned Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, in his Letters to Leibnitz, published by Kappius, maintains (p. 24, 25, 41), that the opinion of Zuingle has no longer any patrons among the reformed. But this is a palpable mistake:

* How it could come into the heads of such men as Boesuet and Dr. Courayer to say, that "the sentiments of Calvin concerning the eucharist were almost the same with those of the Roman Catholics," is, indeed, strange enough. The doctrine of transubstantiation was to Calvin an invincible obstacle to any

sort of conformity between him and Rome on that subject. For however obscure and figurative his expressions with respect to Christ's spiritual presence in the eucharist may have been, he never once dreamed of any thing like a corporeal presence in that holy sacrament.

The progress of
Calvin's system
in Germany.

XIV. It will not be improper to pass in review the different countries in which the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed church, as modelled by Calvin, were established in a fixed and permanent manner. Among its chief patrons in Germany, we may reckon Frederick III. elector palatine, who, in the year 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists; and at the same time obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of Geneva.¹ This order was indeed abrogated in the year 1576 by his son and successor Lewis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. The effects of this revolution were, however, but transitory; for in the year 1583, under the government of the elector John Casimir, who had followed the example of his brother Frederick in embracing the discipline of the Reformed church, the face of things was again changed in favour of Calvinism, which resumed what it had lost, and became triumphant.¹ From this period the church of the Palatinate obtained the second place among the reformed churches; and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the Form of Instruction which was composed for its use by Ursinus, and which is known under the title of the Catechism of Heidelberg, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists.¹ The republic of Bremen embraced also the doctrine and institutions of the reformed. Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was the first person who attempted to introduce there the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. This attempt he made so early as the year 1556; and though a powerful opposition rendered it unsuccessful, and procured the expulsion of its author out of the city of Bremen, yet the latent seeds of Calvinism took root, and towards the conclusion of this century, acquired such strength that no measures either of prudence or force were sufficient to prevent the church of Bremen from modelling its faith, worship, and government, after that of Geneva.² The various motives that engaged other German states to adopt by degrees the same sentiments, and the incidents and circumstances that favoured the progress of Calvinism in the empire, must be sought in those writers who have undertaken to give a full, complete, and ample history of the Christian church.

And in France. XV. Those among the French who first renounced the jurisdiction and doctrine of the church of Rome are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of these early times. This denomination, joined to other circumstances, has engaged some to imagine that these French converts to the protestant cause were attached to the tenets of the Lutheran church, and averse to those of the Swiss doctors.¹ But this is by no means a just representation of the matter. It appears much more probable that the first French protestants were uniform in nothing

for its patrons and defenders are, on the contrary, extremely numerous; and at this very time the doctrine of Zuingli is received in England, Switzerland, and other countries, and seems to acquire new degrees of credit from day to day.

¹ Hen. Altingii Hist. Eccl. Palat. in Lud. Chr. Miegii Monum. Palat. tom. i. p. 223; Loscheri Historia Motuum, part II. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125; Salig. Hist. Confession. Aug. tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 433.

² Alting. loc. cit.; Loscherus, *ibid.* part III. lib. vi. p. 234.—See also a German work,

entitled, Goth. Struvius, Pfälzische Kirchen Historie, p. 110.

¹ For an account of the Catechism of Heidelberg, see Koeheri Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbolicæ, p. 593 and 606.

² Salig. loc. cit. part III. lib. x. cap. v. p. 715, and cap. vi. p. 776; Loscherus, loc. cit. part II. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134, and part III. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276; Gerdox, Historia Renovati Evangelii, tom. iii. p. 187.

¹ Loscheri Historia Motuum, part II. cap. vi. p. 46; Salig. Hist. Aug. Confession. tom. ii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 190.

but their antipathy to the church of Rome, and that this point being excepted, there was a great variety in their religious sentiments. It is, however, to be observed, that the vicinity of Geneva, Lausanne, and other cities which had adopted the doctrine of Calvin, together with the incredible zeal of this eminent man, and his two colleagues, Farel and Beza, in nourishing opposition to the church of Rome, and augmenting both the indignation and number of its enemies, produced a very remarkable effect upon the French churches; for about the middle of this century, they all, without exception, entered into the bonds of fraternal communion with the church of Geneva. The French protestants were called by their enemies Huguenots, by way of derision and contempt; the origin, however, of this denomination is extremely uncertain.^m Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury; and though many princes of the royal blood, and a great number of the flower of the nobility, adopted their sentiments, and stood forth in their cause,ⁿ yet it may nevertheless be affirmed, that no other part of the reformed church suffered so grievously as they did for the sake of religion. Even the peace, which they obtained from Henry III. in the year 1576, was the source of that civil war in which the powerful and ambitious house of Guise, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs, aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Huguenots, on the other hand, headed by leaders of the most heroic valour and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds as are yet and always will be remembered with horror, were at length calmed by the fortitude and prudence of Henry IV. This monarch, indeed, sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy; and imagining that his government could have no stable nor solid foundation as long as he persisted in disowning the authority and jurisdiction of Rome, he renounced the reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of popery. Perceiving, however, on the other hand, that it was not possible either to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors, by the famous edict drawn up at Nantes in the year 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences,^o and a full security for the enjoyment of

^m Some etymologists suppose this term derived from Huguon, a word used in Touraine, to signify persons that walk at night in the streets. And as the first protestants like the first Christians, may have chosen that season for their religious assemblies, through the fear of persecution, the nickname of Huguenot may, naturally enough, have been applied to them by their enemies. Others are of opinion, that it was derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgenossen*, which signifies confederates, and had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss Cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III. duke of Savoy. These confederates were called *signots*, and from thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenots*, now under consideration. The Count Villars, in a letter

written to the king of France, from the province of Languedoc, where he was lieutenant-general, and dated the 11th of November, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the Cevennes, Huguenots, and this is the first time that this term is found in the registers of that province applied to the protestants.

ⁿ See the *Histoire Eccles. des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*, published at Antwerp in three volumes 8vo, in the year 1580, and supposed by many to have been written by Beza. The writers that have given the best accounts of the French reformed churches, their confession of faith, and their forms of worship and discipline, are enumerated by Koehlerus, in his *Bibliotheca Theolog. Symbolice*, p. 299.

^o This edict restored and confirmed, in the fullest terms, all the favours that had ever been granted to the protestants, by other princes, and particularly by Henry III. To

their civil rights and privileges, without persecution or molestation from any quarter.⁹

In England and Scotland.

XVI. The church of Scotland acknowledges as its founder, John Knox, the disciple of Calvin; and, accordingly, from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rites, and form of ecclesiastical government established at Geneva. These it has always adhered to with the utmost uniformity, and maintained with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the last century, the designs of those who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship were publicly opposed by the force of arms.⁴

A quite different constitution of things is observable in the church of England, which could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of Geneva, and which retained but for a short time even those which it adopted. It is well known that the greatest part of those English who first threw off the yoke of Rome seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII., when, by the industrious zeal of Calvin and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches, became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day.⁵ Hence it happened that when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI., to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister church; and the theological system there established by Calvin was adopted and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva: nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the reformed. This difference, however, between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgment even of Calvin, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgence, was nevertheless, in after ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Great Britain.

The rise of the Puritans.

XVII. The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of Queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany.⁶ Of these fugitive congregations, some

these privileges others were also added, which had never been granted, nor even demanded before; such as a free admission to all employments of trust, honour, and profit; the establishing of courts and chambers, in which the professors of the two religions were equal in number; and permitting the children of protestants to be educated, without any molestation or constraint, in the public universities.

⁹ Benoît, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. i. lib. v. p. 200; Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 409; Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. vi.

⁴ Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession*, part II. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 403. ⁵ Dr. Mosheim

alludes, in this passage, to the attempts made under the reign of Charles II. to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.

⁶ Loscheri *Hist. Motuum*, part II. cap. vii. p. 67; Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession*, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 317.

⁷ I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were Sacramentarians, for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, and expelled from their cities such of the English protestants as repaired to them, as a refuge from

performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI., while others preferred the Swiss method of worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called Conformists, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince now mentioned: and the denominations of Non-conformists and Puritans were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship that had divided the exiles abroad changed scenes, and was removed with them to England, when the auspicious succession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promoting each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them, and the breach widened to such a degree that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model exhibited by the Protestants of Geneva, and their adherents the Puritans; and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors that were employed in this weighty and important matter the practice and institutions of the primitive ages.* When her plan was put in execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of pub-

popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of England which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the Reformation with their blood, calling them the Devil's Martyrs. "Vociferantur quidam," says this amiable reformer, "Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afflicere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris, quos novi." These are the words of this truly Christian reformer, in one of his letters to Camerarius, *Epist. lib. iv. p. 959*; and in another of his letters, speaking of the burning of Burgius at Paris, he thus severely censures Westphal's intolerant principles: "Tales viros, ait Westphalus, esse Diaboli Martyres. Hanc judicii perversitatem

quis non detestetur?" *Ep. lib. ii. p. 387*. Such were the humane and liberal sentiments of Melancthon, which have rendered his name so precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation; while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations de Indifferentismo Melancthonis. N.

† Dr. Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the primitive ages, to insinuate that Queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is, however, certain, that instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual,* and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the real presence; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel:† and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil her secretary had not interposed.‡ Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to striko out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament.§

* Heylin, p. 124.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 107—109.

§ Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 138.

lic worship, the famous Act of Uniformity was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen as its supreme visible head upon earth. The Puritans refused their assent to these proceedings, pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal, and complained heavily that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the church of England should be exactly modelled after that of Geneva. The milder and more moderate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only desired liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests; but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect, as she was used to call it, permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifices, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established in Britain, which separated the English equally from the church of Rome on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery on the other, but which, at the same time, laid a perpetual foundation for dissensions and feuds in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation."

Sentiments and doctrine of the Puritans. XVIII. The incident that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect in any way the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the Puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the Puritans in no other light than as the ensigns of Antichrist. The spirit of opposition being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government established in England was one of the first and main grievances of which the Puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by Christ, the great lawgiver of the church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, maintained that by the divine law all the ministers of the gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not, indeed, think it unlawful that a

* No writer has treated this part of the ecclesiastical history of Britain in a more ample and elegant manner than Daniel Neal, in his *History of the Puritans, or Protestant Nonconformists*, in four volumes 8vo. The first part of this laborious work was published at London, in the year 1732, and the latter part in 1738. The author, who was himself a nonconformist, has not indeed been able to impose silence so far on the warm and impetuous spirit of party, as not to discover a

certain degree of partiality in favour of his brethren. For, while he relates, in the most circumstantial manner, all the injuries the Puritans received from the bishops, and those of the established religion, he in many places diminishes, excuses, or suppresses, the faults and failings of these separatists. See also, for an account of the religious history of these times, *Strype's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth*, viz. Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

person distinguished by the title of a bishop or superintendent should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert that the order of bishops were superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself.* This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy: for they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft considered all ministers of the gospel who had not received ordination from a bishop as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained, that the clergy in those countries where there were no bishops were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman catholic priests.

XIX. All these things exasperated the Puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against cathedral churches, and demanded the abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great: for they were of opinion, that, not open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church;† and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing, that the church being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and cere-

* See Strype's *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121.—

† The first English reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz. bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.

‡ The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed from their prison to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommuni-

cation, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that, according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

monies that were imposed by the order of the queen, and the authority of her council;² among these were the festivals or holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living,³ and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay-baptism.⁴ They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of England ought to have been modelled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva, and that no indulgence was to be shown to those ceremonies or practices which bore the smallest resemblance of the discipline or worship of the church of Rome.

² ¶ By this council our author means, the High Commission Court, of which it is proper to give here some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the ecclesiastical history of England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the act of supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons "to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever. Provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation." Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who in many instances abused their power. The court they composed was called The Court of High Commission, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of Lord Cromwell, vicar general of Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to

them an oath, not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex-officio*, by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's Histories of England under the reign of Elizabeth, and Neal's History of the Puritans, *passim*.

³ ¶ Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans, and omitted by our author, were, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.

⁴ ¶ The words of the original are, "Nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initiari patiebantur." The Roman catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as absolutely necessary to salvation, allow, consequently, of its being performed by a layman or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay, (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned,) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended. The church of England, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptize but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null baptism performed by laics or women, because it makes a difference between what is essential to a sacrament, and what is requisite to the regular way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe, nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

The principles on which the Puritans maintained their sentiments concerning ecclesiastical government and divine worship.

XX. These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a complete refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the Queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other, were indeed very different.

For, in the first place, The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, is lodged in the sovereign or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far: and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, as has been already observed.

Secondly, The Queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine and discipline of the church, was not to be derived from the sacred writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence alone that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

Thirdly, The Queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the Puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as Antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

Fourthly, The court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the Form mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of

future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline;^a and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model to be followed in all times, and in all places.

Lastly, The court reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The Puritans alleged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose, as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty with which the divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council.^b

XXI. This contest between the commissioners of the court, and their opponents, who desired a more complete reformation than had yet taken place, would have been much more dangerous in its consequences had that party that was distinguished by the general denomination of Puritans been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise. For this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and unanimous in nothing but their antipathy against the forms of doctrine and discipline that were established by law, was, all of a sudden, divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church-government. The most famous of all these sects was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by Robert Brown, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and

^a 67- By this they meant, at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved that all things necessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, yet that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

^b 67- Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans. This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union: "Both parties," says

he, "agree too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decree of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."

inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not differ, in point of doctrine, either from the church of England, or from the rest of the Puritans; but he had formed new and singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the apostles in the infancy of Christianity; and maintained, that such a number of persons as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a church, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced independent, *jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government; and also from that of synods, which the Puritans regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congregation, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to order matters for the good of the whole society.* Hence all points, both of doctrine and discipline, were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected certain of the brethren to the office of pastors, to perform the duty of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship, reserving, however, to themselves the power of dismissing these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever they should think such a change conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is, besides, to be observed, that their right of preaching was by no means of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone; since any member that thought proper to exhort or instruct the brethren was abundantly indulged in the liberty of prophesying to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor had finished his discourse, all the other brethren were permitted to communicate in public their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subject on which they supposed they could throw new light. In a word, Brown aimed at nothing less than modelling the form of the church after that infant community that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important changes both in the civil and religious state of the world since that time, the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments, and the particular circumstances of the Christian church, in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and chimerical, the zeal with which he and his associates maintained and propagated them was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree. For he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies that were founded upon

* It is farther to be observed, that, according to this system, one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if they walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition,

the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. On the other hand, the powers of their church officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of a church might not administer the sacrament of baptism, or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion.

a different plan from his; and treated, more especially, the church of England as a spurious church, whose ministers were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this hot-headed innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn upon them, from an administration that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence, retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at Middleburg in Zealand, and at Amsterdam and Leyden in the province of Holland; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable.⁴ Their founder returned into England, and having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church, and obtained a benefice.⁵ The Puritan exiles, whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, split into parties, and their affairs declined from day to day.⁶ This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigour of his uncharitable decisions, and hence arose the community of the Independents or Congregational Brethren, which still subsists, and of which an account shall be given in the history of the following century.

The state of the
Reformed church
in the Nether-
lands.

XXII. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the Reformation seemed for a long time uncertain whether they should embrace the communion of the Swiss or of the Lutheran church. Each of these had zealous friends and powerful patrons.⁷ The matter was, nevertheless, decided in the year 1571, and the religious system of Calvin was publicly adopted. For the Belgic confession of faith, which then appeared,⁸ was drawn up in the spirit, and almost in the terms, of that which was received in the Reformed churches in France, and differed considerably, in several respects, from the confession of Augsburg, but more especially in the article relating to Christ's presence in the eucharist.¹ This will not appear surprising to those who consider the vicinity of the French to the Low Countries; the number of French protestants that were constantly passing or sojourning there; the extraordinary reputation of Calvin, and of the academy of Geneva; as also the indefatigable zeal of his disciples in extending the limits of their church, and propagating, throughout all Europe, their system of doctrine, discipline, and government. Be that as it may, from this period the Dutch, who had before been denominated Lutherans, assumed universally the title of Reformed, in which also they imitated the French, by whom this title had been first invented and adopted. It is true, indeed, that, as long as they were subject to the Spanish yoke, the fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of that sovereign induced them to avoid the title

⁴ The British churches at Amsterdam and Middleburg are incorporated into the national Dutch church, and their pastors are members of the Dutch synod, which is sufficient to show that there are at this time no traces of Brownism or Independency in these churches. The church at Leyden, where Robinson had fixed the standard of Independency, about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is very remarkable, that a part of this church, transplanting themselves into America, laid the foundation of the colony of New England.

⁵ Brown, in his new preferment, forgot, not only the rigour of his principles, but also

the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See Neal's History of the Puritans.

⁷ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. chap. vi.; Hoornbeekii Summa Controvers. lib. x. p. 738; Fuller's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, book x. p. 168.

⁸ Loescheri Histor. Motuum, part iii. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.

¹ Kocheri Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolica, p. 216.

² See Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Netherlands, (written in Dutch,) vol. i. book v. p. 253.

of Reformed, and to call themselves Associates of the Brethren of the Confession of Augsburg. For the Lutherans were esteemed by the Spanish court much better subjects than the disciples of Calvin, who, on account of the tumults that had lately prevailed in France, were supposed to have a greater propensity to mutiny and sedition.¹

And in Poland. XXIII. The light of the Reformation was first brought from Saxony into Poland by the disciples of Luther.

Some time after this happy period, the Bohemian Brethren, whom the Romish clergy had expelled from their country, as also several Helvetic doctors, propagated their sentiments among the Polanders. Some congregations were also founded in that republic by the Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians, and other sectaries.² Hence it was, that three distinct communities, each of which adopted the main principles of the Reformation, were to be found in Poland, viz. the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and Swiss. These communities, in order to defend themselves with the greater vigour against their common enemies, formed among themselves a kind of confederacy, in a synod held at Sendomir in the year 1570, upon certain conditions which were comprehended in the Confession of Faith, that derives its title from the city now mentioned.¹ But as this association seemed rather adapted to accelerate the conclusions of a peace than to promote the cause of truth, the points in debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed being expressed in this reconciling confession in vague and ambiguous terms, it was soon after this warmly opposed by many of the former, and was entirely annulled in the following century. Many attempts have, indeed, been made to revive it; but they have not answered the expectations of those who have employed their dexterity and zeal in this matter. In Prussia, the Reformed gained ground after the death of Luther and Melancthon, and founded the flourishing churches that still subsist in that country.²

The Bohemian
brethren.

XXIV. The Bohemian, or as they are otherwise called, the Moravian Brethren, who descended from the better sort of Hussites, and were distinguished by several religious institutions of a singular nature, and well adapted to guard their community against the reigning vices and corruptions of the times, had no sooner heard of Luther's design of reforming the church, than they sent deputies, in the year 1522, to recommend themselves to his friendship and good offices. In succeeding times, they continued to discover the same zealous attachment to the Lutheran churches in Saxony, and also to those that were founded in other countries. These offers could not be well accepted without a previous examination of their religious sentiments and principles. And, indeed, this examination turned to their advantage; for neither Luther nor his disciples found any thing, either in their doctrine or discipline, that was, in any great measure, liable to censure; and though he could not approve in every particular of their Confession of Faith,

¹ Dr. Mosheim advances this on the authority of a passage in Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Netherlands (p. 254, 255), which is written in Dutch, and is indeed a most curious and valuable work, notwithstanding the author's partiality towards the cause of Arminianism, of which he was one of the most respectable patrons.

² Loscheri Hist. Motuum, part III. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 36; Salig. Hist. Aug. Confession. tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. v. p. 516; Regeuvolschii Hist. Eccles. Slavonicar. lib. i.

cap. xvi. p. 71; Salignac, Hist. de Pologne, tom. v. p. 40; Kautz, Præcipua Relig. Evangel. in Polonia Fata, published in 4to, at Hamburg, in the year 1738.

¹ See Dan. Ernest. Jablonsky, Historia Consensus Sendomirensis, published at Berlin in 4to, in the year 1731; as also the Epistola Apologetica of the same author, in defence of the work now mentioned, against the objections of an anonymous author.

² Loscheri Historia Motuum, part III. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 216.

which they submitted to his judgment, yet he looked upon it as an object of toleration and indulgence.^a Nevertheless, the death of Luther, and the expulsion of these Brethren from their country in the year 1547, gave a new turn to their religious connexions; and great numbers of them, more especially of those who retired into Poland, embraced the religious sentiments and discipline of the Reformed. The attachment of the Bohemians to the Lutherans seemed, indeed, to be revived by the Convention of Sendomir, already mentioned; but as the articles of union, that were drawn up in that assembly, lost all their force and authority in a little time, the Bohemians by degrees entered one and all into the communion of the Swiss church.^b This union was at first formed on the express condition, that the two churches should continue to be governed by their respective laws and institutions, and should have separate places of public worship; but in the following century, all remains of dissension were removed in the Synods held at Astrog in the years 1620 and 1627, and the two congregations were formed into one, under the title of The Church of the United Brethren. In this coalition the reconciled parties showed to each other reciprocal marks of toleration and indulgence: for the external form of the church was modelled after the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, and the articles of faith were taken from the creed of the Calvinists.

XXV. The descendants of the Waldenses, who lived
The Waldenses,
Hungarians, and
Transylvanians. shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the republic of Geneva, to embrace the doctrines and rites of the Reformed church. So far down, however, as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but the plague that broke out that year having destroyed the greatest part of this unhappy people, and among the rest a considerable number of their pastors and clergy, they addressed themselves to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new doctors, sent from thence, made several changes in the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable in every respect with those of the Protestant churches in France.^c

The Hungarians and Transylvanians were engaged to renounce the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome by the writings of Luther, and the ministry of his disciples. But some time after, Matthias Devay and other doctors began to introduce in a secret manner among these nations, the doctrines of the Swiss churches in relation to the eucharist, as also their principles of ecclesiastical government. This doctrine and these principles were propagated in a more open and public manner towards the year 1550, by Szegedin and other Calvinist teachers, whose ministry was attended with remarkable success. This change was followed by the same dissensions that had broken out in other countries on like occasions; and these dissensions grew into an open schism among the friends of the Reformation in these provinces, which the lapse of time has rather confirmed than diminished.^d

^a See a German work of Carpzovius entitled, *Nachricht von den Bohmischen Brüdern*, p. 46; as also Jo. Chr. Kocher *Bibliotheca Theologicæ Symbolicæ*, p. 76.

^b Besides Comenius, Camerarius, and Læsitius, who have written professedly the history of the Bohemian Brethren, see Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part III. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 99; Salig. *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 520. Add *Regenvalocii Hist.*

Eccles. Slavonica, lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv.

^c *Regenvalocius*, loc. citat. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120.

^d Leger, *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206; Abr. Sculteti *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294; Dan. Gerdes, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 401.

^e *Debrezenzi Historia Eccles. Reform.* in *Hungar. et. Transylvan.* lib. ii. p. 64, 72, 98.

Of the Lutheran churches that embraced Calvinism.

XXVI. After the solemn publication of the famous Form of Concord, of which an account has been already given, many German churches of the Lutheran communion dissolved their original bonds, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Calvin. Among these we may place the churches of Nassau, Hanau, and Isenberg, with several others of less note. In the year 1595, the princes of Anhalt, influenced by the counsels of Wolfgang Amlingius, renounced also the profession of Lutheranism, and introduced into their dominions the religious tenets and rites of Geneva; this revolution, however, produced a long and warm controversy between the Lutherans and the inhabitants of this principality.* The doctrines of the Calvinist or Reformed church, more especially those that relate to the eucharist, were also introduced into Denmark towards the conclusion of this century: for in this kingdom the disciples and votaries of Melancthon, who had always discovered a strong propensity to a union between the protestant churches, were extremely numerous, and they had at their head Nicholas Hemmingius, a man eminent for his piety and learning. But the views of this divine, and the schemes of his party, being discovered much sooner than they expected, by the vigilant defenders of the Lutheran cause, their plans were disconcerted,† and the progress of Calvinism was successfully opposed by the Lutheran ministers, seconded by the countenance and authority of the sovereign.‡

The diversities that reigned among the various branches of the Reformed church.

XXVII. It must not, however, be imagined, that the different nations that embraced the communion of the Calvinist church, adopted, at the same time, without exception, all its tenets, rites, and institutions. This universal conformity was, indeed, ardently desired by the Helvetic doctors; but their desires in this respect were far from being accomplished. The English, as is sufficiently known, rejected the forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship that were adopted by the other Reformed churches, and could not be persuaded to receive, as public and national articles of faith, the doctrines that were propagated in Switzerland, in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the divine decrees.¶ The protestants in Holland, Bremen, Poland, Hungary,

Unschuld. Nachricht. a. 1738, p. 1076; Georg. Haner Historie Eccles. Transylv. published at Frankfort in 12mo, in the year 1694.

* See for an account of this matter the German work of Bechman, which is thus entitled, *Histoire des Hauses Anhalt*, vol. ii. p. 133; and that of Kraft, which bears the title of *Ausführliche Histoire von dem Exorcismo*, p. 428, 497. ‡ Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers in all the churches where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals, that were attached to Lutheranism, had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, with the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism; but the three other lines, with their respective territories, are Calvinists.

† Erici Pontoppidani *Annal. Ecclesie De-*

nice Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 57.

¶ That is, (for our author consistently with truth can mean no more,) the designs that were formed to render Calvinism the national and established religion, proved abortive. It is certain, however, that Calvinism made a very considerable progress in Denmark, and has still a great number of votaries in that kingdom.

‡ It is true, indeed, that the doctrine of Zuingli, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external signs of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of England; but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the xxviiith article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Dr. Mosheim is equally mistaken: The xviiith article of the church of England is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. Augustin's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin; and though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of

and the Palatinate, followed, indeed, the French and Helvetic churches in their sentiments concerning the eucharist, in the simplicity of their worship, and in their principles of ecclesiastical polity; but not in their notions of predestination, which intricate doctrine they left undefined, and submitted to the free examination and private judgment of every individual.* It may farther be affirmed, that before the synod of Dort,² no Reformed church had obliged its members, by any special law, or article of faith, to adhere to the doctrine of the church of Geneva relating to the primary causes of the salvation of the elect, or the ruin of the reprobate. It is true, indeed, that in the places now mentioned, the greatest part of the reformed doctors fell by degrees, of their own accord, into the Calvinistical opinions concerning these intricate points; and this was principally owing, no doubt, to the great reputation of the academy of Geneva, which was generally frequented in this century by those among the Reformed who were candidates for the ministry.

The doctrine
adopted by the
Reformed
churches.

XXVIII. The books of the Old and New Testament are regarded by the Reformed churches as the only sources of divine truth; it must, however, be observed, that, to their authority, the church of England adds that of the writings of the Fathers during the first five centuries.³ The Reformed and the Lutherans agree in maintaining that the Holy Scriptures are infallible in all things; that, in matters of which the knowledge is necessary to salvation, they are clear, full, and complete: and also that they are to be explained by themselves, and not either by the dictates of human reason, or the decisions of the ancient Fathers. Several of the doctors among the former have indeed employed too freely the sagacity of their natural understanding, in explaining those divine mysteries that are contained in the gospel; and this circumstance has induced many to imagine, that the Reformed adopted two sources of religion, two criterions of divine truth, viz. the Holy Scripture and human reason. But perhaps it will be found, that, in this respect, doctors of both communions have sometimes gone too far, being led on by the spirit of controversy, and animated with the desire of victory. For, if

a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of absolute decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate, that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English Reformers, the greatest part of whom were, at least, Sublapsarians; in the reign of queen Elizabeth this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the Arminians contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called Doctrinal Puritans. See Burnet's Exposition of the Seventeenth Article, &c.; and Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 579.

¹ See Grotii Apologet. eorum qui Hollandiæ ante Mutationem. A. 1618, Præfu-

erunt, cap. iii. p. 54. Ed. Paris, 1640, in 12mo.

² ¶ It was in this famous synod, that was assembled in the year 1618, and of which we shall have occasion to give a more ample account in the history of the following century, that the doctrine of Calvin was fixed as the national and established religion of the Seven United Provinces.

³ ¶ There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England which implies its considering the writings of the Fathers of the first five centuries as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is, indeed, a clause in the Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so by the authority of scripture, or by the first four general councils; and this has perhaps misled Dr. Mosheim in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect, indeed, and perhaps too much, has been paid to the Fathers; but that has been always a matter of choice, and not of obligation.

we except the singular tenets of some individuals, it may be affirmed with truth, that the Lutherans and the Reformed are unanimous in the matter now under consideration. They both maintain, that contradictory propositions cannot be the objects of faith; and, consequently, that all doctrines that contain ideas and notions that are repugnant to, and mutually destroy each other, must be false and incredible. It is true, indeed, that the Reformed sometimes use this principle in a contentious manner, to overturn certain points of the Lutheran system, which they have thought proper to reject.*

The points in which the Reformed and Lutherans disagree.

XXIX. The Reformed, if by this denomination we understand those who embrace the sentiments of Calvin, differ entirely from the Lutherans in the following points:

1st. In their notions of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The Lutherans affirm that the body and blood of Christ are materially present in this sacrament, though in an incomprehensible manner; and that they are really exhibited, both to the righteous and the wicked, to the worthy and to the unworthy receiver. The Reformed hold, on the contrary, that the man Christ is only present in this ordinance by the external signs of bread and wine; though it must at the same time be observed, that this matter is differently explained and represented in the writings of their doctors.

2ndly. In their doctrine of the eternal decrees of God, respecting man's salvation. The Lutherans maintain, that the divine decrees respecting the salvation or misery of men are founded upon a previous knowledge of their sentiments and characters; or, in other words, that God, foreseeing from all eternity the faith or incredulity of different persons, had reserved eternal happiness for the faithful, and eternal misery for the unbelieving and disobedient. The Reformed entertain different sentiments concerning this intricate point. They consider the divine decrees as free and unconditional, and as founded on the will of God, which is limited by no superior order, and which is above all laws.

3rdly, Concerning some religious rites and institutions, which the Reformed consider as bordering upon superstition, or tending, at least, to promote it; while the Lutherans view them in another light, and represent all of them as tolerable, and some of them as useful. Such are the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of exorcism in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment. The Reformed doctors insist on the abolition of all these rites and institutions; and that upon this general principle, that the discipline and worship of the Christian church ought to be restored to their primitive simplicity, and freed from the human inventions and additions that were employed by superstition, in the times of ignorance, to render them more striking to the deluded multitude.

The importance of these differences.

XXX. The few heads of difference, between the two communions, which have been now briefly pointed out have furnished an inexhaustible fund of controversy to the contending parties, and been drawn out into a multitude of intricate questions, and subjects of debate, that, by consequences, fairly or injudiciously deduced, have widened the scene of contention, and extended to almost all the important

* Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, which supposes the same extended body to be totally present in different places

at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.

truths of religion. Thus the debate concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist, opened to the disputants a large field of inquiry ; in which the nature and fruits of the institutions called Sacraments, the majesty and glory of Christ's humanity, together with the communication of the divine perfections to it, and that inward frame of spirit that is required in the worship that is addressed to the divine Saviour, were carefully examined. In like manner, the controversy which had for its object the divine decrees, led the doctors, by whom it was carried on, into the most subtle and profound researches concerning the nature of the divine attributes, particularly those of justice and goodness ; the doctrines of fate or necessity ; the connexion between human liberty and divine prescience ; the extent of God's love to mankind, and of the benefits that arise from the merits of Christ as mediator ; the operations of that divine Spirit, or power, that rectifies the wills and sanctifies the affections of men ; the perseverance of the elect in their covenant with God, and in a state of salvation ; and other points of great moment and importance. The subject of debate, that was drawn from the use of certain external rites and ceremonies in religious worship, was also productive of several questions and inquiries. For besides the researches into the origin and antiquity of certain institutions to which it gave occasion, it naturally led to a discussion of the following important questions : viz. "What are the special marks that characterize things indifferent ?—How far is it lawful to comply with the demands of an adversary whose opposition is only directed against things esteemed indifferent in their own nature ?—What is the extent of Christian liberty ?—Whether or no it be lawful to retain, in condescension to the prejudices of the people, or with a view to their benefit, certain ancient rites and institutions, which although they carry a superstitious aspect, may nevertheless be susceptible of a favourable and rational interpretation ?"

To whom the
right of govern-
ing the church
belongs.

XXXI. It has always been a question much debated among protestants, and more especially in England and Holland, where it has excited great commotions and tumults, "to whom the right of governing the church, and the power of deciding in religious matters, properly belong." This controversy has been determined in favour of those who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religion, doctrine, discipline, and government, is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be entrusted with, or exercised by the civil magistrate : while, at the same time, they grant, that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and by his authority, to confirm the validity, and secure the execution, of the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of Henry VIII. the kings of England consider themselves as supreme heads of the church, and that in relation to its spiritual as well as its temporal concerns ; and it is plain enough, that, on the strength of this important title, both Henry VIII. and his son Edward assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual power as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff.* But queen Elizabeth receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of

* See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 11.

her successors, by declaring that the jurisdiction of the kings of England extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone subject to the civil authority.^b Accordingly, we see that the constitution of the church of England resembles perfectly that of the state, and that there is a striking analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy, consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well-being of the church; these measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation and authority the force of laws.^c But it must be acknowledged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate; nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogatives of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another. The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in England has never acquired a stable and consistent form, nor been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by ancient custom and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions.

The form of ecclesiastical government among the Reformed.

XXXII. If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix the form of ecclesiastical government in which this power was to be administered. Many vehement disputes were kindled on this subject, which neither the lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have been able to bring to an amicable issue. The republic of Geneva, in consequence of the counsels of Calvin, judged it proper that the particular affairs of each church should be directed by a body of elders, or presbyters, all invested with an equal degree of power and authority; that matters of a more public and important nature were to be submitted to the judgment of an assembly, or synod, composed of elders chosen as deputies by the churches of a whole province or district; and that all affairs of such extensive influence and high moment as concerned the welfare of the sacred community in general, should be examined and decided, as in times of old, by a general assembly of the whole church. This form of ecclesiastical government the church of Geneva adopted for itself,^d and left no entrea-

^b See Courayer, *Supplément aux deux Ouvrages pour la Défense de la Validité des Ordinations Anglicanes*, chap. xv. p. 416.—^c This must be understood with many restrictions, if it can be at all admitted. The whole tenor of Queen Elizabeth's reign showed plainly that she did not pretend to less power in religious matters than any of her predecessors.

^d Jo. Costinus, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, in the learned Thomas Smith's *Vitæ Eruditæ Virorum*, published at London, in 4to, in the year 1707.—See also, Dav. Wilkins, *De Veteri et Moderna Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*, tom. i. Concil. Magn.

Britann. p. vii.; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 2, 3, 15, 132.

^e The account Dr. Mosheim gives here and above (sect. XII. of this chapter) of the form of ecclesiastical government established by Calvin at Geneva is far from being accurate. There are but two ecclesiastical bodies in that republic, viz. the venerable company of the pastors and professors, and the consistory; for a just description of which, see the judicious Mr. Keato's "*Short Account of the Ancient History, present Government, and Laws of the Republic of Geneva*," printed for Doddsley, in the year 1761, p. 110, 112, 121, 124. I would only remark, that what this sensible author

ties or methods of persuasion unemployed, that might recommend it to the other Reformed churches with which they lived in fraternal communion. But it was obstinately rejected by the English clergy, who regarded as sacred and immutable that ancient form of spiritual government, according to which a certain district or diocese is committed to the care and inspection of one ruler or bishop, to whom the presbyters of each church are subject, as also the deacons are to the presbyters; while those affairs that concerned the general interests of the church are treated in an assembly of bishops, and of such ecclesiastics as are next to them in rank and dignity. This form of episcopal polity was, with some small exceptions, adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren,* who were become one of the Reformed churches; but it was highly displeasing to those among the protestants who had embraced the sentiments and discipline of Calvin. The dissensions occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; and that so much the more, as each of the contending parties pretended to derive their respective plan from the injunctions of Christ, and the practice of his disciples. And in effect, it divided the English nation into two parties, who, during a long time, treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism, however, which did such mischief in England, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal, or interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of England and the Reformed churches abroad. The worthy men, that thus set bounds to the influence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made by the suggestions of bigotry to their charitable purpose. To maintain, however, the bonds of union between the episcopal church of England and the presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends, nevertheless, to the preservation of external concord among the reformed, viz. "That Jesus Christ has left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external form of government that is to be observed in his church; and consequently, that every nation hath a right to establish such a form as seemeth conducive to the interests, and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigencies of the community, provided that such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial to truth, or favourable to the revival of superstition."^f

observes, with respect to the Consistory, p. 124 of his interesting performance, belongs principally, if not wholly, to the venerable company. Dr. Mosheim seems to have been led into this mistake by imagining that the ecclesiastical form of government established in Scotland, where indeed all church affairs are managed by consistorial, provincial, and national assemblies, or, in other words, by presbyteries, synods, and general synods, was a direct transcript of the hierarchy of Geneva. It is also probable that he may have been deceived by reading, in Neal's History of the Puritans, that the Scottish reformers approved of the discipline of the Reformed churches of Geneva and Switzerland, and followed their plan of ecclesiastical government. But he ought to have observed, that this approbation and imitation related only to the democratical form of the church of Geneva,

and the parity of its ministers. Be that as it may, the plan of government, which our historian here supposes to have place at Geneva, is in reality that which is observed in Scotland, and of which no more than the first and fundamental principles were taken from the discipline of Calvin. The small territory of Geneva would not admit of such a form of ecclesiastical polity as Dr. Mosheim here describes.

* See Epist. de Ordin. et Successione Episcop. in Unitate Fratrum Bohem. conservata, in Christ. Matth. Pfaffii Institution. Juris Eccles. p. 410.

^f See Spanhemii Opera, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1055. This was the general opinion of the British divines that lived in the earliest period of the Reformation, and was first abandoned by Archbishop Whitgift. See Neal's History of the Puritans, tom. iii. p. 140.

The state of church discipline.

XXXIII. It was the opinion of Calvin, not only that flagitious and profligate members were to be cut off from the sacred society, and excluded from the communion of the church, but also that men of dissolute and licentious lives were punishable by the laws of the state, and the arm of the civil magistrate. In this he differed entirely from Zuingle, who supposing that all authority, of every kind, was lodged in the hands of the magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the church the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion, or withholding from them the participation of its sacraments.* But the credit and influence of Calvin were so great at Geneva, that he accomplished his purpose, even in the face of a formidable opposition from various quarters. He established the severest rules of discipline to correct the licentious manners of the times, by which he exposed himself to innumerable perils from the malignity and resentment of the dissolute, and to perpetual contests with the patrons of voluptuousness and immorality. He executed, moreover, these rules of discipline with the utmost rigour, had them strengthened and supported by the authority of the state, excluded obstinate offenders from the communion of the church, by the judicial sentence of the Consistory, and even went so far as to procure their banishment from the city; not to mention other kinds of punishment, of no mild nature, which, at his desire, were inflicted upon men of loose principles and irregular lives.^a The clergy in Switzerland were highly pleased with the form of church government that had been established at Geneva, and ardently desirous of a greater degree of power to restrain the insolence of obstinate sinners, and a larger share of authority in the church, than they were entrusted with by the ecclesiastical constitution of Zuingle. They devoutly wished that the discipline of Calvin might be followed in their Cantons, and even made some attempts for that purpose. But their desires and their endeavours were equally vain; for the Cantons of Bern, Zurich, and Basil, distinguished themselves among the others in opposing this change, and would by no means permit the bounds that Zuingle had set to the jurisdiction of the church, to be removed, nor its power and authority to be augmented, in any respect.¹

State of learning among the Reformed.

XXXIV. All the various branches of learning, whether sacred or profane, flourished among the Reformed during this century, as appears evidently by the great number of

* See a remarkable letter of Rud. Gualtieri, in Fueslin's *Centuria I. Epistolarum à Reformatoribus Helveticis Scriptarum*, p. 478, where he expresses himself thus: "Excommunicationem neque Zuinglius—neque Bullingerus unquam probavit, et—obstitit illis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere—Basileæ quidem (Ecolampadius, multum dissuadente Zuinglio instituerat—sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Ecolampadius illam abrogavit," &c. See also p. 90.

^a Of all the undertakings of Calvin, there was none that involved him in so much trouble, or exposed him to such imminent danger, as the plan he had formed, with such resolution and fortitude, of purging the church, by the exclusion of obstinate and scandalous offenders, and inflicting severe punishments on all such as violated the laws enacted by the church, or by the Consistory, which was its representative. See the *Life of Calvin*, composed by Beza, and prefixed to his *Letters*; Spon's *Hist. de Genève*,

and particularly the notes, t. ii. p. 45, 65; Calvin's *Letters*, and more especially those addressed to Jacques de Bourgogne, published at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in the year 1744, p. 126, 127, 132, 153, 157. The party at Geneva, which Calvin called the sect of Libertines, because they defended the licentious customs of ancient times, the erection of stews, and such like matters, not only by their discourse and their actions, but even by force of arms, was both numerous and powerful. But the courage and resolution of this great reformer gained the ascendant, and triumphed over the opposition of his enemies.

¹ See the account of the tumults and commotions of Lausanne, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 119. The disputes that were carried on upon this occasion, in the Palatinate, which adopted the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, are recorded by Altingius in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat.*, and by Struvius in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat. German.* p. 212.

excellent productions which have been transmitted to our times. Zuingle, indeed, seemed disposed to exclude philosophy from the pale of the church; but in this inconsiderate purpose he had few followers, and the succeeding doctors of the Helvetic church were soon persuaded of the necessity of philosophical knowledge, more especially in controversies, and researches of a theological kind. Hence it was, that in the year 1558, an academy was founded at Geneva by Calvin, whose first care was to place in this new seminary a professor of philosophy for the instruction of youth in the principles of reasoning. It is true, indeed, that this professor had a very limited province assigned him, being obliged to confine his instructions to a mere interpretation of the precepts of Aristotle, who at this time was the oracle of all the public schools,* and whose philosophical principles and method were exclusively adopted by all the other reformed academies, though it is certain that the philosophy of Ramus was for some time preferred by many of the doctors of Basil to that of the Stagyrte.¹

XXXV. The Reformed church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place^m in the history of theological science. The exposition that Zuingle has given of the greatest part of the books of the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit.^a He was succeeded by Bullinger, Œcolampadius, and Musculus, and also by others who, though inferior to these great men in erudition and genius, deserve, nevertheless, a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines who shone with a superior and unrivalled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors were John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of Holy Writ; and the latter published a Latin Version of the New Testament, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed through many editions, and enjoys at this day a considerable part of the reputation and applause with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowledged, to the honour of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations and mystical meanings that the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of Holy Writ, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense, the full energy of the words of scripture, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer. It must, however, be observed, on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews several prophecies that point to the Messiah,

¹ Zuingle, in the dedication of his book, *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, to Francis I., king of France, expresses himself in the following terms: "Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi scholis: at isti (Sorbonistæ) fecerunt eam celestis verbi magistratam."

^k Beza, in his *Epistolæ Theologicæ* (ep. xxxvi. p. 186), speaks thus: "Certum nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

¹ See Casp. Brandtii *Vita Jacobi Arminii*, p. 12, 13, 22.

^a Dr. Mosheim pays a tribute to those great men of the Reformed church that seems to be extorted by justice, with a kind of

effort, from the spirit of party. He says, that Zuingle's labours are not contemptible; that Calvin attempted an illustration of the sacred writings; that the New Testament of Beza has not, even at this day, entirely lost the reputation it formerly enjoyed. This is faint praise; and therefore the translator has, without departing from the tenor of the author's phraseology, animated a little the coldness of his panegyric.

^b It was not only on the books of the New Testament that Zuingle employed his very learned and excellent labours; he expounded the book of Genesis, together with the first twenty-four chapters of Exodus, and gave new versions of the Book of Psalms, of the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

and to the Christian dispensation, in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the gospel.^o

The theological
doctrines of the
Reformed
church.

XXXVI. The state of theology, and the revolutions it underwent among the Helvetic and the other Reformed churches, were pretty much the same with what it met with among the Lutherans. Zuingle was one of the first reformed doctors who reduced that sacred science into a certain sort of order in his book, Concerning True and False Religion, which contained a brief exposition of the principal doctrines of Christianity. This production was followed by one much more comprehensive in its contents, and perfect in its kind, composed by Calvin, and entitled, Institutes of the Christian Religion, which held in the Reformed churches the same rank, authority, and credit, that the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon obtained among us.^p The example of Calvin animated the doctors of his communion, and produced a great number of writers of common-place divinity, some more, others less voluminous, among which Musculus, Peter Martyr, and Piscator, particularly excelled. The most ancient of these writers are, generally speaking, the best, on account of their simplicity and clearness, being untainted with that affectation of subtlety, and that scholastic spirit, that have eclipsed the merit of many a good genius. Calvin was a model in this respect, more especially in his *Institutes*,—a work remarkable for the finest elegance of style, and the greatest ease and perspicuity of expression, together with the most perfect simplicity of method and clearness of argument. But this simplicity was soon effaced by the intricate science of the schools. The philosophy of Aristotle, which was taught in almost all the seminaries of learning, and suffered much from falling into bad hands, insinuated itself into the regions of theology, and rendered them barren, thorny, intricate, and gloomy, by the enormous multitude of barbarous terms, captious questions, minute distinctions, and useless subtleties, that followed in its train.^q

^o See *Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans*, published at Wittenberg, in 8vo, in the year 1595, which was refuted by David Pareus, in a book published the same year, under the title of *Calvinus Orthodoxus*.

^p & The reader must not forget that the learned author of this history is a Lutheran.

^q It must however be acknowledged, that the scholastic method of teaching theology seems to have first infected our (the Lutheran) church, though the contagion spread itself, soon after, among the reformed doctors. It was certainly very recent in Holland at the time of the famous synod of Dort. In this assembly Maccovius, professor at Franeker, a man deeply versed in all the mysteries of the scholastic philosophy, was accused of heresy by his colleague Sibrand Lubbert. When the matter was examined, the synod gave it as their opinion, that Maccovius was unjustly accused of heresy; but that, in his divinity lectures, he had not followed that simplicity of method, and clearness of expression, that are commendable in a public teacher of

Christianity; and that he rather followed the subtle manner of the scholastic doctors, than the plain and unaffected phraseology of the inspired writers. The decision of the synod is expressed by Walter Balcanquhal (in the acts of that ecclesiastical assembly that are subjoined to his letters to Sir Dudley Carleton) in the following words: "*Maccovium... nullius hærescos reum teneri... peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris scholasticis phrasibus usus sit: Quod scholasticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis academiiis introducere... Monendum esse eum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio.*"* These admonitions produced but little effect on Maccovius, as appears by his theological writings, which are richly seasoned with scholastic wit and intricate speculations. He therefore appears to have been the first who introduced the subtleties of philosophy into the theological system of the reformed churches in Holland. He was not, however, alone in this attempt, but was seconded by the acute Mr. William Ames.

* See the *Acta Synodi Dord.* in *Hale's Golden Remains*, p. 161; and *Philippi Lim-*

borchii Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ. Collect. p. 574.

The state of practical divinity or morality.

XXXVII. The reformed doctors of this century generally concluded their treatises of didactic theology with a delineation of the moral duties that are incumbent upon Christians, and the rules of practice that are prescribed in the gospel. This method was observed by Calvin, and was followed out of respect for his example by almost all the divines of his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, towards the conclusion of his Institutes, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and the ends of civil government; and in the last chapter gives the portraiture of the life and manners of a true Christian, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity, and importance of the subject seemed to require. The progress of morality among the reformed was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among the Lutherans. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and while every pen was drawn to maintain certain systems of doctrine, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has virtue, life, and manners, for its objects.

This master-science, which Calvin and his associates had left in a rude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by William Perkins,* an English divine, as the reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in his laudable undertaking by Telingius, a native of Holland, whose writings were composed in the Dutch language. It was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that William Ames, a native of Scotland, and professor of divinity at Franeker," was engaged to compose a complete Body of

minister of the English church at the Hague, and several others of the same scholastic turn. This method of teaching theology must have been in use among almost all the reformed doctors before the synod of Dort, if we give credit to Episcopius, who, in the last discourse he addressed to his disciples at Leyden, tells them, that he had carefully avoided this scholastic divinity; and that this was the principal cause that had drawn on him the vehement hatred and opposition of all the other professors and teachers of theology. His words are as follow: "Videbam veritatem militum et maximarum rerum in ipsa scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis vocularum fictionibus, locorum communium artificiosis texturis exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adco involutum, perplexam, et intricatam redditam esse, ut CEdipo sæpe opus esset ad Sphingem illam theologiam enodandam. Ita est, ut hinc primæ lacrymæ—Reducendam itaque terminorum apostolicorum et cuivis obviolorum simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequstrandæ, quas academice et scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vendicant, logicas, philosophicasque speculationes et dictiones." See Philippi Limborchii Vita Episcopii, p. 123, 124.

* Mr. William Perkins was born at Marston, in Warwickshire, in the first year of queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. He was one of the most famous practical

writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and non-conforming principles exposed him to the cognizance of the high commission court; but his peaceable behaviour, and eminent reputation in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the 44th year of his age.

† Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge, under Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the States of Friesland to the divinity chair in the university of Franeker, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years, after which he removed to Rotterdam, at the invitation of an English church there, and became their pastor. He was at the synod of Dort, and informed king James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following: *Medulla Theologiæ* (the work here referred to by Dr. Mosheim); *Manuductio Logica*; *Cases of Conscience*; *Analysis of the Book of Psalms*; *Notes on the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter, &c.* These productions are not void of merit, considering the times in which they were written.

Christian Morality.¹ These writers were succeeded by others, who still threw farther light on this important science.

XXXVIII. The Reformed church was less disturbed during this century by sects, divisions, and theological disputes, than the Lutheran, which was often a prey to the most unhappy dissensions. This circumstance is looked upon by the former as a matter of triumph, though it may very easily be accounted for by all such as are acquainted with the history of the Reformed church." We have, however, in the writings of Calvin, an account, and also a refutation, of a most pernicious sect that sprang up in that church, and produced troubles of a more deplorable kind than any that happened in our community.² This odious sect, which assumed the denominations of Libertines and Spiritual Brethren and Sisters, arose in Flanders, was headed by Pockesius, Ruffus, and Quintin, got a certain footing in France through the favour and protection of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I., and found patrons in several of the Reformed churches.³ Their doctrine, as far as it can be known by the writings of Calvin and its other antagonists (for these fanatics published no account of their tenets that has come to my knowledge), amounted to the following propositions: "That the Deity was the sole operating cause in the mind of man, and the immediate author of all human actions; that, consequently, the distinctions of good and evil, that had been established with respect to these actions, were false and groundless, and that men could not, properly speaking, commit sin; that religion consisted in the union of the spirit, or rational soul, with the Supreme Being; that all those who had attained this happy union, by sublime contemplation and elevation of mind, were then allowed to indulge, without exception or restraint, their appetites and passions; that all their actions and pursuits were then perfectly innocent; and that, after the death of the body, they were to be united to the Deity." These extravagant tenets resemble, in such a striking manner, the opinions of the Beghards, or Brethren of the Free Spirit, that it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that the Libertines, or Spirituals, now under consideration, were no more than a remnant of that ancient sect. The place of their origin confirms this hypothesis; since it is well known, that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Flanders almost swarmed with licentious fanatics of this kind.

And with the
Libertines of
Geneva.

XXXIX. We must not confound, as is frequently done, with these fanatics, another kind of Libertines, whom Calvin had to combat, and who gave him much trouble and perplexity during the whole course of his life and ministry, I mean the Libertines of Geneva. These were rather a cabal of rakes than a sect of

¹ In the Dedication and Preface of his famous book *De Conscientia et ejus jure*, Dr. Ames observes (Præfat. p. 3.), that an excessive zeal for doctrine had produced an unhappy neglect of morality, "*Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (i. e. morality) hactenus minus fuerit exulta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare fidem propagare, et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet.*" The address to the students of Franeker, which is subjoined to this book, under the title of *Parænesis ad Studiosos, &c.*, deserves to be perused, as it confirms farther what has been already observed with respect to the

neglect of the science of morality. "Theologi (says he) præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant. Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

² Dr. Mosheim ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution.

³ Why all these comparisons? Our author seems, on some occasions, to tinge his historical relation with the spirit of party.

⁴ See Calvin's "Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam sectam Libertinorum, qui se spirituales vocant," in *Tractatibus ejus Theologicis*.

fanatics. For they made no pretences to any religious system, but pleaded only for the liberty of leading voluptuous and immoral lives. This cabal was composed of a certain number of licentious citizens, who could not bear the severe discipline of Calvin, who punished with rigour, not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned in their city before the Reformation, pleaded for the continuance of those brothels, banquetings, and other entertainments of a sensual kind, which the regulations of Calvin were designed to abolish, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, all the powers of faction, to accomplish their purpose.* In this turbulent cabal, there were several persons, who were not only notorious for their dissolute and scandalous manner of living, but also for their atheistical impiety and contempt of all religion. Of this odious class was Gruet, who attacked Calvin with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him bishop Asculanensis, the new pope, and branding him with other contumelious denominations of a like nature. This Gruet denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference between moral good and evil, and rejected, with disdain, the doctrines that are held the most sacred among Christians; for which impieties he was at last brought before the civil tribunals, in the year 1550, and was condemned to death.†

Calvin's disputes
with Castalio,

XL. The opposition that was made to Calvin did not end here. He had contests of another kind to sustain against those who could not relish his theological system, and, more especially his melancholy and discouraging doctrine in relation to eternal and absolute decrees. These adversaries felt, by a disagreeable experience, the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction that arose from an over-jealous concern for his honour, or rather for his unrivalled supremacy. He would not suffer them to remain at Geneva; nay, in the heat of the controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his passions, he accused them of crimes, from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgment of unprejudiced posterity.* Among these victims of Calvin's unlimited power and excessive zeal, we may reckon Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva, who, though not exempt from failings,† was nevertheless a man of probity, and was also remarkable for the extent of his learning, and the elegance of his taste. As this learned man could not approve of all the measures that were followed, nor indeed of all the opinions that were entertained by Calvin and his colleagues, and particularly that of absolute and unconditional predestination, he was deposed from his office in the year 1544, and banished the city. The magistrates of Basil received nevertheless this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university.‡

* Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 44, in the Notes of the editor, in the edition in 12mo, published at Geneva in 1730.

† Id. tom. ii. p. 47, in the Notes.

‡ At this day, we may venture to speak thus freely of the rash decisions of Calvin, since even the doctors of Geneva, as well as those of the other Reformed churches, ingenuously acknowledge that the eminent talents and excellent qualities of that great man were accompanied with great defects, for which, however, they plead indulgence, in consideration of his services and virtues. See the

Notes to Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tom. ii. p. 110; as also the Preface to Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne, p. 19.

* See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Castalio, in which the merit and demerit of that learned man seem to be impartially and accurately examined.

† See Uytenbogard's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, part II. p. 70—73, where that author endeavours to defend the innocence of Castalio. See also Colomæsi *Italia Orientalis*, p. 99; Bayle's *Dict.* tom. i. p. 792.

With Bolsec, **XL I.** A like fate happened to Jerome Bolsec, a French monk of the Carmelite order, who, though much inferior to Castalio in genius and learning, was nevertheless judged worthy of esteem, on account of the motive that brought him to Geneva; for it was a conviction of the excellence of the protestant religion that engaged him to abandon the monastic retreats of superstition, and to repair to this city, where he followed the profession of physic. His imprudence, however, was great, and was the principal cause of the misfortunes that befell him. It led him, in the year 1551, to lift up his voice in the full congregation, after the conclusion of divine worship, and to declaim, in the most indecent manner, against the doctrine of absolute decrees: for which he was cast into prison, and soon after sent into banishment. He then returned to the place of his nativity, and to the communion of Rome, and published the most bitter and slanderous libels, in which the reputation, conduct, and morals of Calvin and Beza were cruelly attacked.^c From this treatment of Bolsec arose the misunderstanding between Calvin and Jacques de Bourgogne; a man illustrious by his descent from the dukes of Burgundy, who was Calvin's great patron and intimate friend, and who had settled at Geneva with no other view than to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him. Jacques de Bourgogne had employed Bolsec as his physician, and was so well satisfied with his services, that he endeavoured to support him and to prevent his being ruined by the enmity and authority of Calvin. This incensed the latter to such a degree, that he turned the force of his resentment against this illustrious nobleman, who, to avoid his vengeance, removed from Geneva, and passed the remainder of his days in a rural retreat.^d

XL II. Bernardine Ochinus, a native of Sienna, and before his conversion general of the order of Capuchins, was, in the year 1543, banished from Switzerland, in consequence of a sentence passed upon him by the Helvetic church. This proselyte, who was a man of a fertile imagination, and a lively and subtle turn of mind, had been invited to Zurich as pastor of the Italian church established in that city. But the freedom, or rather the licentiousness, of his sentiments, exposed him justly to the displeasure of those who had been his patrons and protectors. For, among many other opinions very different from those that were commonly received, he maintained, that the law which confined a husband to one wife, was susceptible of exceptions in certain cases. In his writings also he propagated several notions that were repugnant to the theological system of the Helvetic doctors, and pushed his inquiries into many subjects of importance, with a boldness and freedom that were by no means suitable to the genius and spirit of the age in which he lived. Some have, however, undertaken his defence, and have alleged in his behalf, that the errors he maintained at the time of his banishment, (when worn out with age, and oppressed with poverty, he was rather an object of compassion, than of resentment,) were not of such a heinous nature as to justify so severe a punishment. However that may have been, this unfortunate exile retired into Poland, where he embraced the communion of the Anti-trinitarians and Anabaptists,^e and ended his days in the year 1564.^f

^c See Bayle's Dict. at the article Bolsec; Spon's Hist. de Genève, tom. ii. p. 55, in the Notes; Biblioth. Raisonnée, tom. xxxii. p. 446, tom. xxxiv. p. 409.

^d See Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgogne, Preface, p. 8; La Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xxxii. p. 444, tom. xxxiv. p. 406.

^e Boveri Annales Capucinarum; together with a book entitled, La Guerre Scraphique,

ou Histoire des Perils qu'a couru la Barbe des Capuchins, livr. ii. p. 147, livr. iii. p. 190, 230; Observations Halenses Latines, tom. iv. Observ. xx. p. 406, tom. v. Observ. i. p. 3; Bayle's Diction. at the article Ochinus; Christ. Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. p. 4; Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres, tom. xix. p. 166.

^f Ochinus did not leave the accusa-

The controversy
between the
church of Eng-
land and the
Puritans.

XLIII. It is remarkable enough, that those very doctors who animadverted with such severity upon all those who dared to dissent from any part of their theological system, thought proper, nevertheless, to behave with the greatest circumspection, and the most pacific spirit of mildness, in the long controversy that was carried on with such animosity between the Puritans, and the abettors of episcopacy in England. For if, on the one hand, they could not but stand well affected to the Puritans, who were steadfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the other, they were connected with the episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation, their whole thoughts were turned towards reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren the Puritans to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance towards the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such was the gentle spirit of the doctors of Switzerland towards the church of England, notwithstanding the severe treatment the greatest part of the Reformed had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, and scarcely allowed the other reformed communities the privileges, or even the denomination, of a true church. The moderation of the Helvetic doctors was the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous and flourishing people, nor to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only to her own dominions, but even to the United Provinces, which were placed in her neighbourhood, and, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the Reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacific. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions, which, though neither highly absurd, nor of dangerous consequence, have yet the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened more or less by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Besides, the dispute between the church of England and the other Reformed churches did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that in process of time, nay, soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the two churches, that contributed much to widen the breach, and to cast the prospect of reconciliation to a distance.⁵

tions of his adversaries without a reply; he published, in Italian, Five Books of Apology for his character and conduct, which were printed, together with a Latin translation of them, by Seb. Castallo, without the date of the year. The Geneva edition of this apology bears date 1554, and is in 8vo. There is a German edition in 4to, published (according to Vogtius, Catal. Lib. Rar. p. 430) in the year 1556. That copy in the Jena library bears date 1559. See Mylius' Memor. Acad. Jenens. C. c. p. 432. Beza, in his letters to Dudithius, insults the memory of Ochinus, and pretends to justify the severity with which he was treated, in such a taunting and uncharitable manner as does him little

credit. See his Epist. Theolog. Genevæ, 1575, in 12mo, Epist. i. p. 10, and Ep. 81. What the writers of the Romish church have laid to the charge of Ochinus, may be seen in the life of Cardinal Commendon, written by Gratiani, bishop of Amelia, (and published in a French translation by the eloquent Flechier, bishop of Nîmes,) B. 2, C. 9, pp. 138—149. N.

⁵ ¶ All the protestant divines of the Reformed church, whether Puritans or others, seemed, indeed, hitherto of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But, towards the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing the received opinions

Many persons of eminent genius and learning among the Reformed.

XLIV. That the Reformed church abounded, during this century, with great and eminent men, justly celebrated for their illustrious talents and universal learning, is too well known to stand in need of any proof. Besides Calvin, Zuingle, and Beza, who exhibited to the republic of letters very striking instances of genius and erudition, we may place in the list of those who have gained an immortal name by their writings, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, Martyr, Bibliander, Musculus, Pelican, Lavater, Hospinian, Ursinus, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Szegedinus, and many others, whose names and merits are recorded by the writers of philological history, and particularly by Melchior Adam, Antony Wood, and Daniel Neal, the learned and industrious author of the *History of the Puritans*.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANABAPTISTS OR MENNONITES.

The origin of the Anabaptists obscure.

I. THE true origin of that sect, which acquired the denomination of Anabaptists* by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their com-

concerning predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Dr. Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean towards the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system, and all those abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called doctrinal Puritans.

* The modern Mennonites reject the denomination of Anabaptists, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, from whence this denomination is derived. They acknowledge that the ancient Anabaptists practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this custom is at present abolished by far the greatest part of their community. See Herm. Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitarum Plenior Deductio*, cap. ii. p. 32. But here, if I am not much mistaken, these good men forget that ingenuous candour and simplicity, of which, on other occasions, they make such ostentation, and have recourse to artifice, in order to disguise the true cause and origin of the denomination in question. They pretend, for instance, that the Anabaptists, their ancestors, were so called from their baptizing a second time all adult persons, who left other churches to enter into their communion. But it is certain that the denomination in question was given them, not only on this account, but also, and indeed principally, from the following consideration; that they did not look

upon those who had been baptized in a state of infancy, or at a tender age, as rendered by the administration of this sacrament, true members of the Christian church; and therefore insisted upon their being re-baptized, in order to their being received into the communion of the Anabaptists. It is likewise certain, that all the churches of that communion, however they may vary in other respects, and differ from each other in their tenets and practices, agree nevertheless in this opinion, and as yet persevere obstinately in it. In a more especial manner are the ancient Flemish Anabaptists entitled to this denomination; for they not only re-baptize the children that have been already baptized in other churches, but even observe the same method with respect to persons that are come to the years of reason and discretion. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the different sects of Anabaptists deal in the same manner one with another; each sect re-baptizes the persons that enter into its communion, although they have already received that sacrament in another sect of the same denomination; and the reason of this conduct is, that each sect considers its baptism alone as pure and valid. It is indeed to be observed that there is another class of Anabaptists, called Waterlandians, who are more moderate in their principles, and wiser in all respects than those now mentioned, and who do not pretend to re-baptize adult persons, who have already been baptized in other Christian churches, or in other sects of their own denomination. This moderate class are, however, with propriety, termed Anabaptists, on account of their re-baptizing such as had received the baptismal rite in a state of infancy or childhood. The patrons of this sect seem,

munion, and derived that of Mennonites, from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained.^b This uncertainty will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up all of a sudden, in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the Reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned in such a manner as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern Mennonites not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman

indeed, very studious to conceal a practice which they cannot deny to take place among them; and their eagerness to conceal it arises from an apprehension of reviving the hatred and severities which formerly pursued them. They are afraid lest, by acknowledging the truth, the modern Mennonites should be considered as the descendants of those flagitious and fanatical Anabaptists of Munster, whose enormities rendered their very name odious to all true Christians. All this appears evident from the following passage in Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitarum Plenior Deductio*, tom. ii. p. 32, where that author pretends to prove that his brethren are unjustly stigmatized with the odious denomination of Anabaptists. His words are: "Anabaptismus ille plane obsolevit et a multis retro annis neminem cujuscunque sectæ Christianæ fidei, juxta mandatum Christi baptizatum, dum ad nostras Ecclesias transire cupit, rebaptizaverunt:" i. e. "That species of Anabaptism with which we are charged exists no longer, nor has it happened during the space of many years past, that any person professing Christianity, of whatever church or sect he may have been, and who had been previously baptized according to the commandment of Christ, has been re-baptized upon his entering into our communion." This passage would, at first sight, induce an inattentive reader to imagine that there is no such thing among the modern Mennonites as the custom of re-baptizing those who enter into their community. But the words, "Juxta mandatum Christi," i. e. according to the commandment of Christ, discovers sufficiently the artifice and fraud that lie hid in this apology; for the Anabaptists maintain that there is no commandment of Christ in favour of infant baptism. Moreover, we see the whole fallacy exposed by what the author adds to the sentence already quoted: "Sed illum etiam adulterum baptismum ut sufficientem agnoscunt." Nevertheless, this author, as if he had perfectly proved his point, concludes, with an air of triumph, that the odious name of Anabaptists cannot be given, with any propriety, to the Mennonites at this day: "Quare (says he) verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire." In this, however, he is certainly mistaken; and the

name in question is just as applicable to the modern Mennonites as it was to the sect from which they descend, since the best and wisest of the Mennonites maintain, in conformity with the principles of the ancient Anabaptists, that the baptism of infants is destitute of validity, and consequently are very careful in re-baptizing their proselytes, notwithstanding their having been baptized in their tender years in other Christian churches. Many circumstances persuade me that the declarations and representations of things given by the modern Mennonites are not always worthy of credit. Unhappily instructed by the miseries and calamities in which their ancestors were involved, they were anxiously careful to conceal entirely those tenets and laws that are the distinguishing characteristics of their sect: while they embellish what they cannot totally conceal, and disguise with the greatest art such of their institutions as otherwise might appear of a pernicious tendency, and might expose them to censure.

^b The writers for and against the Anabaptists are amply enumerated by Casper Sagittarius, in his *Introductio ad Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826, and Christ. M. Pfaffius, in his *Introduct. in Histor. Liter. Theologicæ*, part II. p. 349. Add to these a modern writer, and a Mennonite preacher, Herman Schyn, who published at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in the year 1729, his *Historia Mennonitarum*, and, in 1729, his *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* These two books, though they do not deserve the title of a History of the Mennonites, are nevertheless useful, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the affairs of this sect; for this author is much more intent upon defending his brethren against the accusations and reproaches with which they have been loaded than careful in tracing out the origin, progress, and revolutions of their sect. And, indeed, after all, the Mennonites have not much reason to boast either of the extraordinary learning or dexterity of this their patron; nay, it is even to be imagined, that they may easily find a more able defender. For an accurate account of the Mennonite historians, and their confessions of faith, see Jo. Christ. Kocher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 461.

church, but pretend, moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other.^c Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the descendants of those turbulent and furious Anabaptists, who, in the sixteenth century, involved Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and more especially the province of Westphalia, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and allege, that terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced by the moderate counsels and wise injunctions of Mennon, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these two different accounts of the origin of the Anabaptists with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them is exactly conformable to truth.

The most probable account of the origin of the Anabaptists. II. It may be observed, in the first place, that the Mennonites are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as witnesses of the truth, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites, had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner; viz. "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors." This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Mennonites; and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those who, before the dawn of the Reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ.^d There were, however, different ways of thinking among the different members of this sect, with respect to the methods of attaining to such a perfect church-establishment as they had in view. Some who were of a fanatical complexion on the one hand, and were persuaded on the other, that such a visible church as they had modelled out in fancy, could not be realized by the power of man, entertained the pleasing hope, that God, in his own good time, would erect to himself a holy church, exempt from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would set apart, for the execution of this grand design, a certain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted and prepared for this work, by the extraordinary succours of his Holy Spirit. Others, of a more prudent and rational turn of mind, entertained different views of this matter. They neither expected stupendous miracles, nor extraordinary revelations; since they were persuaded, that it was possible, by human wisdom, industry, and vigilance, to purify the church from the

^c See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennon.* cap. i. p. 2, as also a Dutch work, entitled, *Galenus Abrahamzon, Verdediging der Christenen, die Doopegezinde genaamd Worden*, p. 29.

^d See for an account of the religious sentiments of the Waldenses, Limborch's excellent *History of the Inquisition*, translated into

English by the learned Dr. Samuel Chandler, book I. chap. viii. It appears from undoubted testimonies, that the Wickliffites and Hussites did not differ extremely from the Waldenses, concerning the point under consideration.

^e See also *Lydia Waldensia*, and *Allix's Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, ch. xxii—xxvi. p. 211—280. N.

contagion of the wicked, and to restore it to the simplicity of its original constitution, provided that the manners and spirit of the primitive Christians could but recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom, and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colours. Some of them imagined, that the time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner, by celestial succours, and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves, nevertheless, with the fond hopes of the approach of that happy period, in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labours and counsels of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and, as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature, by many persons, whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions, and predictions, excited commotions in a great part of Europe, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is, however, to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and, consequently, undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprise, they proposed to found a true church, entirely spiritual, and truly divine.

The first motions
of the Anabap-
tists.

IV. It is difficult to determine, with certainty, the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential sect of Anabaptists, whose tumultuous and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion, and the civil interests of mankind. Whether they first arose in Switzerland, Germany, or the Netherlands, is, as yet, a matter of debate, whose decision is of no great importance.* It is most probable, that several persons of this odious class made their appearance, at the same time, in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the Reformation in Germany, when Luther arose to set bounds to the ambition of Rome. This appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first Anabaptist doctors of any eminence, were, almost all, heads and leaders of particular and separate sects. For it must be carefully observed, that though all those projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of Anabaptists, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their very origin, subdivided into various sects, which

* Fueslin has attempted to examine, whether the Anabaptists first arose in Germany or Switzerland, in a German work entitled, *Beyt-*

rage zur Schweizerisch Reformat. Geschichte, tom. i. p. 190; tom. ii. p. 64, 65, 265, 327, 328; tom. iii. p. 323, but without success.

differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction of all those that composed this motley multitude, was that which pretended that the founders of the new and perfect church, already mentioned, were under the direction of a divine impulse, and were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in the year 1521, began their fanatical work, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, Storck, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in Saxony and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion, in order to propagate their doctrine. They preached, exhorted, admonished, and reasoned, in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great number of visions and revelations with which they pretended to have been favoured from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such a rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of Luther, and other eminent reformers, was detrimental to their cause, they then had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. Munzer and his associates assembled, in the year 1525, a numerous army, composed for the most part of the peasants of Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, and, at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble, declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates, of every kind, under the chimerical pretext, that Christ was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious crowd was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of Saxony and other princes; Munzer their ring-leader ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors scattered abroad in different places.*

*The progress of
this sect.*

V. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics, did not produce that effect upon the rest that might naturally have been expected; it rendered them, indeed, more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon their delusion. It is certain, that, even after this period, numbers of them, who were infected with the same odious principles that occasioned the destruction of Munzer, wandered about in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They gathered together congregations in several places; foretold, in consequence of a divine commission, the approaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfall of civil rulers and governors; and while they pretended to be ambassadors of the Most High, insulted on many occasions the majesty of heaven by the most flagitious crimes. Those who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect were, Lewis Hetzer, Balthazar Hubmayer, Felix Mentz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffman, and George Jacob, who, if their power had seconded their designs, would have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and bloodshed.† A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions

* See Seckendorf, *Histor. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192, 304; lib. ii. p. 13; Sleidan, *Commentar. lib. v. p. 47*; Joach. Camerarii *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 44.

† See Jo. Bapt. Otii *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 21; Jo. Hornbeckii *Summa Controversa. lib. v. p. 332*; Anton. Mathæi *Analect. Veneris Aevi*, tom. iv. p. 629, 677, 679; Ber-

nard. Raupachii *Austria Evangel. tom. ii. p. 41*; Jo. Georg. Schelborn, in *Actis ad Histor. Eccles. pertinentibus*, tom. i. p. 100; Godofr. Arnoldi *Historia Hæretica*, lib. xvi. cap. xxi. p. 727; as also the German work of Fuesslin, entitled, *Beiträgen zu der Schweizer. Reform. Geschichte.*

that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflection enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine: "That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin—that all things ought to be in common among the faithful—that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be entirely abolished—that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil—that every Christian was invested with a power to preach the gospel—and, consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors—that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless—and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions."^a

It would betray, however, a strange ignorance, or an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain that even all those that professed, in general, this absurd doctrine, were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit, and were free from any other reproach than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still farther be affirmed with truth, that many of those who followed the wiser class of Anabaptists, nay, some who adhered to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery of fanaticism and iniquity, by their ignorance and simplicity on the one hand, and by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion on the other.

Severe punishments inflicted on the Anabaptists.

VI. The progress of this turbulent sect in almost all the countries of Europe, alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy.¹ But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the Anabaptists, under the pressures of persecution, plainly showed the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing, by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of Europe an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible, but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The Mennonites have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate, of those of

^a This account of the doctrine of the Anabaptists is principally taken from the learned Fucelin, already quoted.

¹ It was in Saxony, if I am not mistaken, and also in the year 1525, that penal laws were first enacted against this fanatical tribe. These laws were renewed frequently in the years 1527, 1528, 1534. See a German work of the learned Kappius, entitled, *Nachlese von Reformations Urkunden*, part I. p. 176. Charles V., incensed at the increasing impudence and iniquity of these enthusi-

asts, issued out against them several edicts, in the years 1527 and 1529. See *Ottii Annales Anabapt.* p. 45. The magistrates of Switzerland treated, at first, with remarkable lenity and indulgence, the Anabaptists that lived under their government; but when it was found that this lenity rendered them still more enterprising and insolent, it was judged proper to have recourse to a different manner of proceeding. Accordingly, the magistrates of Zurich denounced capital punishment against this riotous sect in the year 1525.

their sect who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy which were imputed to them.¹ Certain it is that they were treated with severity; but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? Why were doctrines purely theological, or, at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigour that was shown to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with milder treatment than what was given to those seditious incendiaries who were for unhinging all government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervour of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But, as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of Anabaptists unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, indeed, that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be incurable heretics; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is nevertheless certain, that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their temerity and imprudence, which led them to the commission of various crimes.

The Anabaptists
of Munster.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this in the dreadful commotions that were excited at Munster, in the year 1533, by certain Dutch Anabaptists that chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen, who had got into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon to be established in an extraordinary manner, formed themselves into a society, under the guidance of a few illiterate leaders, chosen out of the populace; and they persuaded not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that Munster was to be the seat of this new and heavenly Jerusalem, whose ghostly dominion was to be propagated from thence to all the ends of the earth. The ringleaders of this furious tribe were, John Matthison, John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, one Gerhard, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition, had embarked in this extravagant and desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of Munster, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes and ridiculous follies which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest.² John Bockhold was proclaimed king

¹ See Joach. Christ. Jehring, Prefat. ad Historiam Mennonitarum, p. 3.

² Bockhold, or Bockelson, alias John of Leyden, who headed them at Munster, ran

and legislator of this new hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end deplorable; for the city of Munster was, in the year 1536, retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck, the New Jerusalem of the Anabaptists destroyed, and its mock monarch punished with a most painful and ignominious death.¹ The disorders occasioned by the Anabaptists at this period, not only in Westphalia, but also in other places,² showed too plainly to what horrid lengths the pernicious doctrines of this wrong-headed sect were adapted to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered at, that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction which was the occasion, nay, the source, of unspeakable calamities in so many countries.³

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful

Menno Simon.

forms, were presented to the view of this miserable sect, and numbers of them were executed every day, without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those that escaped the severity of justice were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld with sorrow all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at Munster; and, on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils

stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives at the same time, to show his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself king of Sion: all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.

¹ See Anton. Corvini *Narratio de Miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. excidio*, published first at Wittemberg, in the year 1536; Casp. Sagittar. *Introduc. in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 537 and 835; Herm. Hamelmann, *Historia Renati Evangelii in Urbe Monaster.* in *Operib. Genealogico-Historicis*, p. 1203; the elegant Latin poem of Bolandus, in elegiac verse, entitled, *J. Fabricii Bolandi Motus Monasteriens. Libri Decem*, Colon. 1546, in 8vo, Herm. Kerssenbrok. *Histor. Belli Monaster.*; Dan. Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groningens.* Nov. tom. ii. p. 377. This latter author speaks also of Bernard Rothman, an ecclesiastic of Munster, who had introduced the Reformation into that city, but afterwards was infected with the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists; and though in other respects he had shown himself to be neither destitute of learning nor virtue, yet enlisted himself in this fanatical tribe, and had a share in their most turbulent and furious proceedings.

² The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in Holland by this odious tribe were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of Leyden to ashes, but were happily prevented, and severely punished. John of Leyden, the Anabaptist king of Munster, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel; in consequence thereof, he sent bishops to these three places, to preach his gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at Amsterdam.

One of them, who was a tailor by profession, fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed during the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets in this state of nature, which they accordingly did, howling and bawling out, "Woe! Woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! Woe to Babylon!" When after being seized, and brought before the magistrates, clothes were offered to them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, "We are the naked truth." When they were brought to the scaffold, they sang and danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic frenzy. These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by Van Geelen (an envoy of the mock king of Munster, who had made a very considerable number of proselytes,) against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours flying, and fixed there his headquarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance, he was surrounded, with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands.

³ Ger. Brandt. *Histor. Reform. Belgicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 119.

that threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of Menno Simon, a native of Friesland, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the Anabaptists, at first in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Romish church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume among them the rank and functions of a public teacher; and, as he looked upon the persons from whom this proposal came to be exempt from the fanatical frenzy of their brethren at Munster, (though, according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings,) he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days, that is, during the space of twenty-five years, he travelled from one country to another, with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friesland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into Holland, Guelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coast of the Baltic sea, and penetrated so far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius, though, as his writings show, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But no where could he expect a more plentiful harvest than among the Anabaptists, whose ignorance and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who, having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled frenetic Bacchanals more than Christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher whose doctrine and manners seemed to promise them more prosperous days.*

* Menno was born at Witmarsum, a village in the neighbourhood of Bolswert, in Friesland, in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace, in

the year 1561, in the duchy of Holstein, at the country seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares

His doctrine.

IX. Menno drew up a plan of doctrine and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than the restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity. Accordingly, he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom, to be miraculously established by Jesus Christ on the ruins of civil government and the destruction of human rulers, and which had been the fatal and pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared publicly his dislike of that doctrine which pointed out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit. He expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets which several of the Anabaptists had maintained with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and, finally, considered as unworthy of toleration those fanatics who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the minds of many chosen believers in as extraordinary a manner as he did at the first establishment of the Christian church: and that he testified his peculiar presence to several of the faithful by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained, indeed, the doctrines commonly received among the Anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the Millennium, or thousand years' reign of Christ upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church, the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity, as well as the pernicious effects, of human science. But, while Menno retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner as made them resemble the religious tenets that were universally received in the protestant churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers who had no inclination to embrace them. It, however, so happened, that the nature of the doctrines, considered in themselves, the eloquence of Menno, which set them off to such advantage, and the circumstances of the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the Anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was in consequence of the ministry of Menno that the different sorts of Anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics that dishonoured it, and in renouncing all tenets that were detrimental to the authority of civil government, and, by an unexpected coalition, formed themselves into one community.^p

that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him an asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 835. See also Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deduct. Histor. Mennon.* cap. vi. p. 116. The writings of Menno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published in folio at Amsterdam, in the year 1651. An excessively diffuse and rambling style, frequent and unnecessary repetitions, an irregular and confused method, with other defects of equal moment, render the perusal of these productions highly disagreeable.

^p These facts show us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern Anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites oppose, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient Anabaptists, which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern Anabaptists a more honourable origin. (See Schyn, *Histor. Mennonitar.* cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223.) The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident; their situation has rendered them timorous; they live, as it were, in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension that, some day or other, malevolent zealots may take occasion

Origin of the sects
that have started
up among the
Anabaptists.

X. To preserve a spirit of union and concord in a body composed of such a motley multitude of dissonant members, required more than human power; and Menno neither had,

from their supposed origin, to renew against them the penal laws, by which the seditious Anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least, they imagine that the odium under which they lie, will be greatly diminished, if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the public, the falsehood of that generally received opinion, that "the Mennonites are the descendants of the Anabaptists;" or, to speak more properly, "the same individual sect, purged from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors by reflection and suffering."

After comparing diligently and impartially together what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is properly that forms the subject of their controversy; and if the merits of the cause be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I do not see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration: for, in the

First place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this, that Menno, whom they considered as their parent and their chief, was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the Anabaptists of Munster; that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates, and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself, nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of a supernatural kind; if, I say, this be all that the Mennonites mean when they speak of their chief, no person acquainted with the history of their sect, will pretend to contradict them. Nay, even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connexion between the ancient and modern Anabaptists, will readily allow to be true all that has been here said of Menno. 2dly, If the Anabaptists maintain that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from Menno have not only discovered, without interruption, a pacific spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government, abstaining from every thing that carried the remotest aspect of sedition, and showing the utmost abhorrence of wars and bloodshed, but have even banished from their confessions of faith, and their religious instructions, all those tenets and principles that led on the ancient Anabaptists to disobedience, violence, and rebellion; all this again will be readily granted. And if they allege, in the third place, that even the Anabaptists who lived before Menno were not all so delirious as Munzer, nor so outrageous as the fanatical part of that sect, that rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at Munster; that, on the con-

trary, many of these ancient Anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrusians, Hussites, and Wickliffites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronise the sect: all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin, which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain, 1st, That none of their sect descended, by birth, from those Anabaptists who involved Germany and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and particularly by the declarations of Menno himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity and reformed the lives and errors of several members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact, viz. that the first Mennonite congregations were composed of the different sorts of Anabaptists already mentioned, of those who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those who, before their conversion by the ministry of Menno, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowledgment of this incontestable fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonourable to them than it is to us, that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery. Again, it will not be possible for us to agree with the Mennonites, if they maintain, 2dly, that their sect does not retain, at this day, any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines, which led the seditious and turbulent Anabaptists of old to the commission of so many, and such enormous crimes. For, not to mention Menno's calling the Anabaptists of Munster his Brethren, (a denomination indeed somewhat softened by the epithet of erring, which he joined to it,) it is undoubtedly true, that the doctrine concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, or the church of the New Testament, which led by degrees the ancient Anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that have rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is, indeed, weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence; but it is not totally renounced or abolished. I shall not now inquire how far even the reformed or milder sect of Menno has been, in time past, exempt from tumults and commotions of a

nor pretended to have, supernatural succours. Accordingly the seeds of dissension were, in a little time, sown among this people. About the middle of this century, a warm contest, concerning Excommunication, was excited by several Anabaptists, headed by Leonard Bowenson and Theodore Philip; and its fruits are yet visible in that divided sect. These men carried the discipline of excommunication to an enormous degree of severity and rigour. They not only maintained, that open transgressors, even those who sincerely deplored and lamented their faults, should, without any previous warning or admonition, be expelled from the communion of the church; but were also audacious enough to pretend to exclude the persons thus excommunicated from all intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and relations. The same persons, as might naturally be expected from this sample of their severity, were harsh and rigid in their manners, and were for imposing upon their brethren a course of moral discipline, which was difficult and austere in the highest degree. Many of the Anabaptists protested against this as unreasonable and unnecessary; and thus the community was, all of a sudden, divided into two sects; of which the one treated transgressors with lenity and moderation, while the other proceeded against them with the utmost rigour. Nor was this the only difference that was observable in the conduct and manners of these two parties; since the latter was remarkable for the sordid austerity that reigned in their rules of life and practice; while the former, considering more wisely the present state of human nature, were less severe in their injunctions, and were not altogether regardless of what is called decent, agreeable, and ornamental in life and manners. Menno employed his most vigorous efforts to heal these divisions and to restore peace and concord in the community; but when he perceived that his attempts were vain, he conducted himself in such a manner as he thought the most proper to maintain his credit and influence among both parties. For this purpose he declared himself for neither side, but was constantly trimming between the two, as long as he lived; at one time discovering an inclination towards the austere Anabaptists; and, at another, seeming to prefer the milder discipline and manners of the more moderate brethren. But in this he acted in opposition to the plainest dictates of prudence; and accordingly, the high degree of authority he enjoyed rendered his inconstancy and irresolution not only disagreeable to both parties, but also the means of inflaming, instead of healing their divisions.^a

The rigid and moderate Anabaptists.

XI. These two sects are, to this very day, distinguished by the denominations of *fine* and *gross*,^a or, to express the distinction in more intelligible terms, into rigid and moderate Anabaptists. The former observe, with the most religious accuracy,

grievous kind, nor shall I examine what passes at this day among the Anabaptists in general, or in particular branches of that sect: since it is certain, that the more eminent communities of that denomination, particularly those that flourish in North Holland, and the places adjacent, behold fanatics with the utmost aversion, as appears evidently from this circumstance, among others, that they will not suffer the people called Quakers to enter into their communion.

^a See the *Historia Bellorum et Certaminum quæ, ab A. 1615, inter Mennonitas contigerunt*, which was published by an anonymous Mennonite; see also a German work,

entitled *Sim. Fred. Ruca, Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*, published in 8vo. at Jena, in the year 1743.

^a The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *groben* and *feinen*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the Protestants in Holland; the *fine* denoting a set of people whose extraordinary and sometimes fanatical devotion, resembles that of the English Methodists; while the *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians, who make no extraordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sanctity and devotion.

reverence, and precision, the ancient doctrine, discipline, and precepts, of the purer sort of Anabaptists; the latter depart much more from the primitive sentiments, manners, and institutions of their sect, and approach nearer to those of the protestant churches. The gross or moderate Anabaptists consisted, at first, of the inhabitants of a district in North Holland called Waterland, and hence their whole sect was distinguished by the denomination of Waterlandians.* The fine or rigid part of that community were, for the most part, natives of Flanders; and hence their sect acquired the denomination of Flemings, or Flandrians. But new dissensions and contests arose among these rigid Anabaptists, not indeed concerning any point of doctrine, but about the manner of treating persons that were to be excommunicated, and other matters of inferior moment. Hence a new schism arose, and they were subdivided into new sects, distinguished by the appellations of Flandrians and Frieslandians, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. To these were added a third, who took the name of their country, like the two former, and were called Germans; for the Anabaptists of Germany passed in shoals into Holland and the Netherlands. But, in process of time, the greatest part of these three sects came over, by degrees, to the moderate community of the Waterlandians, with whom they lived in the strictest bonds of peace and union. Those among the rigid Anabaptists, who refused to follow this example of moderation, are still known by the denomination of the old Flemings, or Flandrians, but are few in number, when compared with the united congregations of the milder sects now mentioned.

The source from which the Mennonites drew their doctrine.

XII. No sooner had the ferment of enthusiasm subsided among the Mennonites, than all the different sects, into which they had been divided, unanimously agreed to draw the whole system of their religious doctrine from the Holy Scriptures alone. To give a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their resolution in this respect, they took care to have Confessions drawn up, in which their sentiments concerning the Deity, and the manner of serving him, were expressed in the terms and phrases of Holy Writ. The most ancient, and also the most respectable of these Confessions, is that which we find among the Waterlandians. Several others, of later date, were also composed, some for the use of large communities or for the people of a whole district, and which were consequently submitted to the inspection of the magistrate; others designed only for the benefit of private societies.¹ It might

* See Frid. Spanhemii Elenchus Controvers. Theol. Opp. tom. iii. p. 772. The Waterlandians were also called Johannites, from John de Ruca, who was of great use to them in many respects, and who, assisted by Lubert Gerard, composed their confession of faith in the year 1580. This confession, which far surpasses, both in point of simplicity and wisdom, all the other confessions of the Mennonites, has passed through several editions, and has been lately republished by Herman Schyn, in his *Hist. Mennon.* cap. viii. p. 172. It was also illustrated in an ample Commentary, in the year 1686, by Peter Joannes, a native of Holland, and pastor among the Waterlandians. It has, however, been alleged, that this famous production is by no means the general confession of the Waterlandians, but the private one only of that particular congregation of which its author

was the pastor. See Ruca, *Nachrichten*, p. 93, 94.

¹ See an account of these Confessions in Schyn's *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennon.* cap. iv. p. 78, 115, where he maintains, that "these Confessions prove as great a uniformity among the Mennonites, in relation to the great and fundamental doctrines of religion, as can be pretended to by any other Christian community." But should the good man even succeed in persuading us of this boasted uniformity, he will yet never be able to make his assertion go down with many of his own brethren, who are, to this day, quarrelling about several points of religion, and who look upon matters, which appear to him of little consequence, as of high moment and importance to the cause of true piety. And, indeed, how could any of the Mennonites, before this present century, believe what Schyn here affirms,

not, perhaps, be amiss to inquire, whether all the tenets received among the Mennonites are faithfully exhibited and plainly expressed in these Confessions, or whether several points be not there omitted, which relate to the internal constitution of this sect, and would give us a complete idea of its nature and tendency. One thing is certain, that whoever peruses these Confessions with an ordinary degree of attention, will easily perceive, that those tenets which appear detrimental to the interests of civil society, particularly those that relate to the prerogatives of magistracy, and the administration of oaths, are expressed with the utmost caution, and embellished with the greatest art, to prevent their bearing an alarming aspect. At the same time, the more discerning observer will see, that these embellishments are intended to disguise the truth, and that the doctrines of the Anabaptists, concerning the critical points above mentioned, are not represented in their public Confessions, in their real colours.

XIII. The ancient Anabaptists, who trusted in an extraordinary direction of the Holy Spirit, were (under the pretended influence of so infallible a guide) little solicitous about composing a system of religion, and never once thought of instilling into the minds of the people just sentiments of the Deity. Hence the warm dissensions that arose among them, concerning matters of the highest consequence, such as the Divinity of Christ, Polygamy, and Divorce. Menno and his disciples made some attempts to supply this defect. But nevertheless we find, after his time, that the Mennonites, more especially those of the rigid class, carried the freedom of their religious speculations to such an excessive height, as bordered upon extravagance. This circumstance alone, were there no other, proves that the heads of this sect employed the smallest part of their zeal to prevent the introduction and propagation of error; and that they looked upon sanctity of life and manners alone as the essence of true religion. The Waterlandians, indeed, and after them the other Anabaptists, were obliged, at length, to draw up a summary of their doctrine, and to lay it before the public, in order to remove the odium that was cast upon them, on account of their bold tenets and their extravagant disputes, which were likely to involve them in the greatest calamities. But these Confessions of the Mennonites were, in reality, little more than a method of defence, to which they were reduced by the opposition they met with, and must therefore be rather considered as an expedient to avert the indignation of their enemies, than as articles of doctrine, which all of them, without exception, were obliged to believe. For we do not find among the Mennonites (a part of the modern Waterlandians excepted) any injunction which expressly prohibits individuals from entertaining or propagating religious opinions different from the public creed of the community. And, indeed, when we look attentively into the nature and constitution of this sect, it will appear to have been, in some measure, founded upon this principle, that practical piety is the essence of religion, and that the surest and most infallible mark of the true church is the sanctity of its members; it is at least certain, that this principle was always universally adopted by the Anabaptists.

XIV. If we are to form our judgment of the religion of the Mennonites from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find, that though it varies widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, yet in most things it differs but little from that of the Reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light, than as signs or

since it is well known, that they disputed about matters which he treated with contempt, as if

they had been immediately connected with their eternal interests.

symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the Gospel; and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the Presbyterians. There are, however, peculiar tenets by which they are distinguished from all other religious communities, and these may be reduced under three heads. For it is observable, that there are certain doctrines, which are held in common by all the various sects of the Mennonites; others, which are only received by some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community (such were the sentiments of Menno, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the Anabaptists,) and others, again, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last, indeed, appear and vanish alternately, with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to employ our attention any farther in this place.

The great principle on which the general doctrine of the Mennonites is founded.

XV. The opinions that are held in common by the Mennonites, seemed to be all derived from this leading and fundamental principle, that "the kingdom which Christ established upon the earth is a visible church or community, into which the holy and the just are alone to be admitted, and which is consequently exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline, that have been invented by human wisdom for the correction and reformation of the wicked."

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites; their more immediate descendants, however, began to be less ingenuous; and in their public Confessions of Faith they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it entirely. To renounce it entirely was impossible, without falling into the greatest inconsistency, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines that distinguished them from all other Christian societies.* And yet it is certain that the present Mennonites, as they have in many other respects departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors, so have they given a striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly renounced this fundamental doctrine of their sect relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason, and the declarations of scripture, had demonstrated sufficiently, but without effect. Now, that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets: First, that there is an invisible church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear

* That they did not renounce it entirely, is evident from their own Creeds and Confessions, even from those in which the greatest caution has been employed to conceal the principles that rendered their ancestors odious, and to disguise whatever might render themselves liable to suspicion. For example, they speak in the most pompous terms concerning the dignity, excellence, utility, and divine origin, of civil magistrates; and I am willing to suppose they speak their real sentiments in this matter. But when they proceed to give reasons that prevent their admitting magistrates into their communion, they discover unwarily the very principles which they are otherwise so studious to conceal. Thus in the thirtieth article of the Waterlandian Confession, they declare, that "Jesus

Christ has not comprehended the institution of civil magistracy in his spiritual kingdom, in the Church of the New Testament, nor has he added it to the offices of his church:" The Latin words are: "Potestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officii ecclesie suae adjunxit." Hence it appears, that the Mennonites look upon the church of the New Testament, as a holy republic inaccessible to the wicked, and consequently exempt from those institutions and laws that are necessary to oppose the progress of iniquity. Why then do they not speak plainly, when they deliver their doctrine concerning the nature of the church, instead of affecting ambiguity and evasions?

the Christian name; Secondly, That the mark of the true church is not, as their former doctrine supposed, to be sought for in the unspotted sanctity of all its members (since they acknowledge that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked), but in the knowledge of the truth, as it was delivered by Christ, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it.

Their peculiar
tenets or doc-
trines.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine, that they admit none to the sacrament of baptism, but persons that are come to the full use of their reason: because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether or no, in maturer years, they will be saints or sinners: it is in consequence of the same doctrine, that they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy; for where there are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence do they pretend also to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war in all its shapes as unchristian and unjust; for as those who are perfectly holy can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they do not stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them the utmost aversion to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments; since, according to this principle, there are no transgressions or crimes in the kingdom of Christ, and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined, that they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath upon any other foundation than this, that the perfect members of a holy church can neither dissemble nor deceive. It was certainly then the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the sanctity of the church, that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and that was the source of that rigid and severe discipline, which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

Their system of
morality.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline that were formerly observed by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and thus every way conformable to the fundamental principle, which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but, it is certain, that in the times of old, their moral precepts were very severe. And, indeed, it could not well be otherwise; for, when these people had once got it into their heads, that sanctity of manners was the only genuine mark of the true church, it may well be imagined, that they would spare no pains to obtain this honourable character for their sect; and that, for this purpose, they would use the strictest precautions to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was that they unanimously, and no doubt justly, exalted the rules of the Gospel, on account of their transcendent purity. They alleged, that Christ had promulgated a new law of life, far more perfect than that which had been delivered by Moses and the Prophets; and they excluded from their communion all such as deviated, in the least, from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their clothing, and their table: all whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity: nay, even all who observed a cer-

tain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. But this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired, by their industry and commerce, has relaxed their severity, softened their manners, and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life; so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community.* There are, however, still some remains of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the Anabaptists; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and more particularly among those who live remote from great and popular cities.

XVIII. The particular sentiments and opinions that the singular tenets of some sects. divided the more considerable societies of the Mennonites, were those that follow: 1. Menno denied that Christ derived from his mother the body he assumed; and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing, in the womb of that blessed Virgin, by the creating power of the Holy Ghost. This opinion is yet firmly maintained by the ancient Flemings or rigid Anabaptists; but has long since been renounced by all the other sects of that denomination.^x 2. The more austere Mennonites, like their forefathers, not only animadvert, with the most unrelenting severity, upon actions manifestly criminal, and evidently repugnant to the divine laws, but also treat, in the same manner,

* It is certain, that the Mennonites in Holland, at this day, are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, who are very numerous and extremely opulent.

† This is the account that is given of the opinion of Menno by Herman Schyn, in his *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennonit.* p. 164, 165, which other writers represent in a different manner. After an attentive perusal of several passages in the writings of Menno, where he professedly handles this very subject, it appears to be more than probable, that he inclined to the opinion attributed to him in the text, and that it was in this sense only, that he supposed Christ to be clothed with a divine and celestial body. For that may, without any impropriety, be called celestial and divine which is produced immediately, in consequence of a creating act, by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowledged, that Menno does not seem to have been unchangeably wedded to this opinion. For in several places he expresses himself ambiguously on this head, and even sometimes falls into inconsistencies. From hence, perhaps, it might not be unreasonable to conclude, that he renounced indeed the common opinion concerning the origin of Christ's human nature; but was pretty much undetermined with respect to the hypothesis, which, among many that were proposed, it was proper to substitute in its place. ‡ See *Fucalini Conturia I. Epis-*

tolar. a Reformatore. Helveticis Scriptar. p. 383.—Be that as it may, Menno is generally considered as the author of this opinion, concerning the origin of Christ's body, which is still embraced by the more rigid part of his followers. It appears probable nevertheless, that this opinion was much older than his time, and was only adopted by him with the other tenets of the Anabaptists. As a proof of this, it may be observed, that Bolandus, in his poem, entitled, *Motus Monasterienses*, lib. x. v. 49, plainly declares, that many of the Anabaptists of Munster (who certainly had not been instructed by Menno) held this very doctrine in relation to Christ's incarnation:

Esse (Christum) Deum statuunt alii, sed corpore carnom

Humanam sumpto sustinuisse negant:
At Diam mentem, tenuis quasi fauce canal,
Per Mariæ corpus virginis isse ferunt.

^x Many writers are of opinion, that the Waterlandians, of all the other Anabaptists, showed the strongest propensity to adopt the doctrine of Menno, relating to the origin of Christ's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 223; *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 200. But that these writers are mistaken, is abundantly manifest from the public Confession of faith of the Waterlandians, composed by Rues. See also, for a farther refutation of this mistake, Herman Schyn, *Deductio Plenior Histor. Mennonit.* p. 165.

the smallest marks of an internal propensity to the pleasures of sense, or of a disposition to comply with the customs of the world. They condemn, for example, elegant dress, rich furniture, every thing, in a word, that looks like ornament, or surpasses the bounds of absolute necessity. Their conduct also to offenders is truly merciless; for they expel them from the church without previous admonition, and never temper the rigour of their judgments by an equitable consideration of the infirmities of nature in this imperfect state. The other Mennonites are by no means chargeable with this severity towards their offending brethren; they exclude none from their communion but the obstinate contemnners of the divine laws; nor do they proceed to this extremity even with regard to such, until repeated admonitions have proved ineffectual to reform them. 3. The more rigid Mennonites look upon those that are excommunicated as the pests of society, who are to be avoided upon all occasions, and to be banished from all the comforts of social intercourse. Neither the voice of nature, nor the ties of blood, are allowed to plead in their behalf, or to procure them the smallest degree of indulgence. In such a case the exchange of good offices, the sweets of friendly conversation, and the mutual effusions of tenderness and love, are cruelly suspended, even between parents and children, husbands and wives, and also in all the other endearing relations of human life.—But the more moderate branches of this community have wisely rejected this unnatural discipline, and look upon the honour and sanctity of the church to be sufficiently vindicated, when its members avoid a close and particular intimacy with those who have been expelled from its communion. 4. The rigid Anabaptists enjoin it as an obligation upon their disciples and the members of their community, to wash the feet of their guests as a token of brotherly love and affection, and in obedience to the example of Christ, which they suppose in this case to have the force of a positive command; and hence they are sometimes called *Podoniptæ*. But the other Mennonites deny that Christ meant, in this instance of his goodness and condescension, to recommend this custom to the imitation of his followers, or to give his example, in this case, the authority of a positive precept.

The state of learning and philosophy among the Anabaptists.

XIX. The Anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, were agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which, in former times, they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers who, in this century, employed their pens in defence of that sect, there is none whose labours bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid Mennonites persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and neglecting totally the improvement of the mind and the culture of the sciences, devote themselves entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The Waterlandians, indeed, are honourably distinguished from all the other Anabaptists in this, as well as in many other respects. For they permit several members of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose usefulness and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that in our times, so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians. Nay more; it is not unusual to see Anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, on the excellence and utility of

which their eyes are, at length, so far opened, as to make them acknowledge their importance to the well-being of society. It was, no doubt, in consequence of this change of sentiment that they have erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning at Amsterdam, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities chosen as professor of philosophy. But, though these moderate Anabaptists acknowledge the benefit which may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, yet they still persevere so far in their ancient prejudices, as to consider theology as a system that has no connexion with them; and, consequently, they are of opinion, that in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. It is farther to be observed, that, in the present times, even the Flemish, or rigid Anabaptists, begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the other sciences.

Their division into a multitude of sects.

XX. That simplicity and ignorance, of which the ancient Anabaptists boasted, as the guardians of their piety, and the sources of their felicity, contributed principally to those divisions and schisms that reigned among them, from even their first rise, in a degree unknown and unexperienced in any other Christian community. This will appear evident to such as inquire, with the smallest attention, into the more immediate causes of their dissensions. For it is observable, that their most vehement contests had not for their object any difference in opinion concerning the doctrines or mysteries of religion, but generally turned upon matters relating to the conduct of life, on what was lawful, decent, just, and pious, in actions and manners, and what on the contrary was to be considered as criminal or unseemly. These disputes were a natural consequence of their favourite principle, that holiness of life, and purity of manners, were the authentic marks of the true church. But the misfortune lay here, that, being ignorant themselves, and under the guidance of persons whose knowledge was little superior to theirs, they were unacquainted with the true method of determining, in a multitude of cases, what was pious, laudable, and lawful, and what was impious, unbecoming, and criminal. The criterion they employed for this purpose was neither the decision of right reason, nor the authority of the divine laws, accurately interpreted; since their ignorance rendered them incapable of using these means of arriving at the truth. They judged, therefore, of these matters by the suggestions of fancy, and the opinions of others. But as this method of discerning between right and wrong, decent and indecent, was extremely uncertain and precarious, and could not but produce a variety of decisions, according to the different feelings, fancies, tempers, and capacities, of different persons, hence naturally arose diversity of sentiments, debates, and contests of various kinds. These debates produced schisms and divisions, which are never more easily excited, nor more obstinately fomented and perpetuated, than where ignorance, the true source of bigotry, prevails.

The first solid settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces.

XXI. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged, by gratitude, to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in

the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted.⁷ The fruits, however, of this toleration, were not immediately enjoyed by all the Anabaptists that were dispersed through the different provinces of the rising republic; for, in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of Zealand and the city of Amsterdam, where the remembrance of the plots the Anabaptists had laid, and the tumults they had excited, was still fresh in the minds of the people.⁸ This opposition, indeed, was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of William I. and his son Maurice, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled, instead of diminishing the precautions that might remove all grounds of suspicion to their disadvantage, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opposition justifiable. But it was not before the following century, that their liberty and tranquillity were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a Confession of Faith, published in the year 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors that had been laid to their charge.⁹

XXII. The sect, in England, which rejects the custom of baptizing infants, are not distinguished by the title of Anabaptists, but by that of Baptists. It is however, probable, that they derive their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites; and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points. That, indeed, is by no means the case at present; for the English Baptists differ, in many things, both from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two sects. One of which is distinguished by the denomination of General or Arminian Baptists, on account of their opposition to the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees; and the other by that of Particular or Calvinistical Baptists, from the striking resemblance of their religious system to that of the Presbyterians, who have Calvin for their chief.¹⁰ The Baptists of this latter sect settled chiefly at London, and in the towns and villages adjacent; and they have departed so far from the tenets of their ancestors, that, at this day, they retain no more of the peculiar doctrines and institutions of the Mennonites, than the administration of baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants, and those of tender years. And consequently they have none of those scruples relating to oaths, wars, and the functions of magistracy, that still remain among even the most rational part of the modern Mennonites. They observe in their congregations the same rules of government, and the same method of worship, that are followed by the Presbyterians, and their community is under the direction of men eminent for their piety and learning.¹¹ From their Confession of Faith, that was published in the year 1643, it appears plainly, that their religious sentiments were the same then that they are at this day.¹²

⁷ See Brandt, *Histoire der Reformatie in de Nederlande*, vol. i. p. 525, 526; *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 201.

⁸ Brandt, *loc. cit.* book xi. p. 555, 586, 587, 609, 610, book xiv. p. 780, book xvi. p. 811.

⁹ See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio His-*

tor. Mennonit. cap. iv. p. 79.

¹⁰ See Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 461.

¹¹ See a German work composed by Ant. William Bohm, under the title of the *History of the Reformation in England*, p. 151, 473, 536, 1152.

¹² *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. vi. p. 2.

The opinions of
the General and
Particular Ana-
baptists in Eng-
land.

XXIII. The General Baptists, or, as they are called by some the Antipædobaptists, are dispersed in great numbers through several counties of England, and are, for the most part, persons of mean condition, and almost totally destitute of learning and knowledge. This latter circumstance will appear less surprising, when it is considered, that, like the ancient Mennonites, they profess a contempt of erudition and science. There is much latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such vague and general principles, as render their communion accessible to Christians of almost all denominations. And, accordingly, they tolerate, in fact, and receive among them, persons of every sect, even Socinians and Arians; nor do they reject any from their communion who profess themselves Christians, and receive the Holy Scriptures as the source of truth, and the rule of faith.* They agree with the Particular Baptists in this circumstance, that they admit to baptism adult persons only, and administer that sacrament by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them in another respect, even in their repeating the administration of baptism to those who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or by aspersion, instead of dipping; for if the common accounts may be believed, the Particular Baptists do not carry matters so far. The following sentiments, rites, and tenets are also peculiar to the former: 1. After the manner of the ancient Mennonites, they look upon their sect as the only true Christian church, and consequently shun, with the most scrupulous caution, the communion of all other religious societies. 2. They dip only once, and not three times, as is practised elsewhere, the candidates for baptism, and consider it as a matter of indifference, whether that sacrament be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. 3. They adopt the doctrine of Menno with respect to the Millennium, or thousand years' reign of the saints with Christ upon earth; and, 4. Many of them embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body.^f 5. They look upon the precept of the apostles, prohibiting the use of blood and things strangled,^g as a law that was designed to be in force in all ages and periods of the church. 6. They believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility. 7. They use the ceremony of extreme unction. And, to omit matters of a more trifling nature, 8. Several of them observe the Jewish, as well as the Christian Sabbath.^h These Baptists have three different classes of ecclesiastical governors, bishops, elders, and

* This appears evidently from their Confession of Faith, which appeared first in the year 1660, was republished by Mr. Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 561, and is drawn up with such latitude, that with the removal and alteration of a few points,^g it may be adopted by Christians of all denominations.[†] Mr. Whiston, though an Arian, became a member of this Baptist community, which, as he thought, came nearest to the simplicity of the primitive and apostolic age. The famous Mr. Emlyn, who was persecuted

on account of his Socinian principles, joined himself also to this society, and died in their communion.

^f To wit, that the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but created in her womb by an omnipotent act of the Holy Spirit.

^g Acts xv. 29.

^h These accounts of the doctrine of the Baptists are taken from Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*; and from the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, p. 465, &c.

* ^g Viz. Those relating to Universal Redemption, the Perseverance of the Saints, Election, and Reprobation, which are illustrated entirely on Arminian principles, and consequently cannot be embraced by rigid Calvinists; not

to mention the points relating to baptism, which are the distinctive marks of this sect.

[†] ^g Our author does not certainly mean to include Roman Catholics in this large class, for then his assertion would not be true.

deacons: the first of these, among whom there have been several learned men,¹ they modestly call messengers,¹ as St. John is known to have styled that order, in the book of the Revelation.

The Davidists, or
David-Georgi-
ans.

XXIV. Before we conclude the history of the Anabaptists, it may not be improper to mention a very singular and ridiculous sect that was founded by David George, a native of Delft, and a member of that community. This enthusiast, after having laid the foundation of the sect of the Davidists, or David-Georgians, deserted the Anabaptists, and removed to Basil, in Switzerland, in the year 1544, where he changed his name, and by the liberality and splendour that attended his opulence, joined to his probity and purity of manners, acquired a very high degree of esteem, which he preserved till his death. The lustre of his reputation was, however, but transitory; for soon after his decease, which happened in the year 1556, his son-in-law, Nicolas Blesdyck, charged him with having maintained the most blasphemous and pestilential errors. The senate of Basil, before whom this accusation was brought, being satisfied with the evidence by which it was supported, pronounced sentence against the deceased heretic, and ordered his body to be dug up, and to be publicly burned. And, indeed, nothing more horribly impious and extravagant can possibly be conceived, than the sentiments and tenets of this fanatic, if they were really such as they have been represented, either by his accusers or his historians.* For he is said to have given himself out for the Son of God, the Fountain of Divine wisdom, to have denied the existence of angels, good and evil, of heaven and hell, and to have rejected the doctrine of a future judgment; and he is also charged with having trampled upon all the rules of decency and modesty with the utmost contempt.² In all this, however, it is very possible, that there may be much exaggeration. The enthusiast in question, though a man of some natural genius, was, nevertheless, totally destitute of learning of every kind, and had something obscure, harsh, and illiberal in his manner of expression, that gave too much occasion to an unfavourable interpretation of his religious tenets. That he had both more sense and more virtue than is generally imagined, appears manifestly, not only from his numerous writings, but also from the simplicity and candour that were visible in the temper and spirit of the disciples he left behind him, of whom several are yet to be found in Holstein, Friesland, and other countries.¹ He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers; and in this he seemed to imitate the example of the more moderate Anabaptists. But the excessive warmth of an irregular imagination threw him into illusions of the most dangerous and pernicious kind, and seduced him into a persuasion that he was honoured with the gift of Divine inspiration, and had celestial visions constantly presented to his mind. Thus was he led to such a high degree of fanaticism, that rejecting as mean and useless the external services of piety, he reduced religion to contemplation, science, and a certain frame or habit of soul, which

¹ See Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, tom. ii. p. 466, as also Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, published in four volumes 8vo, in the year 1728.

² St. John calls them the angels of the churches; the word angel (in Greek αγγελος) signifies properly an envoy or messenger.

³ See Nic. Blesdyckii *Historia Davidis Georgii a Jacobo Revio edita*; as also the life of the same fanatic, written in the German language by Stolterfoth. Among the modern

writers, see Arnold's *Kirchen-und-Ketzor Historie*, tom. i. p. 750, tom. ii. p. 534 and 1183, in which there are several things that tend to clear the character of David. See also Henr. Mori *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, sect. xxxiii. p. 23; and the documents I have published in relation to this matter, in the *History of Servetus*, p. 425.

¹ See Jo. Moller's *Introduct. in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, P. ii. p. 116, et *Cimbricæ Literatæ*, tom. i. p. 422.

it is equally difficult to define and to understand. The soaring Mystics and the visionary Quakers may therefore, if they please, give David George a distinguished rank in their enthusiastical community.

The Family of Love, founded by Henry Nicholas.

XXV. Henry Nicholas, a Westphalian, one of the intimate companions of this fanatic, though somewhat different from him in the nature of his enthusiasm, and also in point of genius and character, founded a sect in Holland, in the year 1555, which he called the Family of Love. The principles of this sect were afterwards propagated in England, and produced no small confusion in both nations. The judgment that has been formed with respect to David George may be applied with truth, at least in a great measure, to his associate Nicholas, who, perhaps, would have prevented a considerable part of the heavy reproaches with which he has been loaded, had he been endowed with a degree of genius, discernment, and knowledge, sufficient to enable him to express his sentiments with perspicuity and elegance. Be that as it may, the character, temper, and views of this man, may be learned from the spirit that reigned in his flock.^m As to his pretensions, they were indeed visionary and chimerical; for he maintained, that he had a commission from heaven to teach men that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of divine love; that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith or modes of worship, were of no sort of moment; and, consequently, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference what opinions Christians entertained concerning the divine nature, provided their hearts burned with the pure and sacred flame of piety and love. To this, his main doctrine, Nicholas may have probably added other odd fancies, as always is the case with those innovators who are endued with a warm and fruitful imagination. To come, however, at a true notion of the opinions of this enthusiast, it will be much wiser to consult his own writings than to depend entirely upon the accounts and refutations of his adversaries.ⁿ

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS.

I. The Socinians are said to have derived this denomination from the illustrious family of the Sozzini, which flourished a long time at Sienna in Tuscany, and produced several great and eminent men, and, among others, Lælius and Faustus Socinus, who are commonly supposed to have been the founders of this sect. The former was the son of Marianus, a famous lawyer, and was himself a man of uncommon genius and learning; to which he added, as his very enemies are obliged to acknowledge, the lustre of a virtuous life and of unblemished manners. Being forced to leave his country, in the year 1547, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery, he travelled through France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland, in

^m See Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controversarum*, lib. vi. p. 393; Arnold, *Kirchen-und-Ketzers Historie*, p. 746; Bohm's *History of the Reformation in England*, written in German, book iv. chap. v. p. 541.

ⁿ The most learned of all the authors, who wrote against the Family of Love, was Dr. Henry More, in his *Grand Explanation of*

the *Mystery of Godliness*, &c., book vi. chap. 12—18. George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, inveighed also severely against this scraphic family, and called them a motley tribe of fanatics, because they took oaths, danced, sang, and made merry. See Shewell's *History of the Quakers*, book iii. p. 88, 89, 344.

order to examine the religious sentiments of those who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and thus at length to come at the truth. After this he settled at Zurich, where he died in the year 1562, before he had arrived at the fortieth year of his age.* His mild and gentle disposition rendered him averse from whatever had the air of contention and discord. He adopted the Helvetic confession of faith, and professed himself a member of the church of Switzerland; but this did not engage him to conceal entirely the doubts he had formed in relation to certain points of religion, and which he communicated in effect, by letter, to some learned men, whose judgment he respected, and in whose friendship he could confide.^b His sentiments were indeed propagated in a more public manner after his death, since Faustus, his nephew and his heir, is supposed to have drawn, from the papers he left behind him, that religious system upon which the sect of the Socinians was founded.

The term Socinian bears different significations.

II. It is, however, to be observed, that this denomination does not always convey the same ideas, since it is susceptible of different significations, and is, in effect, used sometimes in a more strict and proper, and at others in a more improper and extensive sense. For, according to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed Socinians whose sentiments bear a certain affinity to the system of Socinus; and they are more especially ranked in that class who either boldly deny, or artfully explain away, the doctrines that assert the divine nature of Christ, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. But, in a strict and proper sense, they only are deemed the members of this sect who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of theological doctrine which Faustus Socinus either drew up himself, or received from his uncle, and delivered to the Unitarian brethren, or Socinians, in Poland and Transylvania.^c

The origin of Socinianism.

III. The origin of Socinianism may be traced to the earliest period of the Reformation. For, scarcely had that happy revolution in the state of religion taken place, when a set of men, fond of extremes, and consequently disposed to look upon as erroneous whatever had hitherto been taught and professed in the church of Rome, began to undermine the doctrine of Christ's Divinity, and the other truths that are connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of

* Cloppenburg, *Dissertatio de origine et progressu Socinianismi*; Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563; Jo. Hern. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 417.*

^b Zanchius, *Præf. ad Libr. de Tribus Elohim*; Beza, *Epist. Volum. ep. lxxxi. p. 167.* Certain writings are attributed to him by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 18, but it is very doubtful whether he was the real author of them or not.

^c We have, hitherto, no complete or accurate history either of the sect called Socinians, or of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, its founders; nor any satisfactory account of those who laboured principally with them, and after them, in giving a permanent and stable form to this community. For the accounts we have of the Socinians, and their principal

doctors, from Hornbeck,* Calovius,† Cloppenburg,‡ Sandius,§ Lubieniecus,|| and Lauterbach,¶ are far from being proper to satisfy the curiosity of those who desire something more than a vague and superficial knowledge of this matter. The history of Socinianism, that was published at Paris, by Lamy, in the year 1723, is a wretched compilation from the most common-place writers on that subject: it is also full of errors, and is loaded with a variety of matters that have no sort of relation to the history of Socinus, or to the doctrine he taught. The very learned and laborious La Croze promised, in his *Dissertationes Historiques*, tom. i. p. 142, a complete History of Socinianism, from its origin to the present times, but did not fulfil this interesting engagement.

* In his *Socinianism. Confutat.* vol. i.—
† In his *Opera Anti-Sociniana.*—‡ In his *Dissertat. de origine et progressu Socinianismi*, tom. ii. *Opp.*—§ In his *Bibliotheca*

Anti-Trinitariorum.—|| In his *Historia Reformationis Polonicae.*—¶ In his *Ariano-Socinianismus*, published in German, at Frankfurt, in the year 1725.

religion to practical piety and virtue. The efforts of these men were opposed with united zeal and vigilance by the Romish, Reformed, and Lutheran churches; and their designs were so far disconcerted, as to prevent their forming themselves and their followers into a regular and permanent sect. So early as the year 1524, the divinity of Christ was openly denied by Lewis Hetzer, one of the wandering and fanatical Anabaptists, who, about three years afterwards, was put to death at Constance.^d There were not wanting among the first Anabaptists several persons who entertained the opinions of Hetzer, though it would be manifestly unfair to lay these opinions to the charge of the whole community. But it was not from that quarter only that erroneous opinions were propagated in relation to the points already mentioned; others seemed to have been seized with the contagion, and it manifested itself from day to day in several countries. John Campanus, a native of Juliers, disseminated at Wittemberg, and other places, various tenets of an heretical aspect; and taught, among other things, that the Son was inferior to the Father, and that the Holy Ghost was not the title of a divine person, but a denomination used to denote the nature of the Father and of the Son; and thus did this innovator revive, in a great measure, the errors of the ancient Arians.* A doctrine of a similar kind was propagated, in the year 1530, in Switzerland, Augsburg, and among the Grisons, by a person whose name was Claudius, who, by his opposition to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, excited no small commotions in these countries.^f But none of these new teachers were so far encouraged, by the number of their followers or the indulgence of their adversaries, as to be in a condition to form a regular sect.

IV. The attempts of Michael Servetus,^g or Servetus, a

Spanish physician, were much more alarming to those who had the cause of true religion at heart than the feeble and impotent efforts of the innovators now mentioned. This man, who has made such a noise in the world, was born at Villa Nueva, in the kingdom of Arragon, distinguished himself by the superiority of his genius, and had made a considerable progress in various branches of science. In the years 1531 and 1532, he published, in Latin, his Seven Books concerning the errors that are contained in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and his Two Dialogues on the same subject, in which he attacked, in the most audacious manner, the sentiments adopted by far the greatest part of the Christian church in relation to the Divine Nature, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. Some years after this he travelled into France, and, after a variety of adventures, settled at Vienne in Dauphiné, where he applied himself, with success, to the practice of physic. It was here that, letting loose the reins of his warm and irregular imagination, he invented that strange system of theology, which was printed, in a clandestine manner, in the year 1553, under the title of Christianity Restored. The man seemed to

^d Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.; Jo. Bapt. Otinus, Annal. Anabaptist. p. 50; Breitingeri Museum Helveticum, tom. v. p. 391, tom. vi. p. 100, 479.

^e See the Dissertatio de Joh. Campano, Anti-Trinitario, in the Amoenitates Literariæ of the very learned Schelhornius, tom. xi. p. 1—92.

^f See Schelhornii Dissert. Epistol. de Mino Celso Senensi Claudio item Allobroge, homine fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste, Ulmæ, 1748, in 4to; Jac. Breitingeri Museum Helvetic.

tom. vii. p. 667; Jo. Hallerus, Epistol. in Jo. Conrad. Fueslin. Centuria, Epistolæ. Viror. Eruditor. p. 140.

^g By taking away the last syllable of this name, I mean the Spanish termination de, there remains Serve, which, by placing differently the letters that compose it, makes Reves. Servetus assumed this latter name in the title-pages of all his books. He also called himself sometimes Michael Villanovanus, or Villanovanus alone, after the place of his nativity, omitting the name of his family.

be seized with a passion for reforming, in his way; and many things concurred to favour his designs, such as the fire of his genius, the extent of his learning, the power of his eloquence, the strength of his resolution, the obstinacy of his temper, and an external appearance at least of piety, that rendered all the rest doubly engaging. Add to all this the protection and friendship of many persons of weight in France, Germany, and Italy, which Servetus had obtained by his talents and abilities, both natural and acquired; and it will appear that few innovators have set out with a better prospect of success. But, notwithstanding these signal advantages, all his views were totally disappointed by the vigilance and severity of Calvin, who, when Servetus had escaped from his prison at Vienne, and was passing through Switzerland, in order to seek refuge in Italy, caused him to be apprehended at Geneva, in the year 1553, and had an accusation of blasphemy brought against him before the council.^a The issue of this accusation was fatal to Servetus, who, adhering resolutely to the opinions he had embraced, was, by a public sentence of the court, declared an obstinate heretic, and, in consequence thereof, condemned to the flames. For it is observable, that, at this time, the ancient laws that had been enacted against heretics by the emperor Frederic II. and had been so frequently renewed after his reign, were still in vigour at Geneva. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this learned and ingenious sufferer was worthy of a better fate; though it is certain, on the other hand, that his faults were neither few nor trivial, since it is well known that his excessive arrogance was accompanied with a malignant and contentious spirit, an invincible obstinacy of temper, and a considerable portion of fanaticism.^b

The doctrine of
Servetus.

V. The religious system that Servetus had struck out of a wild and irregular fancy, was, indeed, singular in the highest degree. The greatest part of it was a necessary consequence of his peculiar notions concerning the universe, the nature of God, and the nature of things, which were equally strange and chimerical. Thus it is difficult to unfold, in a few words, the doctrine of this unhappy man; nor, indeed, would any detail render it intelligible in all its branches. He took it into his head that the true and genuine doctrine of Christ had been

^a This accusation was brought against Servetus by a person who lived in Calvin's family as a servant; and this circumstance displeased many.

^b Dr. Mosheim refers the reader here in a note, to an ample and curious history of Servetus, composed by him in the German language, of which the first edition was published at Helmstadt, in 4to, in the year 1748, and the second with considerable additions, at the same place, the year following. Those who are not acquainted with the German language will find a full account of this singular man, and of his extraordinary history, in a Latin dissertation, composed under the inspection of Dr. Mosheim, and published at Helmstadt under the following title: *Historia Michaelis Serveti, quam, Præside Jo. Laur. Mosheimæo, Abbate, &c., placido Doctorum examini publice exposuit Henricus ab Allwaerden*. There is an accurate history of this unhappy man in the first volume of the work, entitled *Memoirs of Literature*, containing a weekly account of the state of learning, both at home and abroad. This was com-

posed by Monsieur de la Roche, and was afterwards augmented by him, and translated into French in his *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. ii. part. i. article vii. p. 76.—There is also an account of Servetus given by Mackenzie, in the first volume of his *Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, which was published at Edinburgh, in the year 1708. To these we may add *An Impartial History of Servetus, &c.*, written by an anonymous author, and published at London in 1724.

It is impossible to justify the conduct of Calvin in the case of Servetus, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent Reformer. The only thing that can be alleged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit, which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of popery in the breast of Calvin that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched Servetus.

entirely lost, even before the council of Nice; and he was, moreover, of opinion, that it had never been delivered with a sufficient degree of precision and perspicuity in any period of the church. To those extravagant assertions he added another still more so, even that he himself had received a commission from above to reveal anew this divine doctrine, and to explain it to mankind. His notions with respect to the Supreme Being, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, were obscure and chimerical beyond all measure, and amounted in general to the following propositions: That "the Deity, before the creation of the world, had produced within himself two personal representations or manners of existence," which were to be the medium of intercourse between him and mortals, and by whom, consequently, he was to reveal his will, and to display his mercy and beneficence to the children of men; that these two representatives were the Word and the Holy Ghost; that the former was united to the man Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary by an omnipotent act of the divine will; and that, on this account, Christ might be properly called God; that the Holy Spirit directed the course, and animated the whole system of nature; and more especially produced in the minds of men wise counsels, virtuous propensities, and divine feelings; and, finally, that these two Representations were to cease after the destruction of this terrestrial globe, and to be absorbed into the substance of the Deity, from whence they had been formed." This is, at least, a general sketch of the doctrine of Servetus, who, however, did not always explain his system in the same manner, nor take any pains to avoid inconsistencies and contradictions; and who frequently expressed himself in such ambiguous terms, that it is extremely difficult to learn from them his true sentiments. His system of morality agreed in many circumstances with that of the Anabaptists; whom he also imitated in censuring, with the utmost severity, the custom of infant baptism.

Other Anti-Trinitarians.

VI. The pompous plans of reformation, that had been formed by Servetus, were not only disconcerted, but even fell into oblivion, after the death of their author. He was, indeed, according to vulgar report, supposed to have left behind him a considerable number of disciples; and we find in the writings of the doctors of this century, many complaints and apprehensions that seem to confirm this supposition, and would persuade us that Servetus had really founded a sect; yet when this matter is attentively examined, there will appear just reason to doubt, whether this man left behind him any one person that might properly be called his true disciple. For those who were denominated Servetians by the theological writers of this century, not only differed from Servetus in many points of doctrine, but also varied widely from him in his doctrine of the Trinity, which was the peculiar and distinguishing point of his theological system. Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who suffered death at Berne, in the year 1566, adopted the Arian hypothesis, and not that of Servetus, as many writers have imagined; for his only error consisted in this, that he considered the Son and the Holy Ghost as subordinate to the Father.^k Nearly allied to this, was the doctrine of Matthew Gribaldi, a lawyer, whom a timely death, in the year 1566, saved from the severity of an ecclesiastical tribunal, that was ready to pronounce sentence against

^j & These representations or manners of existence, Servetus also called economies, dispensations, dispositions, &c., for he often changed his terms in unfolding his visionary system.

^k See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article

Gentilis; Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, livr. liij. tom. ii. p. 80; Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 26; Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part. ii. ch. vi. p. 251; Fuesli, *Reformations Beyträge*, tom. v. p. 381.

him on account of his errors; for he supposed the divine nature divided into three eternal spirits, which were distinguished from each other, not only by number, but also by subordination.¹ It is not easy to determine the particular charge that was brought against Alciat, a native of Piedmont, and Sylvester Tellius, who were banished from the city and territory of Geneva, in the year 1559; nor do we know, with any degree of certainty, the errors that were embraced by Paruta, Leonardi, and others,^m who were ranked among the followers of Servetus. It is, however, more than probable, that none of the persons now mentioned were the disciples of Servetus, or adopted the hypothesis of that visionary innovator. The same thing may be affirmed with respect to Gonesius, who is said to have embraced the doctrine of that unhappy man, and to have introduced it into Poland;ⁿ for, though he maintained some opinions that really resembled it in some of its points; yet his manner of explaining the mystery of the Trinity was totally different from that of Servetus.

Erroneous account of the origin of Socinianism.

VII. It is evident that none of the persons, now mentioned, professed that form or system of theological doctrine, that is properly called Socinianism, the origin of which is, by the writers of that sect, dated from the year 1546, and placed in Italy. These writers tell us, that, in this very year, above forty persons eminently distinguished by their learning and genius, and still more by their generous zeal for truth, held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of Venice, and particularly at Vicenza, in which they deliberated concerning a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and, in a more especial manner, undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinians. They tell us farther, that the principal members of this clandestine society were Lælius Socinus, Alciat, Ochinus, Paruta, and Gentilis; that their design was divulged, and their meetings discovered, by the temerity and imprudence of some of their associates; that two of them were apprehended and put to death; while the rest being dispersed, sought a refuge in Switzerland, Germany, Moravia, and other countries, and that Socinus, after having wandered up and down in several parts of Europe, went into Poland, first in the year 1551, and afterwards in 1558, and there sowed the seeds of his doctrine, which, in process of time, grew apace, and produced a rich and abundant harvest.^o Such is the account of the origin of Socinianism, that

¹ Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 17; Lamy, loc. cit. part ii. ch. vii. p. 257; Spon, loc. cit. tom. ii. p. 85, note; Halerus, in Museo Tigurino, tom. ii. p. 114.

^m For an account of these, and other persons of the same class, see Sandius, Lamy, and also Lubieniecus, his Historia Reformat. Polonica, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96.—There is a particular and ample account of Alciat given by Bayle, in the first volume of his Dictionary; see also Spon, loc. cit. tom. ii. p. 85, 86.

ⁿ This is affirmed upon the authority of Wisowatius and Lubieniecus; but the very words of the latter will be sufficient to show us upon what grounds. These words, Hist. Reformat. Polon. cap. vi. p. 111, are as follows: "Is Serveti sententiam de præminencia patris in patriam attulit, eamque non dissimulavit," i.e. "Gonesius introduced into Poland the opinion embraced by Servetus in relation to the pre-eminence of the Father, and was by no means studious to conceal it."

Who now does not see, that, if it was the pre-eminence of the Father that Gonesius maintained, he must have differed considerably from Servetus, whose doctrine removed all real distinction in the divine nature? The reader will do well to consult Sandius, loc. cit. p. 40, concerning the sentiments of Gonesius; since it is from this writer that Lamy has borrowed the greatest part of what he has advanced in his Histoire du Socinianisme, tom. ii. chap. x. p. 278.

^o See the Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit. pp. 18 and 25, of Sandius, who mentions some writings that are supposed to have been published by the clandestine society of pretended Reformers at Venice and Vicenza; though the truth of this supposition is extremely dubious. Andr. Wisowatii Narratio Quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis Separati sunt, which is subjoined to the Biblioth. of Sandius, p. 209, 210.—The reader may likewise consult Lubieniecus, Hist. Reformat. Po-

is generally given by the writers of that sect. To assert that it is, in every circumstance, fictitious and false, would, perhaps, be going too far; but, on the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the system of religion, commonly called Socinianism, was neither invented nor drawn up in those meetings at Venice and Vicenza, that have been now mentioned.*

Ion. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 38, who intimates, that he took this account of the origin of Socinianism from the manuscript *Commentaria* of Budzinas, and his *Life* of Lælius Socinus. See also Sam. Przypocwius, in *Vita Socini*.

† See Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi* Altorfii, cap. ii. sect. xli. p. 321, note. This writer seems to think that the inquiries that have hitherto been made into this affair are by no means satisfactory; and he therefore wishes that some men of learning, equal to the task, would examine this subject anew.—This, indeed, were much to be wished. In the mean time, I shall venture to offer a few observations, which may perhaps contribute to cast some light upon this matter. That there was, in reality, such a society as is mentioned in the text, is far from being improbable. Many circumstances and relations prove sufficiently, that immediately after the Reformation had taken place in Germany, secret assemblies were held, and measures proposed in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of Rome, with a view to combat the errors and superstitions of the times. It is also, in a more especial manner, probable, that the territory of Venice was the scene of these deliberations; since it is well known, that a great number of the Venetians at this time, though they had no personal attachment to Luther, approved, nevertheless, of his design of reforming the corrupt state of religion, and wished well to every attempt that was made to restore Christianity to its native and primitive simplicity. It is farther highly credible, that these assemblies were interrupted and dispersed by the vigilance of the papal emissaries, that some of their members were apprehended and put to death, and that the rest saved themselves by flight. All this is probable enough; but it is extremely improbable, nay, utterly incredible, that all the persons, who are said to have been present at these assemblies, were really so. And I therefore adopt willingly the opinion of those who affirm, that many persons, who, in after times, distinguished themselves from the multitude by opposing the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, were considered as members of the Venetian society, by ignorant writers, who looked upon that society as the source and nursery of the whole Unitarian sect. It is certain, for instance, that Ochinus is erroneously placed among the members of the famous society now mentioned: for, not to insist upon this circumstance, that it is not

sufficiently clear whether he was really a Socinian or not, it appears undeniably, from the *Annales Capucinorum* of Boverius, as well as from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left Italy so early as the year 1543, and went from thence to Geneva. See a singular book, entitled, *La Guerre Séraphique, ou l'Histoire des Périls qu'a couru la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. iii. p. 181, 216. What I have said of Ochinus may be confidently affirmed with respect to Lælius Socinus, who, though reported to have been at the head of the society now under consideration, was certainly never present at any of its meetings. For how can we suppose that a young man, only one-and-twenty years old, would leave the place of his nativity, repair to Venice or Vicenza, and that without any other view than the pleasure of disputing freely on certain points of religion?† Or, how could it happen that a youth of such inexperienced years should acquire such a high degree of influence and authority, as to obtain the first rank, and the principal direction, in an assembly composed of so many eminently learned and ingenious men? Besides, from the *Life* of Lælius, which is still extant, and from other testimonies of good authority, it is easy to show, that it was the desire of improvement, and the hope of being aided in his inquiries after truth, by the conversation of learned men in foreign nations, that induced him to leave Italy, and not the apprehension of persecution and death, as some have imagined. It is also certain that he returned into his native country afterwards, and in the year 1551, remained some time at Sienna, while his father lived at Bologna. See his letter to Bullinger, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489. Now surely it cannot easily be imagined, that a man in his senses would return to a country from whence, but a few years before, he had been obliged to fly, in order to avoid the terrors of a barbarous inquisition and a violent death.

But, waving this question for a moment, let us suppose all the accounts we have from the Socinians, concerning this famous assembly of Venice and Vicenza, and the members of which it was composed, to be true and exact; yet it remains to be proved, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that assembly. This the Socinian writers maintain; and this, as the case appears to me, may be safely denied. For the Socinian doctrine is undoubtedly of much later date than this assembly; it also passed

* & Is such a supposition really so absurd? Is not a spirit of enthusiasm, or even

an uncommon degree of zeal, adequate to the production of such an effect?

The real origin of Socinianism.

VIII. While, therefore, we reject this inaccurate account of the matter under consideration, it is incumbent upon us to substitute a better in its place; and, indeed, the origin and progress of the Socinian doctrine seem easy to be traced out by such as are acquainted with the history of the church during this century. There were certain sects and doctors, against whom the zeal, vigilance, and severity of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were united, and, in opposing whose settlement and progress, these three communions, forgetting their dissensions, joined their most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects of their common aversion were, the Anabaptists, and those who denied the divinity of Christ, and a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. To avoid the unhappy consequences of such a formidable opposition, great numbers of both classes retired into Poland, from this persuasion, that in a country whose inhabitants were passionately fond of freedom, religious liberty could not fail to find a refuge. However, on their first arrival, they proceeded with circumspection and prudence, and explained their sentiments with much caution, and a certain mixture of disguise, not knowing surely what might happen, nor how far their opinions would be treated with indulgence. Thus they lived in peace and quiet during several years, mixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had already obtained a solid settlement in Poland, and who admitted them into their communion, and even into the assemblies where their public deliberations were held. They were not, however, long satisfied with this state of constraint, notwithstanding the privileges with which it was attended; but, having insinuated themselves into the friendship of several noble and opulent families, they began to act with more spirit, and even to declare, in an open manner, their opposition to certain doctrines that were generally received among Christians. Hence arose violent contests between them and the Swiss, or Reformed churches, with which they had been principally connected. These dissensions drew the attention of the government, and occasioned, in the year 1565, a resolution of the diet of Petrikow, ordering the innovators to separate themselves from the churches already mentioned, and to form a distinct congregation or sect.^a These founders of the Socinian church were commonly called

through different hands, and was, during many years, reviewed and corrected by men of learning and genius, and thus underwent various changes and improvements, before it was formed into a regular, permanent, and connected system. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an eye upon the opinions, doctrines, and reasonings, of several of the members of the famous society, so often mentioned; which vary in such a striking manner, as show manifestly that this society had no fixed views, nor had ever agreed upon any consistent form of doctrine. We learn, moreover, from many circumstances in the life and transactions of Lælius Socinus, that this man had not, when he left Italy, laid the plan of a regular system of religion; and it is well known, that, for many years afterwards, his time was spent in doubting, inquiring, and disputing; and that his ideas of religious matters were extremely fluctuating and unsettled. So that it seems probable to me, that the man died in a state of hesitation and uncertainty, before he had reduced his notions to any consistent form. As to

Gribaldi and Aleiat, who have been already mentioned, it is manifest that they inclined towards the Arian system, and did not entertain such low ideas of the person and dignity of Jesus Christ, as those that are adopted among the Socinians. From all this it appears abundantly evident, that these Italian Reformers, if their famous society ever existed in reality, which I admit here as a probable supposition, rather than as a fact sufficiently attested, were dispersed and obliged to seek their safety in a voluntary exile, before they had agreed about any regular system of religious doctrine; so that this account of the origin of Socinianism is rather imaginary than real, though it has been inconsiderately adopted by many writers. Fueslin has alleged several arguments against it in his German work, entitled, *Reformationen Beytragen*, tom. iii. p. 327.

^a Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part I. chap. vi. &c. p. 16; Stoinii *Epitomo Originis Unitariorum* in Polonia, apud Sandium, p. 183; Georg. Schomanni *Testamentum*, apud eundem, p. 194; Andr. Wissowatius,

Pinczovians, from the town in which the heads of their sect resided. Hitherto, indeed, they had not carried matters so far as they did afterwards; for they professed chiefly the Arian doctrine concerning the divine nature, maintaining that the Son and the Holy Ghost were two distinct natures, begotten by God the Father, and subordinate to him.*

The progress of
Socinianism.

IX. The Unitarians, being thus separated from the other religious societies in Poland, had many difficulties to encounter, both of an internal and external kind. From without, they were threatened with a formidable prospect arising from the united efforts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to crush their infant sect. From within, they dreaded the effects of intestine discord, which portended the ruin of their community before it could arrive at any measure of stability or consistence. This latter apprehension was too well grounded; for, as yet, they had agreed upon no regular system of principles, which might serve as a centre and bond of union. Some of them chose to persevere in the doctrine of the Arians, and to proceed no farther; and these were called Farnovians.† Others, more adventurous, went much greater lengths, and attributed to Christ almost no other rank or dignity than those of a divine messenger, and of a true prophet. A third class, distinguished by the denomination of Budnæans,‡ went still farther; declaring that Jesus Christ was born in an ordinary way, according to the general law of nature, and that, consequently, he was no proper object of divine worship or adoration.¶ There were also among these people several fanatics, who were desirous of introducing into the society, the discipline of the enthusiast Anabaptists; such as a community of goods, an equality of ranks, and other absurdities of the same nature.¶ Such were the disagreeable and perilous circumstances in which the Unitarians were placed during the infancy of their sect, and which, no doubt, rendered their situation extremely critical and perplexing. But they were happily extricated out of these difficulties by the dexterity and resolution of certain of their doctors, whose efforts were crowned with singular success, on account of the credit and influence they had obtained in Poland. These Unitarian doctors suppressed, in a little time, the factions that threatened the ruin of their community, erected flourishing congregations at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smila,‡ (a town belonging to the famous Dudith,)¶ and in

do Separatione Unitar. a Reformatis, ibid. p. 211, 212; Lubieniecicus, Histor. Reformat. Polonicæ, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 111, cap. viii. p. 144, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158.

* This will appear abundantly evident to all such as consult, with a proper degree of attention, the writers mentioned in the preceding note. It is unquestionably certain, that all those who then called themselves Unitarian Brethren, did not entertain the same sentiments concerning the divine nature. Some of the most eminent doctors of that sect adopted the notions relating to the person and dignity of Christ, that were, in after times, peculiar to the Socinians; the greatest part of them, however, embraced the Arian system, and affirmed, that our blessed Saviour was created before the formation of the world, by God the Father, to whom he was much inferior, nevertheless, in dignity and perfection.

† For a more particular account of the Farnovians, see sec. xxii. of this chapter.

¶ See the part of this chapter referred to in the preceding note.

¶ Vita Andr. Wissowatii in Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trin. p. 226; as also Sandius, in Simone Budnæo, p. 54.

¶ Lubieniecicus Hist. Reform. Polon. lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.

¶ Mart. Adelt, Historia Arianismi Smig-liensis, Ged. 1741, in 8vo.

¶ This Dudith, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda, in the year 1533; and after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of Europe, was named to the bishopric of Tisza by the emperor Ferdinand, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius, and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council, where he was sent in the name of the emperor

several other places, both in Poland and Lithuania, and obtained the privilege of printing their productions, and those of their brethren, without molestation or restraint.⁷ All these advantages were crowned by a signal mark of liberality and munificence they received from Jo. Siennius, palatine of Podolia, who gave them a settlement in the city of Racow, which he had himself built, in the year 1569, in the district of Sendomir.⁸ This extraordinary favour was peculiarly adapted to better the state of the Unitarians, who were, hitherto, dispersed far and wide in the midst of their enemies. And accordingly they now looked upon their religious establishment as permanent and stable, and presumed so far upon their good fortune, as to declare Racow the centre of their community, where their distant and dispersed members might unite their counsels, and hold their deliberations.

A summary view
of the religion
they professed.

X. When they saw their affairs in this promising situation, the first thing that employed the attention and zeal of their doctors and spiritual rulers, was a translation of the Bible into the Polish language, which was accordingly published in the year 1572. They had, indeed, before this, a Polish version of the sacred writings, which they had composed, jointly with the Helvetic doctors, in the year 1565, while they lived in communion with that church. But after the breach of that communion, and the order they had received to separate themselves from the Reformed church, this version lost its credit among them, as it did not seem proper to answer their views.⁹ After they had finished their new version, they drew up a summary of their religious doctrine, which was published at Cracow, in the year 1574, under the title of Catechism, or Confession of the Unitarians.¹⁰ The system of

and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recall him. Ferdinand complied: but having heard Dudith's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishopric of Chonat. He afterwards married a maid of honour of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishopric; the emperor, however, still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the sopperies and superstitions of the church of Rome, he retired to Cracow, where he embraced the protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said that he showed some inclination towards the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain, that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physics, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times, with his own hands, the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.

⁷ Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trin. p. 201.

⁸ Sandius, loc. citat. p. 201; Lubieniecius, loc. cit. p. 239.

⁹ See a German work of Ringeltaube, entitled, Von den Pohnischen Bibeln, p. 90, 113, 142, in which there is a further account of the Polish interpretations of the Bible composed by Socinian authors.

¹⁰ From this little performance, and indeed from it alone, we may learn with certainty the true state of the Unitarian religion before Faustus Socinus; and, nevertheless, I do not find that it has been so much as once quoted, or even mentioned by any of the Socinian writers, by any historians who have given an account of their sect, nor yet by any of the divines that have drawn the pen of controversy against their religious system. I am almost inclined to believe that the Socinians, when in process of time they had gained ground, acquired more dexterity in the management of their affairs, and drawn up a new, specious, and artful summary of their doctrine, were prudent enough to desire that this primitive catechism should disappear, that it might not furnish their adversaries with an occasion of accusing them of inconstancy in abandoning the tenets of their ancestors, nor excite factions and divisions among themselves, by inducing any of their people to complain that they had deviated from the ancient simplicity of their first founders. These reasons, very probably, engaged the Socinian doctors to buy up all the copies they could find of this origi-

religion that is contained in this Catechism, is remarkable for its simplicity, and is neither loaded with scholastic terms nor subtle discussions; but it nevertheless breathes, in several places, the spirit of Socinianism, and that even in those parts of it which its authors look upon as most important

nal Confession or catechism, with a view to bury it in oblivion. It will not, therefore, be improper to give here some account of the form and matter of this first Socinian creed, which contained the doctrine of that sect before the Racovian Catechism was composed. This account will throw a new light upon a period and branch of ecclesiastical history that are highly interesting. The original Catechism now under consideration, which is extremely rare, has the following title prefixed to it:—"Catechism, or Confession of Faith of the Congregation assembled in Poland, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified and raised from the dead—Deuter. vi. Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God—John viii. 54. It is my Father—of whom ye say that he is your God. Printed by Alexander Turobinus, born in the year of Christ, the Son of God, 1574," in 12mo.* We find, by a passage at the end of the Preface, that this curious Catechism was printed at Cracow, for it is said to have been published in that city, in the year 1574 after the birth of Christ. Now it is known that the Unitarians had, at that time, a printing-house at Cracow, which was soon after removed to Racow. Alexander Turobinus, who is said to have been the printer of this little production, is mentioned by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 51, under the denomination of Turobinczyk, which he undoubtedly derived from Turobin, a town in the Palatinate of Chelm, in Little, or Red Russia, which was the place of his nativity. The author of this Catechism was the famous George Schoman, as has been evidently proved from a piece entitled, *Schomanni Testamentum*,† and other circumstances, by Jo. Adam Mullerus, in his *Dissert. De Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium*.‡ The preface, which is composed in the name of the whole congregation, begins with the following salutation: "To all those who thirst after eternal salvation, the little and afflicted flock in Poland, which is baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, sendeth greeting; praying most earnestly that grace and peace may be shed upon them by the one

supreme God and Father, through his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified."§ After this general salutation, the prefacers give an account of the reasons that engaged them to compose and publish this confession. The principal of these reasons was, the reproaches and aspersions that were cast upon the Anabaptists in several places; from which we learn, that at this time, the denomination of Anabaptists was given to those who, in after times, were called Socinians. The rest of this preface is employed in beseeching the reader to be firmly persuaded, that the designs of the congregation are pious and upright, to read with attention, that he may judge with discernment, and, "abandoning the doctrine of Babylon, and the conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah," i. e. among the Unitarian brethren.

In the beginning of the Catechism itself, the whole doctrine of Christianity is reduced to six points. The first relates to the Nature of God, and his Son Jesus Christ; the second to Justification; the third to Discipline; the fourth to Prayer; the fifth to Baptism; and the sixth to the Lord's Supper. These six points are explained at length in the following manner: Each point is defined and unfolded in general terms, in one question and answer, and is afterwards subdivided into its several branches in various questions and answers, in which its different parts are illustrated and confirmed by texts of Scripture. From this it appears, at first sight, that the primitive state of Socinianism was a state of real infancy and weakness, that its doctors were by no means distinguished by the depth or accuracy of their theological knowledge, and that they instructed their flock in a superficial manner, by giving them only some vague notions of certain leading doctrines and precepts of religion. In their definition of the Nature of God, with which this Catechism begins, the authors discover immediately their sentiments concerning Jesus Christ, by declaring that he, together with all other things, is subject to the Supreme Creator of the universe. It may

* The original title runs thus: "Catechesis et Confessio fidei cœtus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Iesu Christi, Domini nostri, crucifixi et resuscitati, Deut. vi: Audi Israel, Dominus deus noster Deus unus est. Johannis viii. dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Iesu Christi, filii Dei, 1574," in 12mo.

† This testament is published by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.*, p. 51.

‡ The dissertation of Mullerus is to be found

in a collection of pieces published by Bartholomæus, under the following title: "Fortgesetzten nützlichen Ammerkungen von allerhand Materien," part. xxi. p. 728.

§ Omnibus salutem æternam sitientibus, gratiam ac pacem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium, Dominum nostrum, Iesum Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatur cœtus exiguus et afflictus per Poloniam, in nomine ejusdem Iesu Christi Nazareni baptizatus.

and fundamental. Nor will this appear surprising to those who consider, that the papers of Lælius Socinus, which he undoubtedly left behind him in Poland, were in the hands of many; and that, by the perusal of them, the Arians, who had formerly the upper hand in the community of the

also be observed, as a proof of the ignorance or negligence of these authors, that, in illustrating the nature and perfections of the Deity, they make not the least mention of his infinity, his omniscience, his immensity, his eternity, his omnipotence, his omnipresence, his spirituality, nor of those other perfections of the divine nature that surpass the comprehension of finite minds. Instead of this, they characterize the Supreme Being only by his wisdom, his immortality, his goodness, and unbounded dominion and empire over the creatures. By this it would seem, that even at this early period of Socinianism, the rulers of that sect had adopted it as a maxim, that nothing incomprehensible or mysterious was to be admitted into their religious system. Their erroneous notion concerning Jesus Christ is expressed in the following terms:—"Our mediator before the throne of God is a man who was formerly promised to our fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, and whom God the Father has made Lord and Christ; that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most triumphant king, by whom he created the new world,* by whom he sent peace upon earth, restored all things, and reconciled them to himself; and by whom also he has bestowed eternal life upon his elect; to the end that, after the Supreme God, we should believe in him, adore and invoke him, hear his voice, imitate his example, and find in him rest to our souls."† It is here worthy of note, that although they call Christ a most holy priest, and justify this title by citations from Scripture, yet they nowhere explain the nature of that priesthood which they attribute to him. With respect to the Holy Ghost, they plainly deny his being a divine person, and represent him as nothing more than a divine quality or virtue, as appears from the

following passage: "The Holy Ghost is the energy or perfection of God, whose fulness God the Father bestowed upon his only begotten Son, our Lord, that we, becoming his adopted children, might receive of his fulness."‡ They express their sentiments concerning Justification in the ensuing terms:—"Justification consists in the remission of all our past sins, through the mere grace and mercy of God, in, and by our Lord Jesus Christ, without our merits and works, and in consequence of a lively faith; as also in the certain hope of life eternal, and the true and unfeigned amendment of our lives and conversations, through the assistance of the divine Spirit, to the glory of God the Father, and the edification of our neighbours."§ As by this inaccurate definition, justification comprehends in it amendment and obedience, so, in the explication of this point, our authors break in upon the following one, which relates to discipline, and lay down a short summary of moral doctrine, which is contained in a few precepts, and expressed for the most part in the language of Scripture. There is this peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the taking of oaths and the repelling of injuries. As to what regards ecclesiastical discipline, they define it thus: "Ecclesiastical discipline consists in calling frequently to the remembrance of every individual, the duties that are incumbent upon them; in admonishing, first, privately, and afterwards, if this be ineffectual, in a public manner, before the whole congregation, such as have sinned openly against God, or offended their neighbour; and, lastly, in excluding from the communion of the church the obstinate and impenitent, that being thus covered with shame, they may be led to repentance, or, if they remain unconverted, may be damned eternally."|| By their further explication of the

* This expression is remarkable; for these doctors maintained, that these declarations of Scripture, which represent the world as formed by Christ, do not relate to the visible world, but to the restoration of mankind to virtue and happiness by the Son of God. They invented this interpretation to prevent their being obliged to acknowledge the divine glory and creating power of Christ.

† Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam eternam electis suis donavit: ut in

illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitatur, et, in illo, requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

‡ Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut ex-ejus plenitudine nos adoptivi acciperemus.

§ Justificatio est ex mera gratia, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, vitæque æternæ indubitata expectatio, et auxilium spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris nostri et edificationem proximorum nostrorum.

|| Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio, et peccantium

Unitarians, were engaged to change their sentiments concerning the nature and mediation of Christ.^c It is true, indeed, that the denomination of Socinian was not as yet known. Those who were afterwards distinguished by this title passed into Poland, at the time of which we now speak, under the name of Anabaptists, because they admitted to baptism adult persons only, and also rebaptized those that joined them from other Christian churches.

point relating to ecclesiastical discipline, we see how imperfect and incomplete their notions of that matter were: for they treat, in the first place, concerning the government of the church and its ministers, whom they divide into bishops, deacons, elders, and widows. After this they enumerate, at length, the duties of husbands and wives, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, citizens and magistrates, poor and rich; and conclude with what relates to the admonishing of offenders, and their exclusion from the communion of the church, in case of obstinate impenitence. Their sentiments concerning prayer are, generally speaking, sound and rational. But in their notion of baptism, they differ from other Christian churches in this, that they make it to consist in immersion or dipping, and emersion or rising again out of the water, and maintain that it ought not to be administered to any but adult persons. "Baptism," say they, "is the immersion into water, and the emersion of one who believes in the gospel, and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ alone; by which solemn act the person baptized publicly acknowledgeth, that he is cleansed from all his sins, through the mercy of God the Father, by the blood of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, to the end that, being ingrafted into the body of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the image of the new and heavenly Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection."* The last point handled in this performance is the sacrament of the Lord's supper, of which the authors give an explication that will be readily adopted by those who embrace the doctrine of Zuingli on that head. At the end of this curious Catechism there is a piece entitled, "(Economia Christiani, seu Pastoratus Domesticus," which contains a short instruction to heads of families, showing them how they ought to proceed in order to maintain and increase in their houses a spirit of piety; in which also their devotion is assisted by forms of prayer, composed for morning, evening, and other occasions.

The copy of this Catechism, which is now before me, was given, in the year 1680, by Martin Chelmius, one of the most eminent and zealous Socinian doctors, to Mr. Christopher Heilgmier, as appears by a long inscription, written by the donor, at the end of the book. In this inscription Chelmius promises his friend other productions of the same kind, provided he receives the present one kindly, and concludes with these words of St. Paul: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the strong."

^c This appears evidently from the following passage in Schoman's Testamentum, published by Sandius, in his Biblioth. Anti-Trin. p. 194, 195: "Sub id fere tempus (A. 1566) ex rhapsodiis Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam, patri coessentialem et coequallem, sed hominem Jesum Christum, ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum, et resuscitatum; a quibus nos commoniti, sacras literas perscrutari, persuasum sumus." These words show plainly, that the Unitarians, or Pinczovians, as they were sometimes called, had, before their separation from the Reformed church, in the year 1565, believed in a Trinity of some kind or other; and had not gone so far as totally to divest Jesus Christ of his divinity. Schoman, now cited, was a doctor of great authority in this sect; and he tells us himself, that at the diet of Petriko, in the year 1565, he defended the unity of God the Father against the Reformed, who maintained the existence of a threefold Deity. We learn, nevertheless, from himself, that it was not till the year 1566, that a perusal of the papers of Lælius Socinus had engaged him to change his sentiments, and to deny the divine personality of Christ. What then are we to conclude from hence? The conclusion is plainly this: that, before the year last mentioned, he and his Pinczovian flock were not Socinians, but Arians only.

^d This the Unitarians acknowledge, in the Preface of their Catechism, as we have observed above; and it is confirmed by the writer of the *Epistola de Vita Andr. Wisso*.

contra Deum vel proximum primum privata, deinde etiam publica, coram toto cœtu, commoneficio, denique pertinacium a communione, sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi converterantur, aut si id nolint, æternum damnentur.

* Baptismus est hominis Evangelio creditis et penitentiam agentis, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Iesu

Christi in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice profitetur, se gratia Dei Patria, in sanguine Christi, opere Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut, in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum et transformetur in Adamum illum celestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequuturum esse vitam eternam.

XI. The dexterity and perseverance of Faustus Socinus gave a new face to the sect of the Unitarians, of which he became the zealous and industrious patron. He was a man of true genius, but of little learning, firm in his purposes, and steady in his measures; much inferior in knowledge to his uncle Lælius, while he surpassed him greatly in courage and resolution. This eminent sectary, after having wandered through several countries of Europe, settled, in the year 1579, among the Unitarians in Poland, and, at his arrival there, suffered many vexations and much opposition from a considerable number of persons, who looked upon some of his tenets as highly erroneous. And, indeed, it is evident, that the religious system of Faustus Socinus, which he is said to have drawn from the papers of his uncle Lælius, was much less remarkable for its simplicity than that of the Unitarians. He triumphed, however, at last, over all the difficulties that had been laid in his way, by the power of his eloquence, the spirit and address that reigned in his compositions, the elegance and gentleness of his manners, the favour and protection of the nobility, which he had acquired by his happy talents and accomplishments, and also by some lucky hits of fortune that favoured his enterprises. By seizing the occasions when it was prudent to yield, and improving the moments that demanded bold resistance and firm resolution, he stemmed dexterously and courageously the torrent of opposition, and beheld the Unitarians submitting to his doctrine, which they had before treated with indignation and contempt. They, in effect, laid aside all feuds and controversies, and formed themselves into one community, under his superintendency and direction.*

XII. Thus did Socinus introduce a considerable change into the ancient Unitarian system, which, before his time, was ill digested, ill expressed, and chargeable in many places with ambiguity and incoherence. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an air of connexion, method, and elegance, and defended it with much more dexterity and art than had ever been discovered by its former patrons; and, accordingly, the affairs of the Unitarians put on a new face.

watii, which is subjoined to the Bibliotheca Anti-Trin. of Sandius. This writer tells us, that his sect were distinguished by the denominations of Anabaptists and Arians; but that all other Christian communities and individuals in Poland were promiscuously called Chrzesciani, from the word Chrzest, which signifies baptism.

* See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Socinus, tom. iv. p. 2741; Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trin. p. 64; Sam. Przypocvii Vita Socini, which is prefixed to the works of Socinus; Lamy, Histoire du Socinianisme, part i. ch. xxiv. p. 100, part ii. ch. xxii. p. 375, &c.

† Hence it appears, that the modern Unitarians are very properly called Socinians. For certainly the formation and establishment of that sect were entirely owing to the labours of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. The former, indeed, who was naturally timorous and irresolute, died at Zurich, in the year 1562, in the communion of the Reformed church, and seemed unwilling to expose himself to danger, or to sacrifice his repose by founding a new sect, that is, by appearing professedly and openly in this enterprise. Besides, many cir-

cumstances concur to render it highly probable that he did not finish the religious system of which he had formed the plan, but died, on the contrary, in a state of uncertainty and doubt with respect to several points of no small importance. But, notwithstanding all this, he contributed much to the institution of the sect now under consideration. For he collected the materials that Faustus afterwards digested and employed with such dexterity and success. He secretly and imperceptibly excited doubts and scruples in the minds of many, concerning several doctrines generally received among Christians; and, by several arguments against the divinity of Christ, which he left behind him committed to writing, he so far seduced, even after his death, the Arians in Poland, that they embraced the communion and sentiments of those who looked upon Christ as a mere man, created immediately, like Adam, by God himself. What Lælius had thus begun, Faustus carried on with vigour, and finished with success. It is indeed difficult, nay, scarcely possible, to determine precisely what materials he received from his uncle, and what tenets he added himself; that he added several, is plain

Under the auspicious protection of such a spirited and insinuating chief, the little flock, that had been hitherto destitute of strength, resolution, and courage, grew apace, and, all of a sudden, arose to a high degree of credit and influence. Its number was augmented by proselytes of all ranks and orders. Of these, some were distinguished by their nobility, others by their opulence, others by their address, and many by their learning and eloquence. All these contributed, in one way or another, to increase the lustre and to advance the interests of this rising community, and to support it against the multitude of adversaries which its remarkable prosperity and success had raised up against it from all quarters. The rich maintained it by their liberality, the powerful by their patronage and protection, and the learned by their writings. But now the system of the Unitarians, being thus changed and new-modelled, required a new confession of faith to make known its principles, and to give a clear and full account of its present state. The ancient Catechism, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was therefore laid aside, and a new form of doctrine was drawn up by Socinus himself. This form was corrected by some, augmented by others, and revised by all the Socinian doctors of any note; and, after having thus acquired a competent degree of accuracy and perfection, was published under the title of the Catechism of Racow, and is still considered as the Confession of Faith of the whole sect. An unexpected circumstance crowned all the fortunate events that had happened to this sect, and seemed to leave them nothing further to desire; and this was the zealous protection of Jacobus a Siennen, to whom Racow belonged. This new patron, separating himself from the Reformed church, in the year 1600, embraced the doctrine and communion of the Socinians, and, about two years after, erected in his own city, which he declared their metropolis, a public school, designed as a seminary for their church, to form its ministers and pastors.*

The propagation
of Socinianism
in Transylvania
and Hungary.

XIII. From Poland, the doctrine of Socinus made its way into Transylvania, in the year 1563, and that, principally, by the credit and influence of George Blandrata, a celebrated physician, whom Sigismund, at that time sovereign of the country, had invited to his court, in order to the restoration of his health. Blandrata was a man of uncommon address, had a deep knowledge of men and things, and was particularly acquainted with the manners, transactions, and intrigues of courts. He had brought with him a Socinian minister, whose name was Francis David, who seconded his efforts with such zeal, that by their united solicitations and labours they engaged the prince, and the greatest part of the nobility, in their cause, infected almost the whole province with their errors, and obtained for the ministers and members of their communion, the privilege of professing and propagating their doctrines in a public manner. The Batori, indeed, who were afterwards chosen dukes of Transylvania, were by no means prejudiced in favour of the Socinians; but that sect was grown so powerful by its numbers and its influence, that they could not, in prudence, attempt to suppress it.^b Such also was the case with the successors of the Batori; they

enough. This difficulty arises from this, that there are few writings of Lælius extant, and of those that bear his name some undoubtedly belong to other authors. We learn, however, from Faustus himself, that the doctrine he propagated, with respect to the person of Christ, was, at least the greatest part of it, broached by his uncle Lælius.

* See Wissowatii Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis, p. 214; Lubieñcius, Histor. Reformatiorum Polon. lib. iii. c. 13, p. 240.

^b See Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 28 and 55; Pauli Debrezeni Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria, p. 147; Mart. Schmeizelii De Statu Eccles. Lutheranz in

desired ardently to extirpate this society, but never could bring this desire into execution; so that to this day the Socinians profess their religion publicly in this province, and, indeed, in it alone; and relying on the protection of the laws, and the faith of certain treaties, that have been made with them, have their churches and seminaries of learning, and hold their ecclesiastical and religious assemblies, though exposed to perpetual dangers and snares from the vigilance of their adversaries.¹ About the same time the Socinians endeavoured to form settlements in Hungary² and Austria;³ but these attempts were defeated by the united and zealous opposition both of the Roman catholic and Reformed churches.

In Holland and
England.

XIV. No sooner had the Socinians obtained a solid and happy settlement at Racow, but the dictates of zeal and ambition suggested to them views of a still more extensive nature. Encouraged by the protection of men in power, and the suffrages of men of learning and genius, they began to lay several plans for the enlargement of their community, and meditated nothing less than the propagation of their doctrine through all the states of Europe. The first step they took towards the execution of this purpose, was the publication of a considerable number of books, of which some were designed to illustrate and defend their theological system, and others to explain, or rather to pervert, the sacred writings into a conformity with their peculiar tenets. These books, which were composed by the most subtle and artful doctors of the sect, were printed at Racow, and dispersed with the utmost industry and zeal through different countries.⁴ They also sent missionaries to several places, towards the conclusion of this century, as appears evident from authentic records, in order to make proselytes, and to erect new congregations. These missionaries seemed every way qualified to gain credit to the cause in which they had embarked, as some of them were distinguished by the lustre of their birth, and others by the extent of their learning, and the powers of their eloquence; and yet, notwithstanding these uncommon advantages, they failed, almost every where, in their attempts. A small congregation was founded at Dantzic, which subsisted for some time, in a clandestine manner, and then gradually dwindled to nothing.⁵ The first attempts to promote the cause of Socinianism in Holland, were made by a person whose name was Erasmus Johannes.⁶ After him Christopher Ostorod, and Andrew Voidiovius, who were the main pillars of the sect, used their utmost endeavours to gain disciples and followers in that country; nor were their labours wholly unsuccessful, though the zeal of the clergy, and the vigilance of the magistrates, prevented their forming any regular assemblies, and thus effectually checked their progress,⁷

Transylvania, p. 55; Lamy, Hist. Du Socinianisme, part i. ch. xiii. p. 46; Salig. Histor. Aug. Confessionia, vol. ii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 847.

¹ Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinianisme Altorffini, cap. ii. p. 357, 359.

² Debrezeni Histor. Eccles. Reform. in Hungaria, p. 169.

³ Henr. Spondani Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1568, n. xxiv. p. 704.

⁴ A considerable number of these books were republished together, in the year 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, under the title of Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum. There are, indeed, in this collection, many pieces wanting, which

were composed by the most eminent leaders of the sect; but what is there published is, nevertheless, sufficient to give the attentive reader a clear idea of the doctrine of the Socinians, and of the nature of their institution as a religious community.

⁵ Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri Hist. Crypto-Socinianismi Altorffini, p. 199.

⁶ Sandius, Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit. p. 87.

⁷ Brandt, in his History of the Reformation of the Netherlands, tells us, that Ostorod and Voidiovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude as-

and hindered their party from acquiring any considerable degree of strength and stability.^p Socinianism did not meet with a better reception in Britain than in Holland. It was introduced into Germany by Adam Neuser, and other emissaries, who infected the Palatinate with its errors, having entered into a league with the Transylvanians, at the critical period when the affairs of the Unitarians in Poland carried a dubious and unpromising aspect. But this pernicious league was soon detected, and the schemes of its authors entirely blasted and disconcerted; upon which Neuser went into Turkey, and enlisted among the Janizaries.^a

The main principle of Socinianism.

XV. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all our knowledge of divine things is derived solely from the Holy Scriptures; yet they maintain in reality, that the sense of Scripture is to be investigated and explained by the dictates of right reason, to which, of consequence, they attribute a great influence in determining the nature and unfolding the various doctrines of religion. When their writings are perused with attention, they will be found to attribute more to reason in this matter, than most other Christian societies. For they frequently insinuate artfully, nay sometimes declare plainly, that the sacred penmen were guilty of several mistakes from a defect of memory as well as a want of capacity; that they expressed their sentiments without either perspicuity or precision, and rendered the plainest things obscure by their pompous and diffuse Asiatic style; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary to employ the lamp of human reason to cast a light upon their doctrine, and to explain it in a manner conformable to truth. It is easy to see what they had in view by maintaining propositions of this kind. They aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the following general rule, viz. That the history of the Jews and of Jesus Christ was indeed to be derived from the books of the Old and New Testament, and that it was not lawful to entertain the least doubt concerning the truth of this history, and the authenticity of these books in general; but that the particular doctrines which they contain were nevertheless to be understood and explained in such a manner as to render them conformable to the dictates of reason. According to this representation of things, it is not the Holy Scripture which declares clearly and expressly what we are to believe concerning the nature, counsels, and perfections of the Deity; but it is human reason, which shows us the system of religion that we ought to seek in, and deduce from, the divine oracles.

The dangerous consequences of this principle.

XVI. This fundamental principle of Socinianism will appear still more dangerous and pernicious, when we consider the sense in which the word Reason was understood by this sect. The pompous title of right Reason was given by the Socinians, to that measure of intelligence and discernment, or, in other words, to that faculty of comprehending and judging, which we derive from nature. According to this definition, the fundamental rule of the Socinians necessarily supposes, that no doctrine ought to be acknowledged as true in its nature, or divine in its origin, all whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding; and that, whatever the

sembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.

^p Zeltnerus, Hist. Crypto-Socinianismi, &c. p. 31 and 178.

^a Burch. Gott. Struvii Hist. Eccles. Palat.

cap. viii. sect. liii. p. 214; Altling. Hist. Eccles. Palat. in Migii Monum. Palat. p. 266—337. La Croze, Dissertations Historiques, tom. i. p. 101, 127, compared with Bern. Raupachius, his Presbyterologia Austriaca, p. 113, where there is an account of John Mattheus, who was concerned in these troubles.

Holy Scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, his counsels and decrees, and the way of salvation, must be modified, curtailed, and filed down, in such a manner, by the transforming power of art and argument, as to answer the extent of our limited faculties. Those who adopt this singular rule must, at the same time, grant that the number of religions must be nearly equal to that of individuals. For as there is a great variety in the talents and capacities of different persons, so what will appear difficult and abstruse to one, will seem evident and clear to another; and thus the more discerning and penetrating will adopt as divine truth, what the slow and superficial will look upon as unintelligible jargon. This consequence does not at all alarm the Socinians, who suffer their members to explain in very different ways many doctrines of the highest importance, and permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge, in general, the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions.

The sum and substance of Socinianism.

XVII. In consequence of this leading maxim, the Socinians either reject without exception, or change and accommodate to their limited capacities, all those doctrines relating to the nature of God and of Jesus Christ, the plan of redemption, and the eternal rewards and punishments unfolded in the Gospel, which they either cannot comprehend, or consider as attended with considerable difficulties. The sum of their theology is as follows: "God, who is infinitely more perfect than man, though of a similar nature in some respects, exerted an act of that power by which he governs all things; in consequence of which, an extraordinary person was born of the Virgin Mary. That person was Jesus Christ, whom God first translated to heaven by that portion of his divine power which is called the Holy Ghost; and having instructed him fully there in the knowledge of his will, counsels, and designs, sent him again into this sublunary world, to promulgate to mankind a new rule of life, more excellent than that under which they had formerly lived, to propagate divine truth by his ministry, and to confirm it by his death.

"Those who obey the voice of this Divine Teacher, (and this obedience is in the power of every one whose will and inclination leads that way,) shall one day be clothed with new bodies, and inhabit eternally those blessed regions, where God himself immediately resides. Such, on the contrary, as are disobedient and rebellious shall undergo most terrible and exquisite torments, which shall be succeeded by annihilation, or the total extinction of their being."

The whole system of Socinianism, when stripped of the embellishments and commentaries with which it has been loaded and disguised by its doctors, is really reducible to the few propositions now mentioned.

The moral doctrine of the Socinians.

XVIII. The nature and genius of the Socinian theology has an immediate influence upon the moral system of that sect, and naturally leads its doctors to confine their rules of morality and virtue to the external actions and duties of life. On the one hand, they deny the influence of a divine Spirit and power upon the minds of men; and on the other, they acknowledge, that no mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left but one, and that is, to declare all such true and worthy Christians, whose words and external actions are conformable to the precepts of the Divine law. It is, at the same time, remarkable, that another branch of

their-doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners, since they maintain, that the great end of Christ's mission upon earth was to exhibit to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is that a great number of the Socinians have fallen into the fanatical rigour of the ancient Anabaptists, and judged it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and other things of that nature. But in this there is something extremely singular, and they are here, indeed, inconsistent with themselves. For while, in matters of doctrine, they take the greatest liberty with the expressions of Scripture, and pervert them in a violent manner to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the Gospel; for then they understand these precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of times, persons, and circumstances.

The catechism of
Racow.

XIX. It must carefully be observed, that the Catechism of Racow, which most people look upon as the great standard of Socinianism, and as an accurate summary of the doctrine of that sect, is, in reality, no more than a collection of the popular tenets of the Socinians, and by no means a just representation of the secret opinions and sentiments of the doctors.* The writings, therefore, of these learned men must be perused with attention, in order to our knowing the hidden reasons and true principles from whence the doctrines of the Catechism are derived. It is observable, besides, that, in this Catechism, many Socinian tenets and institutions, which might have contributed to render the sect still more odious, and to expose its internal constitution too much to public view, are entirely omitted; so that it seems to have been less composed for the use of the Socinians themselves, than to impose upon strangers, and to mitigate the indignation which the tenets of this community had excited in the minds of many." Hence it never obtained among the Socinians the authority of a public confession or rule of faith; and hence the doctors of that sect were authorized to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place. It is also observable, that the most eminent writers and patrons of the Socinians give no clear or consistent account of the sentiments of that sect in relation to ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the form of public worship. All that we know is, that they follow in these matters, generally speaking, the customs received in the protestant churches.†

The state of learn-
ing among the
Socinians.

XX. The first founders and patrons of this sect were eminently distinguished by their learning and genius. Their successors, however, did not follow their steps in

* We have an account of the authors of this famous Catechism, and of the various success it met with, in the *Commentatio de Catechesi Racoviensi*, published by Jo. And. Schmidius, in the year 1707. See also Koechleri *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*.—A new edition of the Catechism itself, with a solid refutation of the doctrine it contains, was published in 8vo. at Frankfort and Leipsic, in the year 1739, by the learned George Lewis Oeder.

† This appears evident enough from their presenting a Latin translation of this Catechism to James I. king of Great Britain, and a German one to the academy of Wittemberg.

* This is manifest from a work composed by Peter Morscovius, or Morscowaky, under the following title: *Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per Filium ejus unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto, confitentur.* This work, which is divided into three books, was composed in the year 1642, and published in 4to at Nuremberg, but a few years ago, by the learned George Lewis Oeder. It is mentioned, by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 142, who says that it was drawn up for the use of the Belgian churches.

this respect, nor keep up the reputation they had universally obtained. The Unitarians in Poland seem to have had little ambition of science. They gave no encouragement to learning or talents: and appeared little solicitous of having in their community subtle doctors and learned disputants. But when they perceived, on the one hand, that the success of their community required as able defenders, as they had learned and ingenious adversaries; and were so lucky, on the other, as to obtain the privilege of erecting seminaries of learning at Racow and Lublin, they then changed their sentiments with respect to this matter, and became sensible of the necessity under which they lay, to encourage in their community a zeal for the sciences. This zeal increased greatly from the time that Faustus Socinus undertook the restoration of their declining credit, and put himself at the head of their tottering sect. At that time many persons, distinguished by their birth, education, and talents, embraced its doctrine, and contributed to promote the love of science among its members. Then the youth were taught the rules of eloquence and rhetoric, and instructed in the important branches of Oriental, Greek, and Latin literature. Nay, even the secret paths of philosophy were opened, though their treasures were disclosed only to a few, who were selected, for that purpose, from the multitude. The Racovian doctors, in compliance with the spirit and taste of the age, chose Aristotle as their guide in philosophy, as appears evidently from the *Ethics* of Crellius, and other literary records of the times.

Their method of
proceeding in
theology.

XXI. Notwithstanding this progress of philosophy among the Socinians, their doctors seemed to reject its succours in theology with obstinacy and disdain. They declare in numberless places of their writings, that both in the interpretation of Scripture, and in explaining and demonstrating the truth of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and no regard paid to the subtleties of philosophy and logic. And, indeed, had their doctors and interpreters followed in practice this rule that they have laid down with so much ostentation in theory, they would have saved their adversaries, and perhaps themselves, much trouble. But this is by no means the case. For, in the greatest part of their theological productions, their pretended simplicity is frequently accompanied with much subtlety, and with the most refined intricacies of scientific art. And what is still more inexcusable, they reason with the greatest dexterity and acuteness concerning those subjects which (as they surpass the reach of the human understanding) are generally received among other Christians as facts confirmed by the most respectable testimony, and consequently as matters of pure faith, while they discover little sagacity, or strength of judgment in those discussions which are within the sphere of reason, and are properly amenable to its tribunal. They are acute where they ought to be silent, and they reason awkwardly where sagacity and argument are required. These are certainly great inconsistencies; yet they proceed from one and the same principle, even the maxim universally received in this community, that all things that surpass the limits of human comprehension are to be entirely banished from the Christian religion.

The divisions of
the Socinians,
and their intestine
controversies.

XXII. It has been already observed that the Unitarians had no sooner separated themselves from the Reformed churches in Poland, than they became a prey to intestine divisions, and were split into several factions. The points of doctrine that gave rise to these divisions, related to the dignity of Christ's nature and character, the lawfulness of infant-baptism, the per-

sonality of the Holy Ghost; to which were added several altercations concerning the duties of life, and the rules of conduct that were obligatory on Christians. The sects produced by these divisions were not all equally obstinate. Some of them entertained pacific dispositions, and seemed inclined towards a reconciliation. But two, particularly, maintained tenaciously their sentiments, and persisted in their separation; these were the

The Budnæans. Budnæans and the Farnovians. The former were so called from their leader Simon Budnæus, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who, more dexterous than the rest of his brethren in deducing consequences from their principles, and perceiving plainly the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, denied flatly all kinds of religious worship to Jesus Christ. Nor did Budnæus stop here; in order to give a more specious colour to this capital error, and to maintain it upon consistent grounds, he asserted that Christ was not begotten by any extraordinary act of divine power, but that he was born, like other men, in a natural way. This hypothesis, however conformable to the fundamental principles of Socinianism, appeared intolerable and impious to the greatest part of that community. Hence Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial functions, in the year 1584, and publicly excommunicated with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was again re-admitted to the communion of that sect.*

The sentiments of Budnæus embraced by Davides and Franken.

XXIII. This heretical doctrine, which had created so much trouble to Budnæus, was soon after adopted by Francis Davides, an Hungarian, who was the superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, and who opposed, with the greatest ardour and obstinacy, the custom of offering up prayers and divine worship to Jesus Christ. Several methods were used to reclaim him from this offensive error. Blandrata employed all the power of his eloquence for this purpose; and to render his remonstrances still more effectual, sent for Faustus Socinus, who went accordingly into Transylvania, in the year 1573, and seconded his arguments and exhortations with the utmost zeal and perseverance. But Davides remained unmoved, and was, in consequence of this obstinate adherence to his error, thrown into prison by Christopher Bathory, prince of Transylvania; where he died in the year 1579, in an advanced age.† This his unhappy fate did not, however, extinguish the controversy to which his doctrine had given rise. For he left behind him disciples and friends who strenuously maintained his sentiments, stood firm against the opposition that was made to them, and created much uneasiness to Socinus and his followers in Lithuania and Poland. The most eminent of these were, Jacob Palæologus, of the isle of Chio, who was burned at Rome, in the year 1585; Christian Franken, who had disputed in person with Socinus; and John

* See Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 54, 55; Epistola de Vita Wissowatii, p. 226; Ringeltaube's German Dissertation on the Polish Bibles, 144, 152. Samuel Crellius, the most learned Socinian of our times, looks upon Adam Neuser,* who was banished on account of his erroneous sentiments, to have been the author of this doctrine, which is so derogatory from the dignity of Jesus Christ.

See Crellii Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian. tom. i. p. 111.

† Sandius, Biblioth. Anti-Trinit. p. 55, 56; Faust. Socin. Oper. tom. i. p. 353, 395, tom. ii. p. 713, 771, where there is an account of his conference and dispute with Francis Davides; Stan. Lubieniecki Histor. Reform. Polonicæ, lib. iii. c. xi. p. 228.

* See sect. xiv. of this chapter.

Sommer,* who was master of the academy of Clausenberg.* This little sect is branded by the Socinian writers with the ignominious appellation of Semi-Judaizers.†

The Farnovian
sect.

XXIV. The Farnovians were treated by the Socinians with much more indulgence. They were neither excluded from the communion of the sect, nor obliged to renounce their peculiar tenets. They were only exhorted to conceal them prudently, and not to publish or propagate them in their discourses from the pulpit.* This particular branch of the Socinian community was so called from Stanislaus Farnovius, or Farnesius, who was engaged by Gonesius to prefer the Arian system to that of the Socinians, and consequently asserted that Christ had been engendered, or produced out of nothing, by the Supreme Being, before the creation of this terrestrial globe. It is not so easy to say what his sentiments were concerning the Holy Ghost; all we know of that matter is, that he warned his disciples against paying the tribute of religious worship to that divine Spirit.* Farnovius separated from the other Unitarians in the year 1568, and was followed in this schism by several persons eminent on account of the extent of their learning and the influence of their rank, such as Martin Czechovicus, Niemoiovius,

* See Sandius, loc. cit. p. 57, 58. The dispute between Socinus and Franken is related at large in the works of the former, tom. ii. p. 767.

† Clausenburg, otherwise Coloswar, is a town in Transylvania, extremely populous and well fortified. The Socinians have here a public school and a printing-house; and their community in this place is very numerous. Till the year 1603, they were in possession of the cathedral, which was then taken from them and given to the Jesuits, whose college and church they had pulled down.

† Faustus Socinus wrote a particular treatise against the Semi-Judaizers, which is published in the second volume of his works, p. 804. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the motive which engaged Socinus and his friends to employ so much pains and labour in the suppression of this faction, was not a persuasion of the pernicious tendency of its doctrines or peculiar notions. On the contrary, Socinus himself expressly acknowledges, that this controversy turns upon matters of very little importance, by declaring it as his opinion, that praying or offering up divine worship to Christ, is not necessary to salvation. Thus, in his answer to Wujek, Opp. tom. ii. p. 538, he expresses himself in the following manner: "The Christian, whose faith is so great as to encourage him to make his addresses habitually and directly to the Supreme Being, and who standeth not in need of the comfort that flows from the invocation of Christ his brother, who was tempted in all things like as he is, that Christian is not obliged to call upon the name of Jesus, by

prayer or supplication."* According therefore to the opinion of Socinus, those who lay aside all regard to Christ as an intercessor, and address themselves directly to God alone, have a greater measure of faith than others. But if this be so, why did he oppose with such vehemence and animosity the sentiments of Davides, who, in effect, did no more than exhort all Christians to address themselves directly and immediately to the Father? Here there appears to be a striking inconsistency. We find also Lubieniecus, in his *Histor. Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228, speaking lightly enough of this controversy, and representing it as a matter of very little moment; whence he says, that in Transylvania there was much ado about nothing.† From all this, then, it appears manifest, that Socinus and his followers were more artful than ingenuous in their proceedings with respect to Davides. They persecuted him and his followers, lest, by tolerating his doctrine, they should increase the odium under which they already lay, and draw upon themselves anew the resentment of other Christian churches, while in their private judgment they looked upon this very doctrine and its professors as worthy of toleration and indulgence.

* *Epistola de Vita Wissowatii*, p. 226. Erasmus Johannea, as we are informed by Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 87, was admitted Professor of Divinity in the Socinian academy at Clausenburg, on condition, that in his public discourses he should never say any thing of Christ's having existed before the Virgin Mary.

* Sandius, *Biblioth.* p. 52, and *passim*.

* Quod si quis tanta est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo recta accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi fratris sui per

omnia tentati invocatione proficiatur, indigeat, hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet.

† Fluctus in impulo excitatos esse.

Stanislaus Wisnowius, John Falcon, George Schoman, and others. They did not, however, form themselves into a stable or permanent sect. The lenity and indulgence of the Socinians, together with the dexterity of their disputants, brought many of them back into the bosom of the community they had deserted, and considerable numbers were dispersed or regained by the prudence and address of Faustus Socinus; so that at length the whole faction, being deprived of its chief, who died in the year 1615, was scattered abroad, and reduced to nothing.^b

The Seventeenth Century.

SECTION I.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Congregation
de Propaganda
Fide founded at
Rome.

I. THE arduous attempts made by the pontiffs, in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the see of Rome, by extending the limits of the Christian church, and spreading the gospel through the distant nations, met with much opposition: and, as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigour, crowned with success, and contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by Gregory XV. who, by the advice of his confessor Narni, founded at Rome, in the year 1622, the famous Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary,^a is designed to propagate and maintain the religion of Rome in all parts and corners of the world. Its riches and possessions were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of Urban VIII. and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings; and, indeed, the enterprises of this congregation are great and extensive. By it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published, to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings, and other pious productions, sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the Pagan youths that are yearly sent from abroad to Rome, that they may return from thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded brethren: not to mention the charitable establishments that are

^b We omit here an enumeration of the more famous Socinian writers who flourished in this century, because the greatest part of them have already been mentioned in the course of this History. The rest may be easily collected from Sandius.

^a Such is the number of members belonging to this Congregation as they stand in the original bull of Gregory XV. See Bullarium Roman. t.

iii. p. 472, ed. Luxemburg; Cerri mentions the same number, in his *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But a different account is given by Aymond, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part iii. ch. iii. p. 279, for he makes this Congregation to consist of eighteen cardinals, one of the pope's secretaries, one apostolical protonotary, one referendary, and one of the assessors, or secretaries of the inquisition.

designed for the relief and support of those who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities, on account of their stedfast attachment to the religion of Rome, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes with the execution of which this Congregation is charged: but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its members hold their assemblies in a splendid and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur.^b

The college *pro*
Propaganda Fide
Instituted.

II. To this famous establishment, another, less magnificent indeed, but highly useful, was added, in the year 1627, by Pope Urban VIII., under the denomination of a College or Seminary for the propagation of the faith. This seminary is set apart for the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions: and they are here brought up, with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Villes, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of Rome, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The Seminary was at first committed by Urban to the care and direction of three canons of the patriarchal churches; but this appointment was afterwards changed, and ever since the year 1641, it is governed by the Congregation founded by Gregory XV.^c

Congregations and
colleges of the
same nature are
likewise founded
in France.

III. The same zealous spirit reached France, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the Congregation of priests of the foreign missions was instituted by royal authority, while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the Parisian Seminary for the missions abroad, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the Pagan nations. From hence, apostolical vicars are still sent to Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Persia, bishops to Babylon, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations; and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the Congregation and Seminary.^d These priests of the foreign missions,^e and the apostles they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods that are ordinarily employed by the latter in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion. And the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the apostolical vicars and bishops, who receive their commission from the Congregation above mentioned; though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or of the College

^b The authors who have given an account of this Congregation, are mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriente*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add to these, Dorotheus, *Ascanius De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiarum Romanarum*, p. 522, where there is a complete list of the books that have been published by this congregation, from its first institution until the year 1667.

^c Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monas-*

tiques, Religieux et Militaires, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78; Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 293, where, however, the first founder of this College is called, by mistake, Vivea.

^d See the *Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum*, tom. vii. p. 1024; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

^e These ecclesiastics are commonly called in France, *Messieurs des Missions Etrangères*.

de propaganda fide residing at Rome. There was also another religious establishment formed in France, during this century, under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament, whose founder was Autherius, bishop of Bethlehem, and which, in the year 1644, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the Pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the Congregation de propaganda for that purpose.¹ It would be endless to mention other associations of less note, that were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations; as also the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose.

Missionaries multiply, more especially those of the Jesuits. IV. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century, covered, in a manner, the whole face of the globe, and converted to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons in the fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders, that make the greatest figure in these missions, are the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capuchins, who, though concerned in one common cause, agree nevertheless very ill among themselves, accusing each other publicly and reciprocally, and that with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of Christ, nay, of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none are so universally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices in this respect as the Jesuits, who are singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and are looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish church. Nor, indeed, can they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that, instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they teach them a corrupt system of religion and morality that sits easy upon their consciences, and is reconcilable with the indulgence of their appetites and passions;—that they not only tolerate, but even countenance, in these new converts, several profane opinions and superstitious rites and customs;—that, by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods little consistent with probity and candour, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence, which they augment from day to day;—that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honours and prerogatives; that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation, and the seductions of bribery, to insinuate themselves into the friendship and protection of men of power;—that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts, and the intrigues of politicians;—and finally, that they frequently excite intestine commotions and civil wars, in those states and kingdoms where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman pontiff, and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of Rome, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on the one hand, nor considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other; such are the cardinals,

¹ Helyot, loc. cit. cap. xiii. p. 87, 100.

the members of the Congregation de propaganda fide, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in China, Abyssinia, Japan, and India, where they have dishonoured the cause of Christianity, and hurt the interest of Rome in the most sensible manner, by their corrupt practices.*

The Jesuits ill
looked upon.

V. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, to confound their adversaries, and to give a specious colour to their own proceedings. But all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of Rome was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was by no means looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of the Congregation at Rome, by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed. For it is remarkable, that, during many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed by that Congregation than in former times, and are also treated, on almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendant they formerly held; and, in the nice and critical affairs of the church, and more especially in what relates to the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, much more confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the Capuchins and Carmelites, than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude of the disciples of Loyola. On the other hand it is certain, that if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are, however, more or less feared; since neither the powerful Congregation, now mentioned, nor even the Roman pontiffs themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove, or openly blame, in the conduct of this insidious order. This connivance, however involuntary, is become a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so excessive, and their credit and influence are grown so extensive and formidable, in all those parts of the world that embrace the religion of Rome, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontiff on his throne, who cannot without the utmost peril oblige them to submit to his orders, where they are disposed to be refractory. Nay, more, the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society, and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received in a very different manner by the Jesuits, who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity, in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious order. Such, at least, are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts which, though contradicted by them, are nevertheless supported by striking and palpable evidence.

The methods of
converting
practised by the
Jesuits procure
them enemies.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Roman missionaries, is owing to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of Loyola judge it proper to attack the superstitions of the Indian nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them on gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient

* The reader will find an ample relation of these facts, supported by a cloud of witnesses.

in the preface to the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, published at Utrecht in the year 1741.

doctrines of Paganism, and also those that Confucius taught in China, in such a manner as to soften and to diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the gospel; and whenever they find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance of certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employ all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians, that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology, and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still further; for they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed towards a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition between Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendant over the untutored minds of these simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them. And as in all countries the clergy, and men of eminent learning, are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object they principally aim at, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. And hence they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; hence their application to the mathematics, physics, poetry, to the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the other elegant arts; and hence their perseverance in studying men and manners, the interests of princes, and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the circumstances that have been complained of in the proceedings of the Jesuits. These that have been now mentioned, have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of Christ, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candour, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And, accordingly, we find the other religious orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They attack openly the superstitions of the Indians, in all their connexions, and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever may seem adapted to nourish them. They show little regard to the ancient rites and customs in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat with a certain indifference and contempt the Pagan priests, grandees, and princes; and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack, without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

Christianity propagated in India.

VII. These missionaries of the court of Rome spread the fame of the Christian religion through the greatest part of Asia during this century. To begin with India; it is observable, that the ministerial labours of the Jesuits, Theatins, and Augustinians, contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed, indeed, with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of that vast region that had

been possessed by the Portuguese before their expulsion from thence by the Dutch. But of all the missions that were established in these distant parts of the globe, none has been more constantly and more universally applauded than that of Madura, and none is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by Robert de Nobili,^b an Italian Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering on the one hand, that the Indians beheld with an eye of prejudice and aversion all the Europeans, and, on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of Brachmans as descended from the gods; and that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone, he assumed the appearance and title of a Brachman, that had come from a far country, and, by besmearing his countenance, and imitating that most austere and painful method of living that the Sanianes or Penitents observe, he at length persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable order.^c By this stratagem he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Brachmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine of this famous missionary. On the death of Robert, this singular mission was for some time at a stand, and seemed even to be neglected.^d But it was afterwards renewed, by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that order, from France and Portugal, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities that were practised by Robert, and are thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious Brachmans, who boldly deny their being Europeans or Franks,^e and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and, if common report may be trusted to, the congregations they have already founded in those countries grow larger and more numerous from year to year. Nor, indeed, do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of credit;^f though we must

^a Others call this famous missionary Robert de Nobilibus.

^b Urban Cerri, *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173. ^c Nobili, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief Apostle of the Indians after François Xavier, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of Madura, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all; for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Brachman as an imposture, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the Brachmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the god Brahma. Nay, Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the History of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that Robert de Nobili, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared upon oath, before the assembly of the Brachmans of Madura, that he (Nobili) derived really and truly his origin from the god Brahma. Is it not astonishing that this Reverend Father should acknowledge, is it

not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See Jouvenci, *Hist. des Jésuites*; Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.

^d Urban Cerri, *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

^e The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of Franks, or (as they pronounce the word) Franghila.

^f The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their order from the remarkable success and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships their missionaries have sustained in the course of their ministry. See the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes écrites des Missions Étrangères*, tom. i. p. 9, 32, 46, 50, 55, where Father Martin observes (p. 9), that this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes, at least, a thousand converts every year (p. 11); that, nevertheless, baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation to every one that demands it (p. 12); that those who present themselves to be baptized are accurately examined, until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and

not be too ready to receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations that have been given of the intolerable hardships and sufferings that have been sustained by these Jesuit-Brachmans in the cause of Christ. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are, generally speaking, more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that, while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves privately in a free, and even luxurious use of the creatures, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitely furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labours.

VIII. The knowledge of Christianity was first conveyed In the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, &c. to the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, and Kochin-China, by a mission of Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon,^m whose instructions were received with uncommon docility by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of these countries. An account of the success of this spiritual expedition being brought to Alexander VII. in the year 1658, determined that pontiff to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain

are carefully instructed during the space of four months in order to their reception; that after their reception they live like angels rather than like men; and that the smallest appearance of mortal sins is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produce such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits allege the two following: The first is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the missionaries, who (p. 15) pass their days in the greatest austerity, and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature (see tom. xii. p. 206, tom. xv. p. 211,) who are not allowed, for instance, the use of bread, wine, fish, or flesh, but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose clothing, with the other circumstances of life, are answerable to their miserable diet. The second cause of this unusual appearance, alleged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian proselytes to Christianity. Add to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the letters above cited, tom. i. p. 16, 17, tom. ii. p. 1, tom. iii. p. 217, tom. v. p. 2, tom. vi. p. 119, tom. ix. p. 126. Madura is a separate kingdom situated in the midst of the Indian Peninsula beyond the Ganges.* There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in this mission of Madura, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot, in the kingdom of Carnate and in the adjacent

provinces, a mission like that of Madura (*Lettres Cur. tom. v. p. 3, 240*.) and towards the conclusion of this century other missionaries of the same order formed an enterprise of the same nature in the dominions of the king of Marava, (tom. ii. p. 1, tom. x. p. 79.) The Jesuits themselves, however, acknowledge, tom. vi. p. 3, 15, 66, 107, that this latter establishment succeeded much better than that of Carnate. The reason of this may perhaps be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of Carnate, could not endure, with such constancy and patience, the austere and mortified manner of living which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the Brachmans, so well as the missionaries of Spain and Portugal. Be that as it may, all these missions, that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a papal mandate issued out in the year 1744, by Benedict XIV., who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See Norbert *Mémoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. et iv. Mammachius has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of Benedict, in his *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 245. See also Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, &c. translated from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. vol. i. p. 4, 9, 2nd edit.

^m See the Writings of Alexander de Rhodes, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his travels, which were published in 4to, at Paris, in the years 1666 and 1682.

* & This is a mistake. Madura is in the Indian Peninsula within the Ganges, and not beyond it. Its principal produce is rice, which

is one of the principal instruments made use of by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests out of the Congregation of foreign missions to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vicegerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labours, nor partake of their glory.^a Hence arose, in the court of Rome, a long and tedious contest, which served to show, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt, in all cases where it appeared in opposition to their private views and personal interests. After this Lewis XIV. sent a solemn embassy,^o in the year 1684, to the king of Siam, whose prime minister at that time was a Greek Christian named Constantine Faulkon, a man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit. The design of this embassy was to engage the Pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with those branches of science that

^a There were several pamphlets and memorials published at Paris, in the years 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in the conversion of the Indians, relate in an eloquent and affecting strain the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published at Paris, in the year 1688, by Francis Pallu, whom the pope had created bishop of Heliopolis. The same matter is largely treated in the *Gallia Christiana* of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027, and a concise account of it is also given by Urban Cerri, in his *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199. This latter author, though a secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, yet inveighs with a just severity and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits; and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the congregation now mentioned has not power enough to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He further observes, towards the end of his Narrative, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations which the Jesuits had committed during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are, "Votre Sainteté a ordonné qu'elles demeurent sous le secret."—See also on this subject, Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

^o The French bishops of Heliopolis, Berytus, and Metellopolis, that had been sent into India about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this embassy, and by an account of the favourable dispositions of the monarch then reigning at Siam, had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the

establishment of Christianity in these distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at Siam for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. A church was also erected there, by the king's permission, in the year 1667, and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of Heliopolis, who had gone back to Europe on the affairs of the mission, returned to Siam, in the year 1673, with letters from Lewis XIV. and Pope Clement IX., accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in answer to a question proposed to him by the king of Siam, the motive that had engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home, observing that a strong desire in his prince to extend the kingdom of the true God was the sole reason of their voyage. Upon this we are told that the king of Siam offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honour of Lewis the Great, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside; and declared afterwards, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith. All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch; but the expectations they derived thence of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note.—See the *Rélation des Missions et des Voyages des Evêques François*, *passim*.

were agreeable to the taste of the king of Siam. It was only, however, among a small part of the people that the labours of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself, and the great men of his kingdom, remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions.^p The king, indeed, though he chose to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration towards the conductors of this mission: and his favourite Constantine had secretly invited the French to Siam to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the *grandees*. So that as long as this prince and his minister lived, the French still retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the inhabitants of Siam to the faith. But these hopes entirely vanished in the year 1688, when, in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both king and minister were put to death;^q and then the missionaries returned home.

In China.

IX. China, the most extensive and opulent of all the

Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear to the missionaries and their constituents an object worthy of their pious zeal and ghostly ambition. And accordingly a numerous tribe of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, set out, about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowledge of the gospel. All these, however they differ in other matters, agree in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labours. It is nevertheless certain, that the principal honour of these religious exploits belongs to the Jesuits, who, with a peculiar degree of dexterity and address, removed the obstacles that were the most adapted to retard the progress

^p & When Monsieur De Chaumont, who was charged with this famous embassy, arrived at Siam, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of France was to have his Siamese majesty of the same religion with himself. Chaw Narraya (for so was the latter named), who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of France believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister Faulkon to tell the French ambassador, "That he left it to his most Christian majesty to judge, whether the change of a religion that had been followed in his dominions without interruption for 2229 years, could be a matter of small importance to him, or a demand with which it was easy to comply;—that besides, he was much surprised to find the king of France concern himself so zealously and so warmly in a matter which related to God, and not to him; and in which, though it related to God, the Deity did not seem to meddle at all, but left it entirely to human discretion." The king asked, at the same time, "Whether the true God, that created heaven and earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, when he gave to men the same bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same religious

sentiments, and have made all nations live and die in the same laws." He added, that, "since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on Divine Providence, who could as easily introduce them into the world as that diversity of sects that prevails in it, it is natural to conclude from thence, that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of religion and worship as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way." He moreover asked, "Whether that beauty and variety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in the wisdom of God? However that be (continued the king of Siam), since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure."—See Tachard, *Prem. Voyage de Siam*, p. 218; as also the journal of the Abbé Choisi, who was employed in that embassy.

^q An account of this embassy, and of the transactions of both ambassadors and missionaries, is given by Tachard, Chaumont, and La Loubert. The relations, however, of the author last mentioned, who was a man of learning and candour, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

of Christianity, among a people whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations and prejudices of the Chinese with incredible attention; and perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement in knowledge, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their order, as, besides their knowledge of mankind, and prudence in transacting business, were also masters of the different branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned Jesuits acquired, in a very short space of time, such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprising dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions and affairs, that they came at length to the knowledge of the emperor, were loaded by him with the most honourable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most secret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons, the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of danger in the exercise of their ministry, and thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigour, and perseverance, in the propagation of the Gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

The progress of
Christianity in
China.

X. This promising aspect of things was clouded for some time, when Xun-chi, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogul race, died and left a son under age as his only heir. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage against it. This occasion was now offered and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honours and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. John Adam Schaal, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowledge, together with the honourable place he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in the year 1664; but about five years after this gloomy period, when Kanghi assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause, and the labours of its ministers, not only resumed their former credit and vigour, but in process of time gained ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden age of Christianity in China. The new emperor, whose noble and generous spirit^{*} was equal to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by

^{*} See Joach. Bouveti *Icon Regis Monarchiæ Sinarum*, translated into Latin by the famous Leibnitz, and published in the year 1699, in the second part of his *Novissima Sinitica*. See also Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c., in

which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions, the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem indeed to be universally acknowledged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

recalling the Jesuits to his court, and by restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here; for he sent to Europe for a still greater number of the members of that order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negotiations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various matters, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the order was raised in a little time to the very summit of favour, and clothed with a degree of authority and lustre to which it had not hitherto attained. In such a state of things, it is but natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, nor its preachers be left destitute and unsupported. And accordingly a multitude of spiritual labourers from all parts of Europe repaired to China, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest. And, indeed, the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations; since it is well known that, with very little pains, and still less opposition, they made a prodigious number of converts to the profession of the Gospel. The triumph of Christianity seemed to be complete, when in the year 1692, the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued out that remarkable edict, by which he declared that the Christian religion was in no wise detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended, and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the Gospel. This triumph was still farther confirmed, when the same prince, in the year 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace.*

The Jesuits accused of fraudulent practices.

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause was undoubtedly owing to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful order are obliged to acknowledge. But it is quite another question, whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion. This latter point has been long debated with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides; and the contention is not yet ended. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans, assert boldly, that the success above mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, nay, even in many cases, by the most detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having given a false exposition and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the Chinese nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their

* There is a concise but interesting account of these revolutions, given by Du Halde, in his *Description de la Chine*, t. iii. p. 128, and by the Jesuit Fontaney, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, t. viii. p. 176: they are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers. — See Saurez, *De Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propagandi Narratio*, published in the year 1698, by Leibnitz, in the first

part of his *Novissima Sinica*. The other authors who have treated this branch of history are mentioned by Fabricius in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix. p. 663. See also an *Ecclesiastical History of China*, which I published in German in the year 1748. This History was translated into English and published in the year 1750, with this title, *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*.

great instructor and philosopher Confucius, differed almost in nothing from the doctrine of the Gospel. They are further charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions, in order to persuade the Chinese (who are vehemently attached to whatever carries the air of a remote antiquity), that Jesus Christ had been known and worshipped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favour of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandes of the kingdom, not only to grant their protection and favour to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. Nor do the accusations brought against the disciples of Loyola end here: for they are said to have entirely lost sight of all the duties and obligations that are incumbent on the ministers of Christ, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting of worldly honours and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring after them with all the ardour of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all circumstances of external pomp and splendour, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all which it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowledge and virtue; and that they even went so far as to meddle in military matters, and to concern themselves, both personally and by their counsels, in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who, by their capacity and talents, had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members of that same order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the Gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused as spending, in the practice of usury, and in various kinds of traffic, the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of using low and dishonourable methods of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowledged, that a part of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious colour to those facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, that are invented with no other design than to cast a reproach upon their order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will perhaps find, that if, in several points, the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory manner, there are others in which their misconduct seems to have been exaggerated by envy and prejudice in the complaints of their adversaries.

An account of the principal charge brought against the Jesuits.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in China, is this: That they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the Gospel; and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rites of their Pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rights, which the Chinese are obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle; that these rites were of a civil

and not of a sacred nature ; that they were invented from views of policy, and not for any purposes of religion ; and that none but the very dregs of the populace in China considered them in any other light.* This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in China and Japan, and particularly by Nicolas Lombard, who published a memorial, containing the reasons^a upon which his dissent was founded. This contest, which was long carried on in a private manner, was brought, by the Dominicans, before the tribunal of the pontiff, in the year 1645, and from that period continued to produce great divisions, commotions, and caballing in the church of Rome. Innocent X., in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favour of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the indulgence which the Jesuits had shown to the Chinese superstitions. But about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formally reversed, was nevertheless virtually annulled by Alexander VII. at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontiff to allow the Chinese converts the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they discovered a peculiar fondness. This, however, did not hinder the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in the year 1661 ; and again, in 1674, under the pontificate of Innocent XI. ; though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute, which had been suspended for several years in China, broke out there again, in the year 1684, with greater violence than ever ; and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Dominicans in consequence of a decision pronounced in the year 1693, by Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate or vicar of the Roman pontiff, in the province of Fokien, and who was afterwards consecrated titular bishop of Conon. This ecclesiastic, by a public edict, declared the opinions and practices of the Jesuits in relation to the affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion. But the pope, to whose supreme cognizance and decision Maigrot had submitted this important edict, refused to come to a determination on either side, before the matter in debate had been carefully examined, and the reasons of the contending parties weighed with the utmost attention : and therefore in the year 1699, he appointed a congregation of chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious controversy. This resolution of the Roman pontiff was no sooner made public than all the enemies of the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of Rome, and more especially those who wished ill to the order in France, came forth with their complaints, their accusations, and invectives ; and loaded the transactions and reputation of the whole society with the most bitter reproaches.^b The Jesuits, on the other hand,

* See Mammachil Origin. et Antiquit. Christian. tom. ii. p. 373.

^a See Chr. Kortholti Prefatio ad Volumen II. Epistolar. Leibnitii. sect. vi. p. 18, who has likewise subjoined to this work the pieces composed against the Jesuits by Lombard and Antony de S. Maria, with the remarks of Leibnitz. There is also inserted in this collection (p. 413) an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy drawn up by Leibnitz, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

^b See the Lettres des Messieurs des

Missions Etrangères au Pape, sur les Idolatries et les Superstitions Chinoises—Révocation de l'Approbation donnée en 1787, par M. Briacier, Supérieur des Missions Etrangères, au Livre de la Défense de nouveaux Chrétiens et des Missionnaires de la Chine ; Deux Lettres d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de St. Dominique au R. P. Dez, Provincial des Jésuites, sur les Cérémonies de la Chine. These tracts are all printed together in one volume 12mo, without any date, or name of the place where published, though the treatises themselves are all dated 1700. N.

were neither silent nor inactive. They attacked their adversaries with vigour, and defended themselves with dexterity and spirit.* But the conclusion of this critical and momentous contest belongs to the history of the following century.

XIII. If, in considering this controversy, which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we confine our attention to the merits of the cause (passing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with some other questions of a minute and incidental kind), it will appear that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the Chinese notion of the Supreme Being; and the other to the nature of those honours, which that people offered to certain persons deceased.

First point.

As to the first of these points, it is to be observed, that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship Tien and Shang-ti, which, in their language, signify the Heavens: and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. From hence it is inferred, that they make no sort of distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians: or (to express the same thing in other words) that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their Tien, or Heaven, that the Christians do concerning the God they adore. The question, then, relative to this first point is properly as follows: "Do the Chinese understand, by the denominations above mentioned, the visible and material heavens? or are these terms, on the contrary, employed by them to represent the Lord of these heavens, *i. e.* an eternal and all-perfect Being, who presides over universal nature, and, from heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, governs all things with unerring wisdom?" or, to express this question in fewer words, "Do the Chinese mean, by their Tien, such a Deity as the Christians adore?" This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had an accurate knowledge of the great principles of natural religion, represented the supreme Being almost under the very same characters that are attributed to him by Christians; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms already mentioned in their prayers to the Deity, and in their religious discourse, but even use these terms themselves, when they pronounce the name of God in their public instructions, or in private conversation. The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine nature with that of the universe. They assert further, that the famous Confucius, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of China, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and traced the origin of all things that exist from an internal and inevitable necessity. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the Chinese missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions, of the ancient inhabitants of China, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the

* Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 142. See the enumeration of other writers on the same subject, given by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix. p. 665; see also Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 318. But the

most ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion, was Father Daniel, himself a member of that famous order: See his *Histoire Apologétique de la Conduite des Jésuites de la Chine*, in the third volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 1.

chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a satisfactory and clear decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed,—the Jesuits or their adversaries : and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither ; since if it appeared, on the one hand, that the Tien, or supreme God of the Chinese, was much inferior in perfection and excellence to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese Deity was looked upon by his worshippers as entirely distinct from the material ether and the visible heavens.

Second point.

XIV. As to the other point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of China oblige the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honour of their ancestors, certain rites, which seem to be of a religious nature. It is to be observed further, that it is a custom among the learned to pay likewise, at stated times, to the memory of Confucius, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowledge, certain marks of veneration that have undoubtedly a religious aspect, and that are, moreover, performed in a kind of temples erected to that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence then ariseth a second question, which is thus proposed : “ Are those honours that the Chinese, in general, pay to the memory of their ancestors, and which the learned, in particular, offer at the shrine of Confucius, of a civil or sacred nature ? Are they to be considered as religious offerings, or are they no more than political institutions designed to promote some public good ? ” The Jesuits affirm, that the ancient Chinese lawgivers established these rites with no other view than to keep the people in order, and to maintain the tranquillity of the state ; and that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship, either to the memory of Confucius, or to the departed souls of their ancestors, but only declared by the performance of certain rites, their gratitude and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to imitate their virtues, and follow their illustrious examples. From hence these missionaries conclude, that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be permitted to perform these ceremonies according to the ancient custom of their country, provided they understood their true nature, and kept always in remembrance the political views with which they were instituted, and the civil purposes they were designed to serve. By this specious account of things, the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, justified. But let this representation be true or false, it will still remain evident, that, in order to render the Christian cause triumphant in China, some such concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits seem almost absolutely necessary ; and they who desire the end must submit to the use of the means.* The necessity of these concessions arises from this remarkable circumstance, that by a solemn law, of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man shall be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the rites and ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans and the other adversaries of the Jesuits, maintain, that the rites in question form an important branch of the Chinese religion ; that the honours paid by the Chinese to Confucius, and to the souls of their ancestors, are not of a civil,

* True : if the means be not either criminal in themselves, pernicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the end. And it is a very nice

and momentous question, whether the concessions pleaded for in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterized. See the following note.

but of a religious nature; and consequently, that all who perform these rites are chargeable with insulting the majesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is due, and cannot be looked upon as true Christians. This account of matters is so specious and probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowledged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain; and taking, at length, refuge in the plea of necessity, allege, that certain evils and inconveniences may be lawfully submitted to, when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

State of Christianity in Japan.

XV. The ministerial labours of the Romish missionaries, and more especially of the Jesuits, were crowned in Japan with surprising success, towards the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion.* But

† The public honours paid to Confucius twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of tablets, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: "The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy and the most excellent chief teacher Confucius." The literati, or learned, celebrate this famous festival in the following manner:—The chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called Ci, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the inscription, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature.

Now, in order to know with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a civil or religious nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial spirits or genii, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz* undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and, consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention; for it is evident, from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and particularly from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan, Antonio de S.

Maria,† not only that Confucius was worshipped among the idola, and the celestial and terrestrial spirits of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honour of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these idols and spirits. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors: Budæi Annal. Histor. Philos. p. 287, where he treats De Superstitioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses Cultu; Wolfii not. ad Casaubon. p. 342; Nic. Charnois, Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sinensis; but more especially Arnaud, Morale Pratique des Jésuites, tom. iii. vi. vii., and a collection of historical relations, published at Cologne, in 8vo, in the year 1700, under the following title: Historia Cultus Sinensium, seu varia Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos et PP. S.I. controversiis.

‡ Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in Japan. The first was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese priests or bonzes towards the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These bonzes represented the poor and infirm not as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the gods, and abandoned to present and future misery by the judgments of Heaven; and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that poverty and afflictions are often surer marks of the divine favour than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favourable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, physic, and habitations. A second circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity (that is, to such a form of

* See Prof. Novissim. Sinicorum.

† See vol. ii. Epp. Leibnitz.

this prosperous and flourishing state of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices which proved fatal, in many places, both to those who embraced it, and to those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received, no doubt, some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes of fraternal discord that had given such offence in the other Indian provinces were renewed in Japan, where the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, were at perpetual variance with the Jesuits. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The Jesuits were charged by the missionaries of the three orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with showing an excessive indulgence, both to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of Christ, with an ambitious thirst after authority and dominion, and other misdemeanours of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of Rome, but were spread abroad in every part of Christendom. The disciples of Loyola were by no means silent under these reproaches, but in their turn charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living; adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to the cause of Christianity, among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in Japan; and nothing but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those that had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the gospel, nor its numerous professors, received any essential damage from these divisions; and, if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or at least to appease them so far as to prevent their noxious and fatal consequences.*

Its downfall and
extirpation.

XVI. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition arose, in the year 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in Japan; for, in that year, the emperor issued out, against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity un-

Christianity as the Popish missionaries preached in Japan), was a certain resemblance or analogy between it and some practices and sentiments that prevailed among the Japanese. These Indians look for present and future felicity, only through the merits of Xaca Amida, and other of their deities, who, after a long course of severe mortifications freely undertaken, had voluntarily also put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons who had been guilty of suicide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes, in their worship; as also prayers for the dead, and auricular confession: and had monasteries founded for certain devout persons of both

sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence: so that the Japanese religion was no bad preparation for Popery. Besides these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the letters of the Jesuits themselves, who inform us, that the maritime princes of Japan were so fond of this new commerce with the Portuguese, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encouraged the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal than from views of interest. See Varenus. *Descript. Japon.* lib. iii. cap. vi. x.; *Modern Univ. History*, vol. ix. p. 24, edit. 8vo.

* See the writers on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi Exorients*, p. 678; as also Charlevoix, *Histoire de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xi. p. 57.

paralleled in the annals of the Christian history. This cruel persecution raged, during the space of many years, with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the total extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion, which had been suffered to make such a rapid and triumphant progress in Japan, was at length considered as detrimental to the interests of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, derogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the gods, and, on these accounts, was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgment was followed with the fatal order, by which all foreigners that were Christians, and more especially the Spanish and Portuguese, were commanded to depart the kingdom; and the natives, who had embraced the gospel, to renounce the name and doctrine of Christ, on pain of death, presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations, expired with magnanimous constancy, amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatize from the faith they had embraced. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions expiated, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured, and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry; for it is well known that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of Christ by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this mercileless persecution. The Jesuits consider it as owing in part to the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while these latter impute it in a great measure to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits.^b Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited in the emperor of Japan a strong prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontiff, to the end that they alone might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivalled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch allege, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman catholics in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the historians who have given accounts of this country unanimously inform us, that certain letters intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious designs against his government, and aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom

^b There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth discourse that is subjoined to the English edition of K mpfer's History of Japan, sect. iv. p. 64—75. But it will be also proper to see what is said on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to exculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is Charlevoix; see his *Histoire G n rale du Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136. The other

historians that may be consulted with utility, on this subject, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi Exorienti*, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Mena. Februar. p. 728, where there is not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in Japan, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those who first suffered for the cause of the gospel in that kingdom. See likewise *Mammachii Origines et Antiquitat. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 376.

of Japan under the dominion of Spain.^c A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such as the emperor then reigning was; and indeed so it happened; for, the moment he received this information, he concluded, with equal precipitation and violence, that he could not sit secure on his throne while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception to this universal law is made in favour of a handful of Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import annually a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched, and rigorously confined from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

Protestant mis-
sions in Asia.

XVII. The example of the Roman catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity among those unhappy nations that lay grovelling in the darkness of paganism and idolatry. Accordingly, the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion to embark in this pious and generous undertaking. Justinian Ernest, baron of Wells, distinguished himself by the zealous appearance he made in this good cause, having formed a plan of a society that was to be entrusted with the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and that was to bear the name of Jesus, the divine founder of the religion they were to promote.^d But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon principally the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few have either territories, forts, or settlements, beyond the limits of Europe.

This was by no means the case with the princes and states that professed the Reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who, moreover, in this century, had sent colonies to Asia, Africa, and America, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected or misimproved, notwithstanding the reports that have generally prevailed of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in bringing about their conversion; though it may perhaps be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves to the extent of their power in this salutary undertaking. In the year 1647, the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts was committed, by an act of the English parliament, to the care and inspection of a society composed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work. In the year 1661, under the

^c The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that instead of Spain, our author should have said Portugal. See Kämpfer, loc. cit.; as also the Universal Mo-

dern History, vol. ix. p. 145, note (2), edit. 8vo.

^d See Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 75; as also a German work of the learned Arnold, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzers-Histoire*, part ii. book xvii. c. xv. sect. 18, p. 150.

reign of Charles II. the work was resumed, and the society re-established. In the year 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favour from King William III. who enriched it with new donations and privileges.* Since that period, even to the present time, it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of England, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be, eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations that lie in Pagan darkness, and more especially to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge, to be passed over in silence; since they also are said to have converted to the gospel a prodigious number of Indians, in the islands of Ceylon and Formosa, the coasts of Malabar, and other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained by conquest from the Portuguese.^f Some historians, perhaps, may have exaggerated in their relations the number of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is, nevertheless, most certain, that as soon as that nation had got a sufficient footing in the East Indies, they laid with wisdom, and executed at a great expense, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the gospel.^g

The African mission.

XVIII. The inward parts of Africa remain still in the darkness of Paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great peninsula, and more especially in those where the Portuguese have their settlements, there are several districts in which the religion of Rome has prevailed over the savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is nevertheless acknowledged, by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that of the proselytes made there to the gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians, since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonour their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Any progress that Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labours of the Capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far as to gain over to the profession of the gospel the kings of Benin and Aweri,^h and also to engage the cruel and intrepid Anna Zingha, queen of Metamba, and all her subjects, to embrace, in the year 1652, the Christian faith.ⁱ The African missions were allotted to this

* See Humphrey's Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

^f See Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales ad Johan. Leusdenium Scriptas, et Ultraject. 1699, in 8vo. editas.

^g See Braun's Véritable Religion des Hollandois, p. 71, 267, &c. This treatise, which was published at Amsterdam, in the year 1675, was designed as an answer to a malignant libel of one Stoup, entitled La Religion des Hollandois, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had almost no religion at all.

^h Called by some Ouverne.

ⁱ For a more ample account of this

queen, and her conversion, Dr. Mosheim refers the reader, in a note, to Urban Cerrri's *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222, and to the third and fourth volumes of Father Lebat's *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in the former of which he tells us, there is a French translation of Ant. Gavazzi's account of Africa. All these citations are inaccurate. Cerrri makes no mention of Zingha, nor of Metamba, nor are they mentioned by Lebat, in any of the five volumes of his *Historical relation*, here quoted; nor is Gavazzi's account translated in that work.—In general it may be observed, that the missions in Africa were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and

austere order by the court of Rome, and by the Society de Propaganda Fide, for wise reasons, since none were so proper to undertake an enterprise attended with such dreadful hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a set of men whose monastic institute had rendered familiar to them the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. The Capuchins also seem to have been alone honoured with this sacred but arduous commission; nor does it appear that the other orders beheld with the smallest sentiment of envy their dear-bought glory.

XIX. The extensive continent of America swarms with colonies from Spain, Portugal, and France,¹ all which profess the Christian religion as it has been disfigured by the church of Rome. But it is abundantly known that these colonists, more especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, are the most worthless and profligate set of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies of several Roman catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Nay, the clergy themselves are not excepted in this general condemnation, but, as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of America, who either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near their colonies, have imbibed some faint knowledge of the Romish religion from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those Indians who live more remote from the European settlements, and wander about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that vagrant manner of life, and civilised by an intercourse with persons whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics of different orders in the church of Rome, who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform experience.² Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in South and North America; and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is said, they endeavour to preserve pure and uncorrupted, by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them.³ These arduous

that the few missionaries sent thither were men absolutely void of learning, and destitute almost of every qualification that was necessary to the carrying on such an important undertaking. See Labat's *Préface* to his *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*; as also the *Modern Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 10, 11, edit. 8vo.

¹ See the authors mentioned by Fabricius in his *Lux Evangelii Orbem Terrarum collustrans*, cap. xlvi. xlix. p. 769. There is a cursory account of the state of the Romish religion in that part of America which is pos-

sessed by the European Roman catholics, in Urban Cerri's *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

² A great variety of facts are alleged as a proof of this, in the Letters in which the French Jesuits give their friends in Europe an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which are regularly published at Paris.

³ That this was by no means the only, or even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note.

and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of Loyola ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity, and industry, of their order. But it has appeared, from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of America, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity as with an intention to gratify their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition, and accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their order in Europe immense quantities of gold, drawn from several American provinces where they have power and property, but chiefly from Paraguay, which belongs to them alone.*

* While Father Labat was at Rome, Father Tamburini, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in America; to which, with equal courage and candour, he gave immediately this general answer: "That the Gospel had made little or no real progress in that country; that he had never met with one adult person among the Americans who could be esteemed a true proselyte to Christianity; and that the missionaries could scarcely pretend to any other exploits of a spiritual kind, than their having baptized some children at the point of death."† He added, at the same time, "that, in order to make the Americans Christians, it was previously necessary to make them men." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, had a great mind to give Tamburini some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority that the Jesuits had acquired in these parts of the world; but the cunning old man eluded artfully this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. Labat gave, upon another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by Clement XI. that pontiff praised, in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards and Portuguese boasted of the success of their labours without any sort of foundation; since it was well known, that instead of converts, they had only made hypocrites, all their disciples among the Indians having been forced, by the dread of punishment and the terrors of death, to embrace Christianity;" adding, moreover, "that such as had received baptism continued as open and egregious idolaters as they had been before their profession of Christianity."‡ To this account we may add the relation of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are every way worthy of

credit, and who declare unanimously the same thing. See, among others, a remarkable piece, entitled, *Mémoire touchant l'Etablissement considérable des Pères Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is subjoined to Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577. See also *Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, par Franc. Coreal, tom. ii. p. 67, 73; and *Mammachius, Orig. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 337. There is a particular account of the Jesuits of Paraguay, given by Don Ulloa, in his *Voyage d'Amérique*, tom. i. p. 540, but this account is partial in their favour. They are also zealously and artfully defended in an account of the mission of Paraguay, published by Muratori, in the year 1743. § When Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the important discovery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious proceedings of the Jesuits of Paraguay in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of Muratori, which was published at Venice in the year 1743, and republished in a French translation at Paris in 1754,† deceived for a time the over-credulous, nay, induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at Paraguay was not so criminal as it had been represented. So that, notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by Dr. Mosheim; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of Spain in the year 1730, by Don Martin de Barua, at that time Spanish governor of Paraguay, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, represented as setting up an independent government, accused of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of that nature, and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner; notwithstanding all this, the public was more or less deceived. The illusion, however, did not last long. In the year 1750, the courts of Madrid and Lisbon entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in South America. The Jesuits, who had formed an in-

* See Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7.

† Id. ib. tom. viii. p. 12.

‡ Muratori's account of the Mission of Paraguay was translated from the French edition into English, and published in 8vo, in 1759.

Protestant missions to America.

XX. The cause of Christianity was promoted with more wisdom, and consequently with better success, in those parts of America where the English formed settlements during this century; and, though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made, in a little time, considerable progress. The English Independents, who retired to America on account of their dissension from the established religion of their country, claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal, and such abundant fruit; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect that had been settled in Holland, removed from thence into America,^a in the year 1620, in order, as they alleged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and there they laid the foundations of a new state.^o The success that attended this first emigration engaged great numbers of the people called Puritans, who groaned under the oppression of the bishops, and the severity of a court, by which this oppression was authorized, to follow the fortunes of these religious adventurers;^p and this produced a second emigration in the year 1629. But notwithstanding the success that in process of time crowned this enterprise, its first beginnings were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, laboured under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that they could make but little progress in instructing the Indians: their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But towards the year 1633,^q things put on a better aspect; the colony began to flourish,

dependent republic in the heart of these dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness, and affected mildness, humility, and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state, (which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission,) that neither bishop, governor, nor any officer, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nay, nor even any individual, Spaniard or Portuguese, should be admitted into its territories, to the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited throughout the extent of this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their gods, and to look upon all white people, except the Jesuits, as demoniacs, atheists, and, moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of things when, in the year 1752, the united troops of Spain and Portugal marched towards the eastern borders of the river Urugui, to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty under various pretexts. This delay was granted; but as the

Spanish general, Gomez Frierre Andrada, perceived that these holy Fathers employed this delay in arming the Indians, and confirming them in their rebellion, he wrote to his court, and received new orders from thence to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spanish and Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish general lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of Portugal. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter, will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of Lisbon, and printed at the Hague, in the year 1758, under the following title: *La République des Jésuites au Paraguay Renversée, ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont osé soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amérique, pour y défendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpé la souveraineté au Paraguay sous prétexte de Religion.*

^a This colony settled in that part of America that was afterwards called New Plymouth.

^o Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 128; as also a German work, entitled, *Ant. Wilh. Bohm. Englische Reformations Historie*, b. vi. c. v. p. 807.

^p See Mather's History of New England, p. 126; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 208.

^q Dr. Mosheim says in the year 1623,

and the new-comers, among whom the Puritans Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot, made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful, in the conversion of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as John Elliot, who learned their language, into which he translated the Bible and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dulness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the Apostle of the Indians.*

The unexpected success that attended these pious attempts towards the propagation of Christian knowledge, drew the attention of the parliament and people of England; and the further advancement of this good cause appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations and to claim the protection of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, even the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and which, in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the Pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those on the American continent. It is true that, after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowledged by all that have examined these matters with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed with unexpected fruit. With respect to the province of Pennsylvania, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces that were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, under the command of Count Maurice of Nassau, became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began with great ardour and remarkable success to spread the light of the gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions.† But this fair prospect was afterwards clouded in the year 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch colony that is settled in Surinam, we cannot say much, having never received the smallest information of any attempts made by them to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowledge of Christianity.‡

XXI. Religion in general, and the Christian religion in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century, though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of

The enemies of
Christianity in
England.

but this is probably an error of the press; since it is well known, that the emigration of Sheppard and Elliot happened between 1631 and 1634.

* Hornbeckius, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260; *Crescentii Matheri Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium*, Traject. 1669, in 8vo. † Increase Mather's *Letter to Leusden* is translated into English, and inserted into *Cotton Mather's Life of Elliot*, p. 924, 32nd London edition, and in

his *History of New England*, book iii. p. 194. N.

‡ Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47; Janicon, *Etat Présent des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396. The same author gives an account of Surinam, and of the state of religion in that colony, cap. xiv. p. 407.

§ There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowledge of the gospel among the natives.

others. The English complain of the reign of Charles II. as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, overran their nation, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the sallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius, to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears, on the one hand, from the number of those writers among the English, whose productions were levelled either against all religion, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and, on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the gospel, were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous Lectures, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity, Mr. Robert Boyle, who, in the year 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving, in his last will, a sum to be distributed, successively, to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence of natural and revealed religion.* This pious and honourable task has been committed always to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have always been published, and they form at this day a large and important collection, which is known throughout all Europe, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue.†

Hobbes, Rochester, &c.

XXII. The leader of the impious band in England, which, so early as the reign of Charles II., attempted to obscure the truth and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury,—a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtlety and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition.‡ This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in England; and not only so, but has found, in foreign countries, more than one apologist, who, though they acknowledge that his sentiments were erroneous, yet deny that he went such an impious length as to introduce the disbelief,

* See Ricotier's Preface to his French translation of Dr. Clarke's Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God. For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. Boyle, see Badgell's Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the Boyles, published in 8vo, at London, in the year 1737. — See also the Bibliothèque Britannique, tom. xii. p. 144. ☞ But, above all, the late learned Dr. Birch's Life of Boyle, published in 8vo, in the year 1744; and that very valuable Collection of Lives, the Biographia Britannica, article Boyle (Robert), note [2]. See also article Hobbes, in the same collection. N.

† There is a complete list of these learned discourses in the Bibliothèque Angloise,

tom. xv. part II. p. 416.—The late Reverend Mr. Gilbert Burnet published in four volumes, in 8vo, a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested Abridgment of such of the Boyle's Lectures as had been preached before the year 1737. This Abridgment, which has been translated into the French and German languages, comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harria, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Long, J. Clarke, Gordon, Burnet, Berriman.

‡ See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Hobbes; J. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 641, last edition.

or to overturn the worship of a Supreme Being.^{*} But if it should be granted, on the one hand, that Hobbes was not totally destitute of all sense of a Deity, nor of all impressions of religion; yet it must be allowed on the other, by all who peruse his writings with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion and of divine worship; and that, in some of his productions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion to Christianity. It has, indeed, been said of him, that, being advanced in years, he returned to a better mind, and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had formerly entertained; but how far this recantation was sincere we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been greatly questioned.

The same thing cannot be said of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a profane sort of frenzy, that far surpassed the impiety of Hobbes, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of Malmesbury. Rochester was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius and an elegant taste; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. So that as long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery.[†] He was, however, so happy in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was

^{*} Among the patrons and defenders of Hobbes, we may reckon Nic. Hier. Gundlingius, in his *Observationes Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30; and in his *Gundlingiana*, p. xiv. p. 304; as also Arnold, in his German work, entitled *Kirchen-und Ketzer-Historie*, p. II. b. xvii. c. xvi. sect. 25, p. 1082. These writers are refuted by the learned Budæus, in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187.

[†] This recantation of Hobbes depends upon the testimony of Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 646. This writer informs us, that Hobbes composed an apology for himself and his writings, in which he declared, that the opinions he had published in his *Leviathan* were by no means conformable to his real sentiments; that he had only proposed them as a matter of debate, to exercise his mind in the art of reasoning; that, after the publication of that book, he had never maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely to the judgment and decision of the church; more especially, that the tenets, in this and his other writings, that seemed inconsistent with the doctrines concerning God and religion that are commonly received, were never delivered by him as truths, but proposed as questions, that were to be decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endowed with a proper authority. Such is the account that Wood gives of the apology now under consideration; but he does not tell us the year in which it was published, which is a proof that he himself had never seen it, nor does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of Hobbes, or after his death. As indeed it

is placed in the catalogue of his writings, with a date posterior to the year 1682, it is natural to suppose that it was not published during his life, since he died in the year 1679. It is, therefore, no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid upon this recantation of Hobbes, or what sentiments we are to form concerning his supposed repentance. That the apology under consideration exists, we do not pretend to deny; but it may possibly have been composed by some of his friends, to diminish the odium that it was natural to think his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be granted, that it was drawn up and published by Hobbes himself, even this concession would contribute but little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation; since it is well known that nothing is more common among those who, by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions, have drawn upon themselves the just indignation of the public, than, like Hobbes, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundness of their belief, and the uprightness of their intentions. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them whenever they can do it with security.

^{*} See an account of his life and writings in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 654. His poetical genius is justly celebrated by Voltaire, in his *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. vol. iv. of his works.

greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Sarum. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God, as it is manifested in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the Beat of Beings. In these pious sentiments he departed this life in the year 1680.*

In this list we may also place Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, who died of consumption at Naples, in the year 1703; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness, and elevation, were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret, enemies; nay, so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published, and have passed through several editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime sentiments; but ought to be read with the utmost caution, as extremely dangerous to unexperienced, youthful, and unwary minds.^b The brutal rusticity and un-

* Bishop Burnet has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman, in a pamphlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled, "Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Rochester, written, at his desire, on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D., containing more amply their Conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion."

^b His works were first collected and published under the title of *Characteristica*, in three volumes, in 8vo, in the year 1711, and since that time have passed through several editions. See Le Clerc's account of them in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xxiii. The learned and ingenious Leibnitz's *Critical Reflections on the philosophy of Lord Shaftesbury*, were published by Des Maizeaux, in the second volume of his *Recueil des diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie*, p. 245. There are some writers who maintain, that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged, by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for revealed religion; and it were to be wished, that the arguments they employ to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I am not much mistaken, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning *Enthusiasm*, will be inclined to adopt the judgment that has been formed of him by the ingenious Dr. Berkeley, late bishop of Cloyne, in his *Alciphron*, or the *Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. p. 200. Nothing is more easy than to observe in the writings of Lord Shaftesbury, a spirit of raillery mingling itself with even those of his reflections upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this unseemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous, renders it difficult for those that are not well acquainted with his manner, to know whether the man is in jest

or in earnest. It may also be added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed in the Holy Scriptures to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as mercenary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes in their place the intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue, as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenious turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension, and the character, of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospect of reward and punishment that leads them to virtue and obedience, by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear, and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuits of it will be then removed with respect to them.

Since Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. Leland published his *View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present century*, &c., in which there is a full account of the Free-thinkers and Deists mentioned by our historian, and a review of the writings of the Earl of Shaftesbury. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation, of the erroneous principles of that great man. Lord Shaftesbury, like all other eminent innovators, has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. Leland has steered a middle course, between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgment, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, of that illustrious author; does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings; separates

couth turn of John Toland, a native of Ireland, who, towards the conclusion of this century, was rendered infamous by several injurious libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the writer now mentioned. However, as those writers who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and, notwithstanding the excess of his arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame.* It is not necessary to mention other authors of this class, who appeared in England during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion; the reader may, however, add to those that have been already named, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, a philosopher of some note, who, if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the gospel,^d main-

carefully the wheat from the chaff; and neither approves nor condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shown, with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the Gospel has nothing in it disingenuous and slavish, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue for its own sake, that it tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its amiableness and worth. The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. Warburton has refuted Shaftesbury's representation of raillery and ridicule as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. Brown's Three Essays on the Characteristics, in which that sensible author treats of Ridicule, considered as a Test of Truth; of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious principle, and of revealed religion and Christianity.

↳ Dr. Mosheim quotes here, in a short note, an account he had given of the Life and Writings of Toland, prefixed to his Confutation of the Nazarenus of that contemptible author. He also quotes a Life of Toland, prefixed to his posthumous works, printed in 8vo, at London, in 1726, by Des Maizeaux. Dr. Mosheim says, that this man was not destitute of learning. Should that be granted, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that this learning lay quite undigested in his head, and that the use he made of it in his works was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference with M. Beausobre concerning the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, which was held at Berlin, in the year 1701, in the presence of the queen of Prussia, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former; and his writings, to all but half-scholars and half-thinkers, will be a proof, as long as they endure, of the latter. It is remarkable that, according to that maxim of Juvenal, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, Toland arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion, at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book, entitled, *Christianity not Mysterious*.

This Book procured him hard treatment from the Irish parliament; and was answered by Mr. Brown, afterwards bishop of Cork, who unhappily did not think good arguments sufficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardour. The second step that Toland made in the devious wilds of irreligion, was in the publication of his *Amyntor*, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he advanced in his *Life of Milton*, to prove that king Charles I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilike*, but, in reality, was intended to invalidate the Canon of the New Testament, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, in as far as it attacked the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. Clarke, in his *Reflections* on that part of the book called *Amyntor*, which relates to the writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament; by Mr. Richardson, in his learned and judicious *Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament*; and by Mr. Jones, in his new and full *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*. These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the disingenuity, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions, and ridiculous mistakes of Toland, who, on various accounts, may pass for one of the most harmless writers against the Christian religion. For an account of the *Adelsidæmon*, the *Nazarenus*, the *Letters to Scræna*, the *Pantheisticon*, and the other irreligious works of this author, with the excellent answers that have been made to them, see his *Life* in the *General Dictionary*, or rather in *Chaufepied's Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary*, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, as this author has not only translated the articles added to Bayle's Dictionary by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the literary history of the Continent.

↳ Lord Herbert did not pretend to deny the divinity of the Gospel; he even de-

tained, at least, that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind;* and Charles Blount, who composed a book, entitled, *The Oracles of Reason*, and in the year 1693 died by his own hand.^f

Vanini, Ruggeri,
Leczynski,
Knutzen.

XXIII. Infidelity, and even Atheism, showed themselves also on the continent during this century. In France, Julius Cæsar Vanini, the author of two books, the one entitled *the Amphitheatre of Providence*,^g and the other *Dialogues*

clared that he had no intention to attack Christianity, which he calls in express terms, the best religion, and which, according to his own confession, tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient, and absolutely perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship loses no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all revealed religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use. But this same deist, who was the first, and, indeed, the least contemptible of that tribe in England, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps ever has been heard of, and of which he himself was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript life of Lord Herbert, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction, and is as follows: that lord having finished his book *De Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus doubtful," says his lordship, "in my chamber (at Paris, where he was ambassador, in the year 1624), one fair day in the summer, my casement being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words: O thou eternal God, author of this light that now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory I beseech thee give me some sign FROM HEAVEN; if not, I shall suppress it." What does the reader now think of this corner-stone of Deism, who demands a supernatural revelation from Heaven in favour of a book that was designed to prove all revelation uncertain and useless? But the absurdity does not end here, for our deist not only sought for this revelation, but also obtained it, if we are to believe him. "I had no sooner," says he, "spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise came forth from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted." Rare credulity this, in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe even against reason when it answers their purpose. His lordship continues, "This, however strange it may seem, I protest, before the Eternal God,

is true; neither am I superstitiously deceived herein," &c. See Leland's *View of the Decisive Writers*, &c. vol. i. p. 470, &c.

* This is sufficiently known to those who have perused Lord Herbert's book *De Causis Errorum*, as also his celebrated work, *De Religione Gentilium*. This author is generally considered as the chief or founder of the sect or society that are called Naturalists, from their attachment to natural religion alone. See Arnoldi *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* part ii. p. 1083. The peculiar tenets of this famous Deist have been refuted by Musæus and Kortholt, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities. — G. Gassendi also composed an answer to Lord Herbert's book *De Veritate*. In England it was refuted by Mr. Richard Baxter, in a treatise entitled, *More Reasons for the Christian Religion*, and *No Reasons against it*. Mr. Locke, in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, shows with great perspicuity and force of evidence, that the Five Articles of Natural Religion proposed by this noble author, are not, as he represents them, Common Notions, clearly inscribed by the hand of God in the minds of all men, and that a Divine Revelation is necessary to indicate, develop, and enforce them. Dr. Whitby has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled, *The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian Revelation*, by reason of the Corruptions of the principles of Natural Religion among the Jews and Heathens, 8vo, 1705.

^f See *Chaufepied, Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.*, though this author has omitted the mention of this gentleman's unhappy fate, out of a regard, no doubt, to his illustrious family. — Mr. *Chaufepied* has done no more than translated the article Charles Blount, from that of the English continuators of Bayle.

^g This book was published at Lyons in the year 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcilable with atheistical principles. Its title is as follows: *Amphitheatrum Eternæ Providentiæ, Divinæ Magicæ, Christiano-Physicæ, Astrologico-Catholicæ, adversus Veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos, &c.* This book has been esteemed innocent by several writers, impious by others; but, in our judgment, it would have escaped reproach, had Vanini published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the

concerning Nature,^b was publicly burnt at Toulouse in the year 1629, as an impious and obstinate atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy, than as a martyr to impiety and atheism; and maintain, that neither his life nor his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion.¹ But if Vanini had his apologists, this was by no means the case of Cosmo Ruggeri, a native of Florence, whose atheism was as imprudent as it was impious, and who died in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at Paris, in the year 1615, declaring that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of evil spirits, as idle dreams.¹ Casimir Leczynski, a Polish knight, was capitally punished, suffering death at Warsaw, in the year 1689, for denying the being and providence of God; but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence that was produced against him.² In Germany, a senseless and fanatic sort of man, called Matthew Knutzen, a native of Holstein, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all consideration of God and religion, were to follow the dictates of reason and conscience alone, and from thence were to assume the title of Conscientiarists. But this wrong-headed sectary was easily obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings; and thus his idle attempt came to nothing.¹

XXIV. The most acute and eminent of the Atheists of Benedict Spinoza. this century, whose system represented the Supreme Author of all things as a Being bound by the eternal and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was Benedict Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew. This man, who died at the Hague in 1677, observed, in his conduct, the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians, nor did he ever endeavour to pervert the sentiments, or to corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire in his discourse a contempt of religion or virtue.^m It is true, indeed, that in his writings,

case of the book mentioned in the following note.

^b This book, concerning the Secrets of Queen Nature, the Goddess of Mortals, was published with this suspicious title at Paris, in the year 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and atheism; and yet it was published with the king's permission, and the approbation of the Faculty of Theology at Paris. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit Garasse pretends that the faculty was deceived by Vanini, who substituted another treatise in the place of that which had been approved. See a wretched book of Garasse, entitled, *Doctrinè Curieuse*, p. 998; as also Durand, *Vie de Vanini*, p. 116.

¹ See Budeus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 120. The author of the *Apologia pro Vanino*, which appeared in Holland, in the year 1712, is Peter Frederick Arp, a learned lawyer, who in his *Feræ astivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*, p. 28, has promised a new edition of this *Apology*, with considerable additions. We may also place among the defenders of Vanini, the learned

Elias Frederick Heister, in his *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93.

¹ See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Ruggeri.

² See the German work of Arnold, entitled *Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, p. 1077. There was formerly, in the famous library of Uffenbach, a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of Leczynski, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

¹ See Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 304; and Isagoge ad *Historiam Chersonesæ Cimbræ*, part ii. cap. vi. sect. viii. p. 164; La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire*, p. 400.

^m The life of Spinoza has been accurately written by Colerus, whose performance was published at the Hague, in 8vo, in the year 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man has been given by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and is prefixed to Boulainvilliers' *Exposition of the doctrine of Spinoza*, which was published at Amsterdam, under the title of *Brussels*, in 12mo, in the year 1731. See also Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Spinoza. See Lenglet du Fresnoy

more especially in those that were published after his death, he maintains openly, that God and the universe are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of nature, *i. e.* of an all-comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an invincible necessity. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd; for if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or, at least, a part of the universal Deity, and is, therefore, impeccable and perfect.* Be that as it may, it is evident that Spinoza was seduced into this monstrous system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. Having adopted that general principle, about which philosophers of all sects are agreed, that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree; and having added to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of Des Cartes, that there are only two realities in nature, thought and extension, the one essential to spirit, and the other to matter;° the natural consequence of this was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even thought and extension, in an eminent degree; or, in other words, should represent them as infinite and immense in God. Hence the transition seemed easy enough to that enormous system, which confounds God with the universe, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one substance from whence all things proceed and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, what even the friends of Spinoza are obliged to acknowledge, that this system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity nor that force of evidence that are proper to make proselytes. It is too dark,

republished the work of Colerus, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances borrowed from a *Life of Spinoza*, written by an infamous profligate, whose name was Lucas, and who practised physic at the Hague. See below, p. 281, notes^a and.^b

^a The learned Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. part iii. p. 119, and Jenichen, in his *Historia Spinozismi* Lehufofiani, p. 58—72, have given us an ample list of the writers who have refuted the system of Spinoza. The real opinion which this subtle sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his *Ethica*, that were published after his death, and not in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which was printed during his life. For in this latter treatise he reasons like one who was persuaded that there exists an eternal Deity, distinct from matter and the universe, who has sent upon earth a religion designed to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a wonderful and astonishing, though not of a supernatural kind. But in his *Ethica* he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the Deity is nothing more than the universe, producing a series of necessary movements or acts, in consequence of its own intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy. This diversity of sentiment that appears in the different productions of Spinoza, is a sufficient refutation of those who, forming the estimate of his system from the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* alone, pronounce it less pernicious,

and its author less impious, than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that Spinoza proceeded to atheism by gradual steps, or is it rather more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Which of these two is the case, is not easy to determine; it appears, however, from testimonies every way worthy of credit, that he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make, converts to irreligion: never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the Supreme Being, or of the worship that is due to him; nay, it is well known, on the contrary, that, when subjects of a religious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness that was more adapted to edify than to give offence. See Des Maizeaux, *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. 117, tom. i. of his works. This appears also evident from the Letters that are published in his posthumous works.

° & The hypothesis of Des Cartes is not, perhaps, represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon thought as essential to spirit, and extension as essential to matter; since it is well known, that this philosopher considered thought as the very essence or substance of the soul, and extension as the very essence and substance of matter.

too intricate, to allure man from the belief of those truths relating to the Deity, which the works of nature, and the plainest dictates of reason, are perpetually enforcing on the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of Spinoza tell us, without hesitation, that it is rather by the suggestions of a certain sense, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended; and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunderstood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and penetration.² The disciples of Spinoza assume the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their master.³ The most noted members of this strange sect were a physician, whose name was Lewis Meier,⁴ a person

² There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of Bayle, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtle metaphysician has been accused by the followers of Spinoza, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that Pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity. See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Spinoza. This charge is brought against Bayle, with peculiar severity, by L. Meier, in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of Spinoza, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. Boulainvilliers also, another of Spinoza's commentators and advocates, declares, in his preface to a book, whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note,⁴ that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood, or maliciously perverted his true doctrine; his words are: *Les Réfutations de Spinoza m'ont induit à juger, ou que les auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une évidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue*, p. 153.—But now, if this be true, if the doctrine of Spinoza be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusion deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinozists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in Europe, have adopted the doctrine of that famous atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system that promises impunity to all transgressions that do not come within the cognizance of the civil law, and thus let loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion. For it would be senseless, in the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinozists, many of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should all accurately comprehend a system, which, according to their own accounts,

has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

³ Toland, unable to purchase himself a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title: *Pantheisticon; sive, Formulæ celebrandæ Societatis Socraticæ, in Tres Particulas divisæ: quæ Pantheistarum, sive sodalium continent, 1. Mores et Axiomata; 2. Numen et Philosophiam; 3. Libertatem et non fallentem legem neque fallendam, &c.* The design of this book, which was published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the Pantheists, under the fictitious description of a Socratical Society, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the Socratical, or rather Bacchanalian Society, described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a Form or Liturgy read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable responses. He recommends earnestly to the members of the Society, the care of truth, liberty, and health; exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is religion; and reads aloud to them, by way of Lesson, certain select passages out of Cicero and Seneca, which seem to favour irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes the whole fraternity is so animated with enthusiasm and joy, that they all raise their voices together, and sing certain verses out of the ancient Latin poets, that are suitable to the laws and principles of their sect. See Des Maizeaux, *Life of John Toland*, p. 77; *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. viii. p. ii. 285. If the Pantheistical community be really such as it is here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles, and the duties of their respective stations.

⁴ This Meier was the person who translated into Latin the pieces that Spinoza had com-

called Lucas,* Count Boulainvilliers,' and some others, equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

The sciences cultivated and improved.

XXV. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century is abundantly known; and we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric; in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective pro-

posed in the Dutch language; who assisted him in his last moments, after having attempted, in vain, to remove his disorder; and who published his Posthumous Works with a Preface, in which, with great impudence and little success, he endeavoured to prove, that the doctrine of Spinoza differs in nothing from that of the Gospel. Meier is also the author of a well-known treatise, thus entitled, *Philosophia Scripturae Interpreta*, Eleutheropolis, 1666, in 4to, in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. Meier.

* Lucas was a physician at the Hague, and was as famous for what he called his Quintessences, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a *Life of Spinoza*, from whence Lenglet du Fresnoy took all the additions that he made to the *Life of that atheist*, written by Colerus. He also composed a work which is still handed about, and bought at an extravagant price, by those in whose judgment rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled, *L'Esprit de Spinoza*, and surpasses infinitely, in atheistical profaneness, even those productions of Spinoza that are looked upon as the most pernicious; so far this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraint of shame.

† This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer, is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the history and political state of the French nation, by a certain prolix fable, entitled, *The Life of Mahomet*, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he is almost equally chargeable with superstition and atheism: for though he acknowledged no other Deity than the universe or nature, yet he looked upon Mahomet as authorised by a divine commission to instruct mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations and the destiny of individuals could be foreknown by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time, an atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned, in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the public good, to see the admirable doctrine of Spinoza so generally misunderstood, and therefore he formed the laudable design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it, as is done with respect to the

doctrines of the gospel in books of piety, to ordinary capacities. This design indeed, he executed, but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine; since it appeared most evidently, from his own account of the system of Spinoza, that Bayle, and the other writers who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason, and utterly destructive of all religion, had judged rightly, and were neither misled by ignorance nor temerity. In short, the book of Boulainvilliers set the atheism and impiety of Spinoza in a much more clear and striking light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by Lenglet du Fresnoy, who, that it might be bought with avidity, and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attracting, but perfidious title, of *A Refutation of the Errors of Spinoza*, adding indeed to it some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable; the whole title runs thus: *Réfutation des Erreurs de Benoît de Spinoza*, par M. de Fénelon, Archevêque de Cambrai, par le Pere Lamy, Bénédictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers; avec la *Vie de Spinoza*, écrite par Jean Colerus, ministre de l'Eglise Luthérienne de la Haye, augmentée de beaucoup de particularités tirées d'une *Vie Manuscrite de ce Philosophe*, fait par un de ses Amis (this friend was Lucas, the atheistical physician mentioned in the preceding note), a Bruxelles, chez Francois Foppens 1731, in 12mo. Here we see the poison and the antidote joined together, but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former: in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of Spinoza, given by Boulainvilliers under the insidious title of a *Refutation*, takes up the greatest part of this book, and is placed first and not the last in order, as the title would insinuate. Besides, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title; for at the end of it we find a *Latin Treatise*, entitled, *Certamen Philosophicum propugnatae Veritatis divinae et naturalis, adversus Jo. Breidenburgii principia*, in fine annexa. This philosophical controversy contains a Defence of the Doctrine of Spinoza, by Brodenburg; and a *Refutation of that Defence* by Isaac Orobio, a learned Jewish physician at Amsterdam, and was first published in 8vo, in the year 1703.

vinces of reason, experience, moderation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science, their zeal was both inflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of mankind. This was Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, who towards the commencement of this century, opened the paths that lead to true philosophy in his admirable works.^a It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the rules he prescribes to direct the researches of the studious, are not all practicable, amidst the numerous prejudices and impediments to which the most zealous inquiries are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears plainly that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was at certain times so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions as to require from the application and abilities of men more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the end without always examining whether the means of obtaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed, that a great part of the improvements in learning and of the progress in science that were made in Europe during this century, was owing to the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more especially true of the improvements that were made in natural philosophy, to which noble science Bacon did such important service, as is alone sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the dubious authority of traditional systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to Nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and, by the introduction of experimental inquiry, he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus, undoubtedly, that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowledge as circumscribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts; and thus, in the vast regions of nature, he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than that kind of learning that was in vogue before his time.

More especially
the mathematics.

XXVI. It is remarkable, in general, that the sciences of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, were carried in this century, in all the nations of Europe, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed to rise, all of a sudden, from the puny weakness of infancy to a state of full maturity. There is certainly no sort of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pigmies when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of these latter appears Galileo, the ornament of natural science in Italy, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the grand dukes of Tuscany.^v After this

^a More especially in his *Treatise De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, and in his *Novum Organum*. See the *Life* of that great man that is prefixed to the last edition of his Works, published by Millar, in four volumes in folio; *Biblioth. Britan.* tom. xv. p. 128. In Mr. Mallet's *Life of Bacon* there is a particular

and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also *Voltaire, Mélanges de Littérature*, &c., in the fourth volume of his Works, chap. xiv. p. 225.

^v See *Heuman's Acta Philosoph.* part XIV. p. 261; part XV. p. 467; part XVII. p. 803.

arose, in France, Des Cartes and Gassendi, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in Denmark, Tycho Brahe; in England, Boyle and Newton; in Germany, Kepler, Hevelius, and Leibnitz; and in Switzerland, the two Bernouilli. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in Europe, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries that had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a famous astronomer, or an eminent philosopher. Nor were the dukes of Tuscany, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences, and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time; since it is well known that the monarchs of Great Britain and France, Charles II. and Lewis XIV., honoured the sciences, and those that cultivated them, with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of these two princes that the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Sciences at Paris, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honours, and endowments; and that we, of consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences that lead to truth, and are useful to mankind.* These establishments, and the inquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were also productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of true religion. By these inquiries, the empire of superstition, which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states, was greatly shaken; by them the fictitious prodigies that had so long held miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence; as by them the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

History.

XXVII. The improvements made in History, and more especially the new degrees of light that were thrown upon the ancient history of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity. For thus the original sources and reasons of many absurd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colours; and innumerable errors that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, of consequence, the cheerful light of Truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many, and human life was delivered from the crimes that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that

* The History of the Royal Society of London was published by Dr. Spratt, in 4to, in the year 1722.* See the Biblioth. Angloise, tom. xi. p. 1. The History of the Academy of Paris has been composed by Fon-

tenelle. The reader will find a comparison between these two learned bodies in the fourth volume of the Works of Voltaire, entitled, *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxvi. p. 317.

* & A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable Society has lately

been composed and published by Dr. Birch, its learned secretary.

flowed from the improvement of historical knowledge are both innumerable and inestimable. By this many pious and excellent persons, whom ignorance or malice had branded with the ignominious title of Heretics, were delivered from reproach, recovered their good fame, and thus were secured against the malignity of superstition. By this it appeared, that many of those religious controversies, which had divided nations, friends, and families, and involved so often sovereign states in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and obscurity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to ghostly pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated with the fullest evidence, that many of those religious rites and ceremonies which had been long considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being either borrowed from the manners and customs of barbarous nations, or invented with a design to deceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other ministers of religion, who by perfidious arts had encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, usurped a considerable part of its authority and revenues, and held princes in subjection to their yoke by terrors of the church, were brought to light. And to mention no more instances, it was by the lamp of History that those councils, whose decrees had so long been regarded as infallible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive observer as assemblies where an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery very frequently presided. Our happy experience, in these latter times, furnishes daily instances of the salutary effects of these important discoveries on the state of the Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from one another in their religious sentiments; that prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions, and deciding controversies; that protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and that visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly embittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves with eminent success to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the Oriental languages and antiquities. And, as their progress in these kinds of erudition was rapid, so in many instances was the use they made of them truly excellent and laudable. For, by these succours they were enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood and injudiciously applied, and which some had even employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible colour to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened, that many patrons and promoters of popular notions, and visionary and groundless fancies, were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labours of those, who either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries. For it must be evidently both honourable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always in its bosom men of learning, qualified to write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse

The study of eloquence and the languages.

may be allured to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

The law of nature
is studied with
attention.

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings by Christ and his apostles assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new and solid principles, when that great system of law, that results from the constitution of nature, and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the law of nature the immortal Grotius led the way, in his excellent book Concerning the Rights of War and Peace: and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities,* who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period now under consideration, with those that were in vogue before that time. [æ There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement which was introduced into the science of morals by those great men, who studied that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family, under the inspection and government of one common and universal parent.†] It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law, and the duties of Christian morality, have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature and foundations were but imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, more clearly illustrated: the superiority which distinguishes the morality of the gospel from that course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature, more fully demonstrated, and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are every way adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started, concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, established with greater evidence and certainty. It may also be added, that the impiety of those infidels who have had the effrontery to maintain that the precepts of the gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of our nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate the minds, and to draw men off from the business, the duties, and enjoyments of life,‡ has been much more triumphantly refuted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than in any other period of the Christian church.

The state of the
Aristotelian and
Paracelsistic
philosophy.

XXX. To these reflections upon the state of learning and science in general, it may not be improper to add a particular and separate account of the progress and revolutions of philosophy in the Christian schools. At the beginning of this century almost all the European philosophers were divided into two classes, one of which comprehended the Peripatetics, and the other the Chemists, or Fire-philosophers, as they were often styled. These two classes con-

* See Adam. Frid. Glafey *Historia Juris Nature*; to which is subjoined his *Bibliotheca Juris Nature et Gentium*.

† This sentence, beginning with "There is

scarcely a discourse," and ending with "Universal Parent," is added by the translator.

‡ Rouss. *Contr. Soc.*

tended warmly for many years which should have the pre-eminence; and a great number of laboured and subtle productions were published during the course of this philosophical contest. The Peripatetics were in possession of the professorships in almost all the schools of learning, and looked upon all such as presumed, either to reject, or even amend the doctrines of Aristotle, as objects of indignation, little less criminal than traitors and rebels. It is however observable that the greatest part of these supercilious and persecuting doctors, if we except those of the academies of Tubingen, Altorf, Juliers, and Leipsic, were less attached to Aristotle himself than to his modern interpreters and commentators. The Chemists spread themselves through almost all Europe, and assumed the obscure and ambiguous title of Rosecrucian Brethren,* which drew at first some degree of respect, as it seemed to be borrowed from the arms of Luther, which were a cross placed upon a rose. They inveighed against the Peripatetics with a singular degree of bitterness and animosity, represented them as corrupters both of religion and philosophy, and published a multitude of treatises against them, which discovered little else than their folly and their malice. At the head of these fanatics were Robert Fludd,^b a native of England, and a man of surprising genius: Jacob Behmen, a shoemaker, who lived at Gorlitz; and Michael Mayer.^c These leaders of the sect were followed by John Baptist Helmont, and his son Francis, Christian Knorrius de Rosenroth, Kuhlman, Nollius, Sperber, and many others of various fame. A uniformity of opinion, and a spirit of concord, seem scarcely possible in such a society as this. For as a great part of its doctrine is derived from certain internal feelings, and certain flights of imagination, which can neither be comprehended nor defined, and is supported by certain testimonies of the external senses, whose reports are equally illusory and changeable; so it is remarkable, that among the more eminent writers

* The title of Rosecrucians evidently denotes the chemical philosophers, and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chemistry. The denomination itself is drawn from the science of chemistry; and they only who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words, *rosa* and *crux*, which signify, rose and cross, but of the latter of these words, and the Latin word *ros*, which signifies dew. Of all natural bodies, dew is the most powerful dissolvent of gold. The cross, in the chemical style, is equivalent to light; because the figure of the cross, X, exhibits, at the same time, the three letters of which the word *lux*, i. e. light, is compounded. Now *Lux* is called by this sect the seed or menstruum of the red dragon; or, in other words, that gross and corporeal light, which, when properly digested and modified, produces gold. From all this it follows, that a Rosecrucian philosopher is one who, by the interyention and assistance of the dew, seeks for light, or in other words, the substance called the Philosopher's Stone. All other explications of this term are false and chimerical. The interpretations that are

given of it by the chemists, who love, on all occasions, to involve themselves in intricacy and darkness, are invented merely to deceive those who are strangers to their mysteries. The true energy and meaning of this denomination of Rosecrucians did not escape the penetration and sagacity of Gassendi, as appears by his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ*, sect. xv. tom. iii. Opp. p. 261. It was, however, still more fully explained by Renaudot, a famous French physician, in his *Conférences Publiques*, tom. iv. p. 87. There is a great number of materials and anecdotes relating to the fraternity, rules, observances, and writings of the Rosecrucians, who made such a noise in this century, to be found in Arnoldi's *Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, part II. p. 1114.

^b See for an account of this singular man, from whose writings Jacob Behmen derived all his mystical and rapturous doctrine, Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 610; and *Histor. et Antiq. Academiæ Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 308. For an account of Helmont, father and son, see Hen. Witte, *Memor. Philosoph.*; Joach. Frid. Feller, in *Miscellan. Leibnitian.* Several writers besides Arnoldi have given an account of Jacob Behmen.*

^c See Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, t. i. p. 376.

* See for a further account of Jacob Behmen, sect. II. part II. chap. I. sect. XL. of this History.

of this sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the same tenets and sentiments. There are, nevertheless, some common principles that are generally embraced, and that serve as a centre of union to the society. They all maintain, that the dissolution of bodies, by the power of fire, is the only way through which men can arrive at true wisdom, and come to discern the first principles of things. They all acknowledge a certain analogy and harmony between the powers of nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe that the Deity governs the kingdom of grace by the same laws with which he rules the kingdom of nature; and hence it is that they employ chemical denominations to express the truths of religion. They all hold, that there is a sort of divine energy, or soul diffused through the frame of the universe, which some call *Archæus*, others, the Universal Spirit, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure and superstitious manner of what they call the signatures of things, of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic, and the various ranks and orders of demons. In fine, they all agree in throwing out the most crude, incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

The philosophy of
Gassendi.

XXXI. This controversy between the Chemists and Peripatetics was buried in silence and oblivion as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation, Gassendi and Des Cartes. The former, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with all the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of Digne, and professor of mathematics at Paris. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his contemporaries in acuteness, subtlety, and extent of genius, though he was much inferior to Gassendi in point of learning. In the year 1624, Gassendi attacked Aristotle, and the whole sect of his commentators and followers, with great resolution and ingenuity;^d but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself from all quarters by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissension and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an enterprise, that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work he had composed against the Aristotelians were made public; the other five were suppressed.* He also wrote against Fludd, and, by refuting him, refuted at the same time the Rosecrucian Brethren; and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labours with a favourable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place, and in pursuance of this design he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other

^d The title of this book against the Aristotelians is as follows:—"Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteleos Libri VII. in quibus præcipua totius Peripateticæ Doctrinæ

fundamenta excutuntur, opiniones vero, aut novæ aut ex vetustioribus obsoletæ, stabiliuntur."

* See Bougerelle, Vie de Gassendi, p. 17. 29.

words, Gassendi struck out that judicious method, which, by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational inquiry. In the application of this method, he had recourse chiefly to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from the science of metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere inquirer, animated with the love of truth.¹

The Cartesian philosophy.

XXXII. Des Cartes followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned the mathematics, which he had at first looked upon as the tree of knowledge, and employed the science of abstract ideas, or metaphysics, in the investigation of truth. Having accordingly laid down a few plain general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his first business was to form distinct notions of Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined together according to their mutual relations, connexions, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceeded still farther, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasonings in such a manner, that principles and consequences followed each other in the most accurate order, and that the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many: and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had Des Cartes published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of Europe, who had long entertained a high disgust against the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at, and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfall of their old system; and to diminish the growing reputation of the new philosophy. To execute this invidious purpose with the more facility, they not only accused Des Cartes of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagance of their malignity, as to bring a charge of atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary, when it is considered that they contended, not so much for their philosophical system as for the honours, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The Theosophists, Rosecrucians, and Chemists entered into this contest against Des Cartes, but conducted themselves with more moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian

¹ See Gassendi's *Institutiones Philosophiæ*; a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to show that those opinions,

of both the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

system.* The consequences of this dispute were favourable to the progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not all adopt the sentiments of Des Cartes, were nevertheless encouraged and animated by his example to carry on their inquiries with more freedom from the restraints of traditional and personal authority than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude under which Aristotle and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

Gassendi the chief
adversary of
Des Cartes.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of Des Cartes applauded in general the efforts he made towards the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths in which he proceeded without a guide in the search after truth. They also approved of his method of arising, with caution and accuracy, from the most simple, and as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth that was not clearly and distinctly apprehended as such. They went still farther, and unanimously acknowledged, that he had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths, which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowledgments did not hinder some of those who made them with the greatest sincerity from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They looked upon his account of the causes and principles of natural things to be for the most part hypothetical, founded on fancy rather than experience. Nay, they attacked the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as his ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others of a pernicious tendency, and adapted to engender the most dangerous errors; others again they considered as directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors was his own fellow-citizen Gassendi, who had made war before him upon the Aristotelians and Chemists; who in genius was his equal; in learning by much his superior; and whose mathematical knowledge was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles which supported the whole structure of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still farther; and in the place of the physical system of Des Cartes, substituted one that resembled not a little the natural philosophy of Epicurus, though far superior to it in solidity, much more rational, consistent, and perfect, being founded, not on the illusory visions of fancy, but on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience.^a This new and sagacious observer of nature had not many

* See Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes. As also the General Dictionary at the article Des Cartes.

^a See his *Disquisitio Metaphysica seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicam, et Responsa*, which are published in the third volume of his works, p. 283. Bernier, a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of Gassendi in his abridgment of it, published in

French at Lyons, in the year 1684, in eight volumes, 12mo. This abridgment will give the reader a clearer account of this philosophy than even the works of Gassendi himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are, besides, loaded with superfluous erudition. The life of Gassendi, accurately written by Bougerelle, a priest of the Oratory, was published at Paris in 1737.—See *Biblioth. Française*, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of Des Cartes. But what he wanted in number, was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those who adopted his philosophical system; for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in Europe, by persons distinguished in the highest degree by their indefatigable application and their extensive knowledge, both of natural philosophy and mathematics. It is also observable, that he had but few disciples in his own country; but among the English, who, in his time, were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. Nay, it is remarkable, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as Whichcote, Gale, Cudworth, and More, who entered the lists with Hobbes (whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of Gassendi than to the system of Des Cartes), and revived ancient Platonism in order to crush under its weight the philosopher of Malmesbury, placed Gassendi and Plato in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former.¹

Two leading philosophical sects, viz.—The Mathematical and Metaphysical. XXXIV. From this period must be dated that famous schism that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though almost agreed concerning those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about the principles of human knowledge, and the fundamental points from whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of truth. Of these sects the one may properly be called Metaphysical, and the other Mathematical. The Metaphysical sect follows the system of Des Cartes; the Mathematical one directs its researches by the principles of Gassendi. The former looks upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; the latter seeks after it by observation and experience. The follower of Des Cartes attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of Gassendi, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and has principally recourse to the reports of sense, and the contemplation of nature. The former, from a small number of abstract truths, deduces a long series of propositions in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowledge of God and nature, of body and spirit; the latter admits these metaphysical truths, but at the same time denies the possibility of erecting upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy, without the aid of assiduous observation and repeated experiments, which are the most natural and effectual means of philosophical progress and improvement. The one, eagle-like, soars, with an intrepid flight, to the first fountain of truth, and to the general relations and final causes of things; and descending from thence, explains, by them, the various changes and appearances of nature, the attributes and councils of the Deity, the moral constitution and duties of man, the frame and structure of the universe. The other, more diffident and cautious, observes with attention and examines with assiduity the objects that are before his eyes; and arises gradually from them to the first cause, and the primordial principle of things. The Cartesians suppose, that many things are known by man with the utmost certainty; and hence their propensity to form their opinions and doctrines into a regular system. The followers of Gassendi consider man as in a state of ignorance with

¹ See the Preface to the Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*; as, also, the Remarks that are added to that transla-

tion. Dr. Mosheim is the author of that Translation and of these Remarks.

respect to an immense number of things, and, consequently, think it incumbent upon them to suspend their judgment in a multitude of cases, until time and experience dispel their darkness; and hence it is also, that they consider a system as an attempt of too adventurous a nature, and by no means proportioned to the narrow extent of human knowledge; or, at least, they think, that the business of system-making ought to be left to the philosophers of future times, who, by joining together the observations and experience of many ages, shall have acquired a more satisfactory and accurate knowledge of nature than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests concerning the first principles of human knowledge, produced various debates upon other subjects of the utmost moment and importance; such as, the nature of God, the essence of matter, the elements or constituent principles of bodies, the laws of motion, the manner in which the Divine Providence exerts itself in the government of the world, the frame and structure of the universe, the nature, union, and joint operations, of soul and body. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections, of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man.^a The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance; and knowing that differences in opinion are inevitable where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety.^b

The Metaphysical
or Cartesian
philosophy im-
proved and pro-

XXXV. All those who had either adopted, without exception, the principles of Des Cartes, or who, without going so far, had approved of the method and rules laid down by

^a Voltaire published in the year 1740, at Amsterdam, a pamphlet, entitled, *La Méthaphysique de Newton, ou Parallèle des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, which, though superficial and inaccurate, may nevertheless be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are, nevertheless, desirous to know how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

^b It is abundantly known that Des Cartes and his metaphysical followers were accused by many of striking at the foundations of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn even in our times. See, in the miscellaneous works of Father Hardouin, his *Atheists Unmasked*. Among these pretended Atheists, Des Cartes, with his two famous disciples, Anthony le Grand, and Silvan Regis, hold the first rank; nor is Father Malebranche, though he seems rather chargeable with fanaticism than atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true, Hardouin, who gives so liberally a place in the atheistical class to these great men, was himself a visionary dreamer, whose judgment, in

many cases, is little to be respected; but it is also true, that, in the work now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those of the followers of Aristotle and Gassendi, who have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even Voltaire, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself, seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of Des Cartes. On the other hand, it must be observed, that these accusers are censured in their turn by several modern metaphysicians. Gassendi, for example, is charged by Arnauld with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with Des Cartes, and by Leibnitz with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion. See Des Maizeaux, *Recueil de diverses piéces sur la Philosophie*, t. ii. p. 166.* Leibnitz has also ventured to affirm, that Sir Isaac Newton and his followers rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundations of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings on both sides are filled with rash and indecent reproaches of this kind.

* If Dr. Mosheim refers to the 2nd edit. of Des Maizeaux, *Recueil*, the page is inaccurately quoted; for it is at p. 155 of the volume above mentioned, that Gassendi is censured by Leibnitz. It may be further observed, that the

censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian. Leibnitz says, that Gassendi appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.

pagat-d with success. him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating the Metaphysical species of philosophy; and the number of its votaries was prodigious, particularly in France and in the United Provinces. But among the members of this philosophical sect, there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially Spinoza, and others who, like Balthasar Becker,¹ made use of the principles of Des Cartes, to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others. This circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The metaphysical philosophy fell, however, afterwards into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by Malebranche, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtlety; and by Leibnitz, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that have appeared in the world.² Neither of these great men, indeed, adopted all the principles and doctrines of Des Cartes; but they both approved, upon the whole, of his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved, by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of Leibnitz, who, rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgment; for Malebranche having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination, was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

The progress of
the Mathematical
sect.

XXXVI. The Mathematical philosophy already mentioned was much less studied and adopted than the Metaphysical system, and its followers in France were very few in number. But it met with a favourable reception in Britain, whose philosophers perceiving in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of Verulam's wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental tenderness, and have still continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of London, which may be considered as the philosophical seminary of the nation, took it under their protection, and have neither spared expense nor pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it subservient to the purposes of life. It owed, more especially, a great part of its progress and improvement to the countenance, industry, and genius of that immortal protector of science, the pious and venerable Mr. Boyle, whose memory will ever be precious to the worthy and the wise, the friends of religion, learning, and mankind. The illustrious names of Barrow, Wallis, and Locke, may also be added to the list of those who contributed to the progress of natural knowledge. Nor were the learned divines of the English nation (though that order has often excited the complaints of philosophers, and been supposed to behold with a jealous and suspicious eye the efforts of philosophy, as dangerous to the cause of religion) less zealous than the other patrons of science in this noble cause. On the contrary, they looked

¹ See for a further account of the particular tenets and opinions of Becker, sect. ii. part II. chap. II. sect. XXXV. of this century.

² For an ample and interesting account of Malebranche and his philosophy, see Fontenelle's *Eloge des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, tom. i. p. 317; and for a view of the errors and defects of his metaphysical system, see Hardouin's *Atheist Unmasked*,

in his *Cœuvres Mêlées*, p. 43. Fontenelle has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of Leibnitz in the work already quoted, vol. ii. p. 9; but a much more ample one has been published in German by Charles Gunther Lewis, in his history of the Leibnizian Philosophy. However, the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his *Letters to Kottolt*, published at Leipsic in three vols.

upon the improvement of natural knowledge not only as innocent, but of the highest utility and importance; as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world, and to furnish new supports to the cause of religion; and also as agreeable, both to the laws and the spirit of the Gospel and to the sentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was that those doctors who, in the lectures founded by Mr. Boyle, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt the succours of philosophy with the most happy and triumphant success. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable industry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowledge into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was Sir Isaac Newton,^k whose name was revered, and his genius admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence, both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection.^l The English look upon it as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or Metaphysical system has exhibited in its followers many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some of the most horrid impiety.

The philosophers
who adopted
neither of these
systems.

XXXVII. The two famous philosophical sects now mentioned, deprived, indeed, all the ancient systems of natural science, both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; the liberty of thinking being restored by Des Cartes and Newton, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human understanding, a variety of sects sprang up. Some trusting in their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy than for the solidity of their judgment, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but the number of their

^k & Mr. Hume's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes, that do honour to this elegant painter of minds. "In Newton," says he, "this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious in admitting no principles but such as were founded in experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new and unusual: from modesty, ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind, and thence less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions: more anxious to merit than to acquire fame: he was, from these causes, long unknown to the world, but his reputation, at last, broke out with a lustre, which scarce any writer during his own lifetime had ever before attained. While Newton

seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he showed, at the same time, the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity in which they ever did and ever will remain."

^l The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life and his literary and philosophical merit given by Fontenelle, in his *Eloge des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, t. ii. p. 293—323.—See also the *Biblioth. Angloise*, t. xv. part II. p. 545; and *Biblioth. Raisonnée*, t. vi. part II. p. 478. & See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. Maclaurin's *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries*, &c.

disciples was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory, and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There was another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind, indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who, terrified at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as appeared most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no further. The philosophers of this class are generally termed Eclectics. From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects, some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable, by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable doctrine (shall I call it, or jargon) of the Sceptics, that had long been buried in that silence and oblivion it so justly deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were, Sanchez, a physician of Toulouse,^m de la Mothe le Vayer,ⁿ Huet, bishop of Avranches,^o to whom we may add, without temerity, the famous Bayle,^p who, by the erudition and wit that abound in his voluminous works has acquired such a distinguished reputation in the Republic of Letters.

^m There is still extant a famous book of this writer, entitled, *De eo quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works, and an account of his life, was published in 4to, at Thoulouse, in the year 1636.—See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Sanchez; as also Villenandi's *Scepticismus de Bellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

ⁿ See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Vayer.

^o Huet's book *Concerning the Weakness of Human Reason*, was published after his death, in French, at Amsterdam, in the year 1723, and lately in Latin. It appears, however, that this eminent writer had, long before the composition of this book, recommended the sceptical method of conducting philosophical researches, and looked upon this method as the best adapted to establish the truth of Christianity upon solid foundations. See the *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 236, and *Demonstrat. Evangelicæ* Præf. sect. iv. p. 9, where he commends their manner of proceeding, who, by sceptical

arguments, invalidate all philosophical principles, before they begin to prove the truth of Christianity to those who doubt of its evidence. It is well known that the Jesuits, who were particularly favoured by Huet, have, on many occasions, employed this method to throw dust into the eyes of the Protestants, and thus lead them blindfold into the Romish communion: and that they still continue to practise the same insidious instrument of seduction.

^p Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of Bayle is abundantly and universally known. His life, composed by Des Maizeaux, was published in the year 1732, at the Hague, in two volumes 8vo. The scepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted, with great learning and force of argument, by the late Mr. Crousaz, in a voluminous French work entitled, *Traité du Pyrrhonisme*, of which Mr. Formey has given an elegant and judicious abridgment under the title of *Triomphe de l'Evidence*.

SECTION II.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE MORE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

The popes of this century.

I. HIPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, under the papal name of Clement VIII., continued to rule the church of Rome at the commencement of this century, having been elected to that high dignity towards the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities and insidious dexterity of this pontiff, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the protestant religion, and extending the limits of the Romish church, are universally acknowledged; but it is much questioned whether his prudence was equal to the arduous nature of his station as pontiff, and the critical circumstances of an incidental kind that arose during his administration.* He was succeeded in the year 1605 by Leo XI. of the house of Medicis, who died a few weeks after his election, and thus left the papal chair open to Camillo Borghese, who filled it under the denomination of Paul V. This pontiff was of a haughty and violent spirit, jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner by his rash and unsuccessful contest with the Venetians.^b Gregory XV.,^c who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though he was no less defective than his predecessor in equity and clemency

* This pontiff had an edition of the Vulgate published, which was very different from that of Pope Sixtus; and this is one of the many instances of the contrariety of opinions that has prevailed amongst the infallible heads of the church of Rome.

^b This contest arose, partly from two edicts of the republic of Venice for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the pope at his requisition. It is not surprising that these proceedings of the Venetians, however just and equitable, should inflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff who called himself Vice-God, the Monarch of Christendom, and the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence. Accordingly, Paul laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict; while the Venetians, on the other hand, declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void; and banished from their territory the Jesuits and Capuchins, who

had openly disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. This controversy between the pope and the Venetians produced several important pieces, composed by Sarpi on the side of the republic, and by Baronius and Bellarmine in behalf of the pontiff. The controversy concerning the nature and limits of the pope's pretended supremacy is judiciously stated, and the papal pretensions accurately examined, by Sarpi, in his history of this tyrannical interdict, which, in Italian, occupies the fourth volume of his works, and was translated into Latin by Mr. William Bedell, of Cambridge. It was Paul V. that dishonoured his title of Holiness, and cast an eternal stain upon his infallibility, by an express approbation of the doctrine of Suarez, the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings.

^c His family name was Alexander Ludovisi.

towards those that had separated themselves from the church of Rome. An unjust severity against the friends of the Reformation is, indeed, the general and inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs; for, without this, they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. A pope with sentiments of toleration and charity towards those who refuse a blind submission to his opinions and decisions is a contradiction in terms. Urban VIII., whose family name was Maffei Barberini, and who, by his interest in the conclave, ascended the papal throne, in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius;^d but nothing can equal the rigour and barbarity with which he treated all who bore the name of protestants. He may be indeed considered as a good and equitable ruler of the church, when compared with Innocent X. of the family of Pamfili, who succeeded him, in the year 1644.—This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy; for he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the government of the church, to the disposal of Donna Olympia,^e a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition.^f His zealous endeavours to prevent the peace of Westphalia, however odious they may appear when considered in themselves, ought not to be reckoned among his personal crimes, since it is to be supposed that any other pontiff, in his place, would have made the same attempts without hesitation or remorse. He was succeeded in the papal chair, in the year 1655, by Fabio Chigi, who assumed the title of Alexander VII., and who, though less odious than his predecessor, was nevertheless possessed of all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope, and without which the papal jurisdiction and majesty cannot be maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn much to his disadvantage, by several ingenious and eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct.^g The two Clements, IX. and X., who were elected

^d See Leonis Alatii Apes Urbane, of which Fabricius published a second edition at Hamburg. This little work is a sort of Index, or list, of all the learned and eminent men that adorned Rome, under the pontificate of Urban VIII., and experienced the munificence and liberality of that pontiff; and their number is far from being small. The Latin poems of Urban, which are not without a considerable portion of wit and elegance, have passed through several editions. ☞ These poems were composed while he was yet a cardinal. After his elevation to the pontificate, he published a remarkable edition of the Romish Breviary, and several Bulls; among which, that which abolishes the order of Female Jesuits, and certain festivals, those relating to image-worship and to the condemnation of Jansenius's Augustinus, and that which confers the title of Eminence upon the cardinal-legates, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of Malta, are the most worthy of notice.

^e ☞ This Donna Olympia Maldachini was

his brother's widow, with whom he had lived, in an illicit commerce, before his elevation to the pontificate, and in which his holiness continued afterwards.

^f See the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. p. 102, tom. iv. p. 12, of the last edition published at Geneva. For an account of the disputes between this pontiff and the French, see Bougeant, *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*, tom. iv. p. 56.

^g See *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iv. p. 16, 77; *Mémoires de M. Joly*, tom. ii. p. 186, 210, 237; Archenholtz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 125. The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man of a mean genius, or unequal to great and difficult undertakings. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of Munster, where he was sent in the character of nuncio. Some writers relate, that while he was in Germany, he had formed the design of abjuring popery, and

successively to the papacy in the years 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transactions that deserve to be transmitted to posterity.^b This was not the case with Benedict Odeschalchi, who is known in the list of pontiffs by the denomination of Innocent XI. and was raised to that high dignity in the year 1677.^c This respectable pontiff acquired a very high and permanent reputation by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry, and also by other solid and eminent virtues. But it appeared manifestly, by his example, that those pontiffs who respect truth, and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may indeed form noble plans, but will never be able to bring them into execution, or, at least, to give them that measure of stability and perfection which is the object of their wishes. By his example and administration, it appeared that the wisest institutions and the most judicious establishments will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused, with vain rites and senseless ceremonies.^d Be that as it may, all the wise and salutary regulations of Innocent XI. were suffered to go almost to ruin by the criminal indolence of Peter Ottoboni, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1689, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. A laudable attempt was made to revive them by Innocent XII., a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents, whose name was Pignatelli, and who, in the year 1691, succeeded Alexander in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an arduous task, such an Herculean labour, as the reformation of the church and court of Rome; nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long after his decease.^e The pontiff whose reign concluded this century was John Francis Albani, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1699, and assumed the name of Clement XI. He surpassed in learning the whole

embracing the Protestant religion; but was deterred from the execution of this purpose by the example of his cousin count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons, on his way to Germany, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that Chigi was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1683.

^b Clement IX. was of the family of Rospigliosi, and the family-name of Clement X. was Altieri; see *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 126, 131. There are upon record several transactions of Clement IX. that do him honour, and prove his dislike of nepotism, and his love of peace and justice.

^c Some maintain, and with the strongest appearance of truth, that this pontiff had formerly been a soldier, though this report is

treated as groundless by count Turrezonico, in his *Dissertation De Suppositis Militaribus Stipendiis Bened. Odeschalchi*. See an interesting account of this pontiff in Bale's Dictionary, at the article Innocent XI.

^d See *Journal Universel*, tom. i. p. 441, tom. vi. p. 306. The present pope, Benedict XIV., attempted, in the year 1743, the canonization of Innocent XI.; but the king of France, instigated by the Jesuits, has always opposed this design, and that more especially on account of the misunderstandings that always subsisted between Lewis XIV. and Innocent, of which more hereafter.

^e For an account of the character, morals, and election of Innocent XII., see the *Letters of cardinal Noris*, published in the fifth volume of his works, p. 362, 365.

* This note was written during the life of Benedict XIV.

college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire at least to govern well; but he was very far from opposing, with a proper degree of vigour and resolution, the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the church over which he presided; on the contrary, he inconsiderately aimed at what he thought the honour and advantage of the church (that is, the glory and interests of its pontiff), by measures that proved detrimental to both; and thus showed, in a striking example, that popes, even of the best sort, may fall imperceptibly into the greatest mistakes, and commit the most pernicious blunders, through an imprudent zeal for extending their jurisdiction, and augmenting the influence and lustre of their station.¹

II. The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish church to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of Paganism, have been already mentioned.

We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in Europe, to oppress the Protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious Reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtle wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and often of impious frauds, the arts of dissimulation, in short, all possible means fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the Reformed churches, but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, laid in secret, and the bigoted and persecuting house of Austria was pitched upon to put it in execution. However, as injustice is seldom so insolent as not to seek for some pretext to mask, or at least to diminish its deformity, so the church of Rome endeavoured beforehand to justify the persecution, of which the flame was ready to break out. For this purpose, the pens of the perfidious and learned Scioppius,² of the Jesuits Tanner, Possevin, Hager, Hederic, and Forer, jurists of Dilligen, were employed to represent the treaty of peace, made between Charles V. and the Protestants of Germany, as unjust, null, and even rendered void by the Protestants themselves, by their departing from, or at least perverting, by various changes and modifications, the confession of Augsburg.³ This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who of their own accord defended their

¹ In the year 1752 there appeared, at Padua, a Life of Clement XI. composed in French, by the learned and eloquent M. Laftau, bishop of Sisteron, in two volumes 8vo. The same year Mr. Reboulet, chancellor of Avignon, published in two volumes in 4to his *Histoire de Clément XI.* These two productions, and more especially the latter, are written with uncommon elegance; but they both abound with historical errors, which the French writers, in general, are at too little pains to avoid. Besides, they are both composed rather in the strains of panegyric, than of history. An attentive reader will, however, see without pain, even in these panegyrics, that Clement XI., notwithstanding his acknowledged sagacity and prudence, took several rash and incon-

siderate steps, in order to augment the power and multiply the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs; and thus, through his own tomerity, involved himself in various perplexities.

² Scioppius seems rather to merit the titles of malevolent and furious, than that of perfidious, unless his turning papist be considered by Dr. Mosheim as an instance of perfidy. This is the intemperate and odious satirist who was camed by the servants of the English ambassador at Madrid, for the invectives he had thrown out against king James I. in a book which was burned by the hands of the common hangman at Paris.

³ See Christ. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 768.

communion against this instance of popish calumny; but it was also refuted by public authority, even by the express order of John George, elector of Saxony. The task was committed to Matthew Hoe, who, in the years 1628 and 1631, published, in two volumes, an accurate and laborious defence of the Protestants, entitled *Defensio Pupillæ Evangelicæ*. The mouth of calumny was not stopped by these performances. The accusers continued their clamours, multiplied their libels, and had recourse to the succours of indecent raillery and sarcastical wit, to cover as well as they were able the striking defects of a bad cause. On the other hand, the Lutheran writers exerted themselves in exposing the sophistry and refuting the arguments and invectives of their adversaries.

Commotions in
Austria and
Bohemia.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the arms of the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigoted instruments, broke out in Austria, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted and opposed by their Roman Catholic adversaries.* The solemn treaties and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigour, or strength, sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of Rome aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to the resolution of opposing force to force, and of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men, whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than as the enemies of their souls. Accordingly, a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants, and they began to avenge, with great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed, that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were struck with terror at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohemians, therefore, apprehending still further opposition and vexation from bigotry, animated by a spirit of vengeance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of the emperor Matthias, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorized, by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly, Frederick V. elector Palatine, who professed the reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned at Prague.†

* Raupachius, in his *Austria Evangelica*, a German work with a Latin title, has given an accurate account of this persecution and these commotions. The same learned and worthy author had formed the design of publishing an authentic and circumstantial relation of the

sufferings of the Protestants in Styria, Moravia, and Carinthia, with an account of the perfidious snares that were laid for them, the whole drawn from unexceptionable records; but death prevented the execution of this design.

† Besides Caroli and Jagerus, who have

The Bohemian
war.—Frederic
V.

IV. This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the Protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederick was defeated, before Prague, by the Imperial army, in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories, and his ample treasures, to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the Reformation, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated, many were put to death; and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend their unwilling necks under the yoke of Rome. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I. elector of Saxony, who, partly from a principle of hatred towards the reformed,^a and partly from considerations of a political kind, reinforced with his troops the imperial army. This invasion of the Palatinate was the occasion of that long and bloody war that was so fatal to Germany, and in which the greatest part of the princes of Europe were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of Denmark, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine, unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained, that the invasion of Bohemia, by this unhappy prince, was no just subject of offence to the emperor; and that the house of Austria, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged by any means to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavourable to the allies.

composed the Ecclesiastical History of this century, see Burch, Gotth. Struvii Syntagma Historiæ Germanicæ, p. 1487, 1510, 1523, 1536; as also the writers which he recommends. See also the Histoire de Louis XIII. composed by the learned and accurate Le Vassor, tom. iii. p. 223.

^a By the Reformed, as has been already observed, we are to understand the Calvinists, and also, in general, all Protestants that are not of the Lutheran persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution, against a people generously struggling for the Protestant religion, and the rights of conscience.

^r See the Commentarii de Bello Bohemico-Germanico, ab A. C. 1617 ad A. 1630, in 4to; Abraham Scultet, Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ suæ, p. 86. It is well

known, that the Roman Catholics, and more especially Martin Becan, a Jesuit, persuaded Matthew Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth, and the elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the Elector Palatine, which was the cause of the Reformed religion, as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of Lutheranism, and to recommend to him the cause and interests of the house of Austria. See Unschuldige Nachricht, A. 1747, p. 858. What Dr. Mosheim observes here may be true; but then it is as true that Matthew Hoe must have been a great fool, or a great knave, to listen to such insinuations, not only on account of their glaring absurdity, but also considering the persons from whom they came. This is the same Hoe that is mentioned above as a learned defender of the Lutheran faith.

The progress of
the German or
Bohemian war.

V. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of popery and Rome with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics, that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared, to convert or destroy. The flame of ambition that burned within him, was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he audaciously carried his arms through a great part of Germany, suffered his generals to vex, with impunity, those princes and states which refused a blind obedience to the court of Rome, and showed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a scheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and sacred. The elector of Saxony's zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly discovered by his warm and ungenerous opposition to the unfortunate Frederick, together with the lamentable discord that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction that the difficulties which seemed to oppose the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly, the persons concerned in this grand enterprise began to act their respective parts. In the year 1629, Ferdinand II., to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible Restitution-edict, by which the Protestants were ordered to restore to the church of Rome all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of the religious peace, concluded in the preceding century.* This edict was principally owing to the suggestions of the Jesuits. That greedy and ambitious order claimed a great part of these goods and possessions, as the recompense due to their labours in the cause of religion; and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient and real proprietors.† This contest, indeed, was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier, who, sword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands of the lawful possessor, without form of process, whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest.‡

Gustavus Adol-
phus interferences.

VI. Germany groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the assertor

* See for an illustration of this matter, the authors mentioned by Struvius, in his *Synagma Histor. Germanicæ*, p. 1553.

† See *Chris. Aug. Salig. Hist. August. Confessionis*, t. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. sect. xxv. p. 810.

‡ "When the consequences of these iniquitous and barbarous proceedings were represented to this Emperor, and he was assured that the country must be utterly ruined, in case the Bohemians, rendered desperate by his enormous cruelty and oppression, should exert themselves in defence of their liberties, and endeavour to repel force by force; he is reported to have answered, with great zeal and calmness, "*Malum regnum vastatum, quam*

damnum." See the *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ*, &c. p. 152, a work published (probably in Holland, as would seem by the type) in the year 1648, in 24mo. This little book contains an ample recital of the deplorable effects of lawless power, inhuman bigotry, and blood-thirsty zeal; and proves, by numberless facts, that Dr. Mosheim had the strongest evidences for the account he gives of Ferdinand and his missionaries. It is impossible to reflect upon the sanguinary manner of such converters, without expressing, at the same time, a generous detestation and abhorrence of their unjust and violent proceedings. N.

of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others by a principle of fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interests, which choked in their breast all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth, nevertheless, at this critical season; Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and tyranny of the house of Austria. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld with uneasiness the overgrowing power of that aspiring house, he set sail for Germany, in the year 1629, with a small army, and, by his repeated victories, blasted in a short time the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the protestant religion in the empire. These hopes, indeed, seemed to revive in the year 1632, when this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of Lutzen; but this unspeakable loss was in some measure made up, in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding Germany, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

The conclusion of
the thirty years'
war. Peace of
Westphalia.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardour, the wounds of Germany were closed, and the drooping states of Europe were revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, so called from the cities of Munster and Osnaburg, where the negociations were held, and that famous treaty concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, nor all the advantages they had in view; for the emperor, among other less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to reinstate the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the Upper Palatinate to its ancient and lawful proprietor. But they, nevertheless, obtained by this peace privileges and advantages which the votaries of Rome beheld with much displeasure and uneasiness; and it is unquestionably evident that the treaty of Westphalia gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany. By this treaty the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of Rome. By it the Restitution-edict, which commanded the Protestants to restore to the Romish church the ecclesiastical revenues and lands they had taken possession of after that peace was abrogated, and both the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. It would be entering into a very long detail, were we to enumerate the advantages that accrued to the protestant princes from this treaty.* All this was a source of vexation to

* See Archenholtz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 7—20, in which there are many very interesting anecdotes relating to the life, exploits, and death of Gustavus. The learned compiler of these Memoirs has also thrown much light upon the history of this period, and of the peace that terminated this long and dreadful war.

* An account of this whole matter, sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the most inquisitive reader, may be found in that most elaborate and excellent work, compiled by the very learned and judicious John Godfrey de Meyer, under the following title: *Acta Pacis Westphalicæ et Executionis ejus Norembergensis*. See also the more compendious,

the court of Rome, and made its pontiff feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. He accordingly used various stratagems, without being very scrupulous in the choice, in order to annul this treaty, or elude its effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since neither the emperor, nor the princes that had embarked in his cause, thought it advisable to involve themselves anew in the tumults of war, whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal effects they had lately escaped with so much difficulty. The treaty, therefore, was executed in all its parts; and all the articles that had been agreed upon at Munster and Osnaburg were confirmed and ratified, in the year 1650, at Nuremburg.*

The Protestants VIII. After this period, the court of Rome and its vexed and persecuted by Rome and its votaries. creatures were laid under a considerable degree of restraint. They did not any longer dare to make war in an open and public manner upon the Protestants, since the present state of things blasted all the hopes they had fondly entertained of extinguishing the light of the Reformation, by destroying, or reducing under their ghostly yoke, the princes and states that had encouraged and protected it in their territories. But, wherever they could exert the spirit of persecution with impunity, there they oppressed the Protestants in the most grievous manner, and, in defiance of the most solemn conventions, and of the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus in Hungary, during the space of ten years,⁷ both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations.⁸ The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many orders of men, and more especially of the Jesuits, both before and after the period now under consideration, are not to be numbered. In Poland, all those who ventured to differ from the pope found, by a bitter experience, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church was held sacred, or even regarded at Rome; for many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts; nay, frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime.⁹ The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the valleys of Piedmont, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty (and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685) on account of their magnanimous and steadfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution

though valuable work of Adami, bishop of Hierapolis, entitled, *Relatio Historico de Pacificatione Osnaburgo-Monasteriensis*; of which the illustrious author published a new edition at Leipsic, in the year 1737, more accurate and ample than the preceding one. We must not omit here the ingenious Father Bougeant's elegant history of this treaty, which, though chiefly drawn from the papers of the French ambassadors, is, nevertheless, generally speaking, composed with accuracy, impartiality, and candour. It was published at Paris, in the year 1746, in six volumes in 8vo, under the title of *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*.

* Pope Innocent X. opposed to this treaty of peace, in the year 1651, a flaming Bull; on which Horpbeek published, at Utrecht, in 1652, an ample and learned commentary, en-

titled, *Examen Bullæ Papalis, quâ Innocentius X. abrogare nititur Pacem Germaniæ*. This Bull might, perhaps, have produced some effect upon the emperor and his allies, had it been properly gilded.

⁷ From 1671 to 1681.

⁸ See *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, p. 69; *Pauli Debrezeni Historia Ecclesiæ Reformate in Hungaria*, lib. ii. p. 447; *Schelhornius*, in *Museo Helvetico*, tom. vii. p. 46—90.

⁹ See *Ad. Regenvolscii Historia Ecclesiæ Sclavonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216, 235, 253. The grievances which the dissenters from the Church of Rome suffered in Poland after Regenvolscius, may be learned from various memorials that have been published in our times.

was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the dukes of Savoy.^b In Germany the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes;^c and all those infractions were owing to a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority and extending the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. And indeed, as long as that church and its assuming pontiff shall persist in maintaining that they have a right to extend their lordly sceptre over all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace. They will always be considered as rebellious subjects, against whom the greatest acts of severity and violence are lawful.

The Moors banished out of Spain, and the Protestants persecuted in France.

IX. The zealous instruments of the court of Rome accomplished, at length, in this century, what had often been attempted without success, the delivering Spain from the infidelity of the Moors, and France from the heresy of the Protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of a great part of Spain, had hitherto lived in that kingdom mixed with the other inhabitants of the country, and their number was still considerable. They were Christians, at least in their external profession and manners; industrious also, and inoffensive; and, upon the whole, good and useful subjects; but they were strongly suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrine of Mahomet, which was the religion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased their clamorous remonstrances until a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious, out of the Spanish territories. This imprudent step was highly detrimental to the kingdom of Spain, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present times; but the church, whose interests and dominion are, in popish countries, considered as distinct from the interest and authority of the state, and of a much more sublime and excellent nature, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors.^d In proportion as the community lost, the church gained; and thus the public good was sacrificed to the demands of bigotry and superstition.

In France the persecuting spirit of the church of Rome exhibited scenes still more shocking. The Protestants of that kingdom, commonly called Huguenots, after having groaned, for a long space of time, under various forms of cruelty and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death by secret conspiracies, or open tyranny and violence, were at length obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight, or to profess, against their consciences, the Romish religion. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the History of the Reformed Church.^e

^b See Gilles, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, published at Geneva, in 4to, in the year 1656, chap. xlviii. p. 339.

^c The histories of the grievances suffered by the protestants of Germany on account of their religion, that have been composed by

Struvius and Hoffman, contain ample details of this matter.

^d See Michael Gerdes's *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 59.

^e See c. ii. of the second part of this section.

The court of Rome
falls in its at-
tempts upon
England.

X. All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back Great Britain and Ireland under the yoke of Rome; but all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry and the hatred of the protestant religion had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy, at one blow, James I., the prince of Wales, and both Houses of Parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed for that purpose in the vaults that lay under the House of Lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the protestant religion.¹ This odious conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of the Gunpowder treason.²

This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the court of Rome, which carried on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence, and more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities,³ though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths, through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church; the Queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of France, was warmly devoted to the interests of Popery; and from all this it seemed probable enough that, though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between England and Rome.⁴ This prospect, which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of Popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the King and Parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles, and his imprudent and bigoted counsellor Laud, were brought to the scaffold; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of unparalleled resolution, dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore even the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the commonwealth of England.

The hopes of Rome and its votaries were nevertheless revived by the

¹ There is a letter extant, written by Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, to his wife, after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition and bigotry, and shows abundantly their infernal spirit and tendency. The following passage will confirm this judgment: "Now for my intention," says Digby, "let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life but zeal to God's religion." See the Papers relating to the Popish plot, published by the orders of Secretary Coventry.

² See Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, livr. xvii. tom. viii. p. 40; Jo. Henr. Heideggeri *Historia Papatus*, Period. vii. p. 211, 291, &c.

³ Mr. Hume, speaking of Laud's learning and morals, expresses himself in the following manner: "This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone and abstinence from pleasure could deserve the name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise." See Hume's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 193.

⁴ See Urban Cerri, *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 915; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 194.

restoration of Charles II. and from that period grew more lively and sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities,¹ had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatized from the Protestant faith. Charles, indeed, was not a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system. Indolent and voluptuous on the one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontiff could expect that zeal and industry, that were necessary to force upon the English nation a religion so contrary to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people as popery was.² This zeal was found in his bigoted successor James II.; but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purposes; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of Rome, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown he openly attempted to restore to its former vigour, both in England and Ireland, the authority of the Roman pontiff, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people that had ever been held most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on William prince of Orange, son-in-law to their despotic monarch, by whose wisdom and valour things were so conducted, that James was obliged to retire from his dominions, and to abdicate the crown;

¹ Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. book iii. p. 603, 606; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 233, 237, 534; Rapin Thoyras, Histoire de l'Angleterre, liv. xxiii. vol. ix. p. 160.

² Such is the representation given of Charles II. by all historians; so that Dr. Mosheim is excusable in mistaking a part of this monarch's character, which was known to very few before him. Mr. Hume, whose history of the reign of that prince is a masterpiece in every respect, gave a like account of Charles, as fluctuating between Deism and Popery. But this eminent historian having had occasion, during his residence at Paris, to peruse the manuscript memoirs of king James II. which were written by himself, and are kept in the Scots College there, received from them new information with respect to the religious character of Charles; and was convinced that his zeal for Popery went much farther than has been generally imagined. For it appears, with the utmost evidence, from these memoirs, that the king had laid with his ministry a formal plan for subverting the constitution in favour of Popery; that the intro-

duction of Popery, as the established religion, was the great and principal object which Charles had in view when he entered into the French alliance, which was concluded at Versailles in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by Lord Arundel of Wardour. By this treaty, Lewis was to give Charles 200,000 pounds a-year in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to establish the Roman Catholic religion in England; and to supply him also with 6000 men in case of any insurrection. The division of the United Provinces between England and France was another article of this treaty. But we are told that the subversion of the Protestant religion in England was the point that Charles had chiefly at heart; and that he insisted warmly on beginning with the execution of this part of the treaty; but the duchess of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war. "The king," says Mr. Hume, "was so zealous a papist, that he wept for joy when he entertained the project of reuniting his kingdom to the Catholic church." See the Corrections and additions to Mr. Hume's History of Charles II. p. 238, in the note.

and the Roman pontiff, with all his adherents, were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in England.¹

Milder methods
are employed by
Rome against
the Protestant
cause.

XI. When the more prudent defenders and patrons of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent and sanguinary attempts to establish its authority, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and, instead of conquering the Protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of Rome by the insinuating influence of secret artifice. This way of proceeding was approved by many of the votaries of Rome, but they were not all agreed about the particular manner of employing it, and therefore followed different methods. Some had recourse to the appointment of public disputations or conferences between the principal doctors of the contending parties; and this from a notion, which past experience had rendered so vain and chimerical, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least be persuaded to look upon the Roman catholics with less aversion and disgust. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches; and that, in order to promote this salutary purpose, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those matters of controversy that had been hitherto looked upon as of the highest moment and importance. A different manner of proceeding was thought more advisable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of Rome, than for their skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, taught them a new art of theological war, and furnished them with a new and subtle method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

Theological conferences held between the doctors of both churches.

XII. There was a famous conference held at Ratisbon, in the year 1601, at the joint desire of Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis, elector Palatine, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on the one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the Protestants and Roman catholics are reducible, even the rule of faith and the judge of controversies. In the year 1615, a conference was held at Newberg, between James Heilbronner, a learned Lutheran, and James Keller, a celebrated Jesuit, by the appointment of Wolfgang William, prince Palatine, who had a little before that time embraced the Romish faith. But the most famous of all these conferences was that held in the year 1645, at Thorn, by the express order of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches. This meeting, which was designed to heal the division that reigned among these churches, and to find out some method of reconciling their differences, and bringing about their re-union, was thence called the Charitable Conference. Some time after this, Ernest, landgrave of Hesse, in order to give a plausible colour to his apostasy from the Protestant religion, and make it appear to be the result of examination and conviction, obliged Valerianus Magnus, a learned Capuchin, to enter the lists with Peter

¹ The circumstances of this famous and ever-memorable revolution are accurately recorded by Burnet, in vol. ii. of his History of his Own

Times; and also by Rapin, in vol. x. of his History of England. Add to these, Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. xl. p. 536.

Habercorn, a reformed minister, in the castle of Rheinfeldt. Besides these public conferences, there were others of a more private nature held during this century, between the doctors of the contending churches. The most remarkable of these was the famous dispute between John Claude, the most learned of the Reformed divines in France, and Jacques Bénigne de Bossuet, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute, which was held in the year 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breach, instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield;^m on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more riveted in their own opinions, and more averse to those of their adversaries.

XIII. Those of the Roman Catholics, whose views were turned towards union and concord, did not omit the use of *pious artifice and stratagem* in order to accomplish this salutary purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous Protestants and the rigid Catholics, that their differences in opinion were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, and to promote their union, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes and conferences, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and their apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined that an artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of Rome, that appeared the most shocking to the Protestants, would tend much to conquer their aversion to Popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peace-makers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their pacific operations; but they differed so widely in their manner of applying this general principle, and pursued such different methods in the execution of this nice and perilous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations. In the way they proceeded, instead of promoting the desired union by their representations of things, by their exhortations and counsels, this union seemed to be previously necessary, in order to render their explications and exhortations acceptable, nay, even supportable; so little were the means proportioned to the end!

The first and most eminent of those who tried the force of their genius in this arduous enterprise was Cardinal Richelieu, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threatenings, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French Protestants into the bosom of the Romish church.ⁿ The example of this illustrious prelate was followed, but with less dignity and less influence, by Massenius, a German Jesuit,^o Volusius, a theologist of Mentz,^p

^m The reader who desires a more particular account of what passed in these conferences, may satisfy his curiosity by consulting the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, in his *Introduc. in Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1569, 1581, 1592, 1598. An account of the conference between Claude and Bossuet was composed and published by each of these famous combatants. Bossuet's account was thus entitled: *Conférence avec M. Claude sur la Matière de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1683, in 12mo. This account was answered by Claude, in his *Response au Livre de M. de Meaux, intitulé, Conférence avec M. Claude*,

published at the Hague, in 8vo, in the year 1683.

ⁿ Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 31, 32, new edit.; Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Amyraut, note 1; at the article Beaulieu, note [c]; at the article Ferry, note [d]; at the article Milletière.

^o See Frid. Spanheimii *Stricturæ ad Bossueti Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ*, tom. iii. Opp. Theolog. par II. p. 1042.

^p There is extant a book composed by this writer under the following title: *Aurora Pacis Religiosæ Divinæ Veritati Amica*, Mogunt. 1665, 4to.

Prætorius, a Prussian,^a Gibbon de Burg,^b an Irish doctor, who was professor at Erfurth, Marcellus, a Jesuit,^c and other divines of inferior note. But of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity and art as Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection and prudence. The famous Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith, that was drawn up by this subtle and insinuating author, was designed to show the Protestants, that their reasons against returning to the bosom of the Romish church would be soon and easily removed, provided they would view the doctrines of that church in their true light, and not as they had been erroneously represented by the Protestant writers.^d This notion was propagated, though with less dexterity and success, by Dezius, a Jesuit of Strasburg, who wrote a book expressly to prove, that there was little or no difference between the doctrine of the council of Trent, and that of the confession of Augsburg, than which no two systems can be more irreconcilably opposite.^e It is, however, remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to re-unite the two churches were made by the persons now mentioned on their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church that shocked the Protestants and justified their separation. It is true, indeed, that in the year 1686, this plan of reconciliation was warmly recommended by a person properly commissioned, or at least who gave himself out for such. This pacificator was Christopher de Rohas, bishop of Tinia, in the district of

^a In his *Tuba Pacis*, of which the reader may see a curious account in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for the year 1685, p. 1309.

^b In a treatise, entitled, *Luthero Calvinismus Schismaticus Quidem sed Reconciliabilis*.

^c The book of Marcellus, entitled, *Sapientia Pacifica*, was refuted by Seldius, at the express desire of the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

^d This book might furnish subject for a multitude of reflections. See a particular account of its history and its effects in Pfaff's *Hist. Literaria Theologiæ*, t. ii. p. 102; and Le Clerc's *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, t. xi. p. 438. It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this book could obtain the pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman catholic priests were rigorously treated, and severely persecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the Exposition of Bossuet, which was, moreover, formally condemned by the University of Louvain, in the year 1685, and declared to be scandalous and pernicious. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book; though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinions on that head: and thus given a new instance of the variations that reign in the Romish church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with

great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent archbishop Wake, in the Introduction to his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, &c. See also his two *Defences* of that Exposition, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. De la Bastide, one of the most eminent protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of during eight years; at the end of which, he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his *Exposition*, which was designed to remove the objections of La Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, published at the Hague, vol. xviii. p. 20. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the *Exposition*, printed at Paris, 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Bourigny's *Life of Bossuet*, published the same year at Paris.

^e This book is entitled, *La Réunion des Protestans de Strasburg a l'Eglise Romaine*, published in 8vo at Strasburg, in the year 1689.—See Phil. Jac. *Specimen Consilia Theol. German.* pars iii. p. 650, 662.

Bosnia; who, during several years, frequented with these reconciling views the courts of the Protestant princes in Germany; intimated the assembling of a new council, that was to be more impartial in its decisions and less restrained in its proceeding than the council of Trent; nay, went still further, and assured the Protestants, that they should obtain without difficulty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they should think proper to demand from the Roman pontiff, provided they would acknowledge his paternal authority, and no longer refuse a profound submission to his mild and gentle empire. But the artifice and designs of this specious missionary were easily detected; the Protestant doctors, and also their sovereigns, soon perceived that a fair and candid plan of reconciliation and union was not what the court of Rome had in view; but that a scheme was laid for restoring its pontiffs to their former despotic dominion over the Christian world.*

Protestant peace-makers.

XIV. The Romish peace-makers found among the Protestants, and more especially among those of the Reformed church, certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union and concord, seconded perhaps in some by views of interest, or by the suggestions of ambition, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. These doctors maintained, that the points in debate between the two churches were not of sufficient importance to justify their separation. Among the French Protestants, Lewis le Blanc and his disciples were suspected of an inclination to go too great lengths in this matter.† The same accusation was brought, with fuller evidence, against Huisseau, professor of divinity at Saumur, Milletiere, Le Fevre, and others of less note.‡ Among the British divines, this excessive propensity to diminish the shocking absurdities of popery was less remarkable; William Forbes was the principal person who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that contributed to perpetuate the separation between the two churches.‡ With respect to the Dutch, it is abundantly known, how ardently the great and learned Grotius desired the re-union of all Christian churches in one general bond

* See Jo. Wolf. Jageri *Historia Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii.*; Christ. Eberhardi Weismanni *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii.* p. 735. The reader will find in the *Commercium Epistolicum-Leibnitianum* of Gruberus,* an account of the particular conditions of reconciliation that were proposed, in the year 1660, to the German courts by the Elector of Mentz, authorized, as it is alleged, by the Roman pontiff.

† See a particular and interesting account of Le Blanc in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Beaulieu.

‡ See the above-mentioned Dictionary, at the article Milletiere. For an account of Huisseau, and his pacific counsels, see Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choïsies*, tom. iii. p. 14; Aymond, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 765. The labours of Le Fevre, father to the famous Madam Daier, in the same cause, are mentioned by Morhofius, in his *Polyhistor*, tom. i. p. 295.

§ See Forbes's *Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione,*

Purgatorio, &c., which were published in 8vo at London, in the year 1658, and afterwards more correctly in Germany, under the inspection of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt. Forbes is mentioned by Grabe with the highest encomiums, in his *Notæ ad Bulli Harmoniam Apostolicam*, p. 19; and, if we consider his probity, and the exemplary regularity of his life and conversation, he must be allowed to deserve the praise that is due to piety and good morals. Nevertheless, he had his infirmities, and the wiser part of the English doctors acknowledge, that his propensity towards a reconciliation with the church of Rome was carried too far. See Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 21.—On this account he has been lavishly praised by the Roman catholic writers; see R. Simon, *Lettres Choïsies*, tom. iii. lett. xviii. p. 119. He was undoubtedly one of those who contributed most to spread among the English a notion (whose truth or falsehood we shall not here examine), that king Charles I. and Archbishop Laud had formed the design of restoring popery in England.

* Tom. i. p. 411, 415, 426.

of charity and concord, and with what peculiar zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of Rome, and to excuse others. But these and all the other arbitrators, whose names and whose efforts in this pacific cause it would be tedious to mention, derived no other fruit from their, perhaps, well-intended labours, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

In the number of the Protestant doctors who discovered an inconsiderate zeal for the re-union of these churches, many writers placed George Calixtus, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man discovered and exposed the errors and corruptions of popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity that was scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted stedfastly in maintaining that the decrees and anathemas of the council of Trent had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the protestant churches and the see of Rome. It is true, indeed, that Calixtus looked upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions, with much more moderation and indulgence than was usual, and decided them in a manner that did not seem suited to the taste and spirit of the times: he was also of opinion, that the church of Rome had not destroyed the genuine principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a heap of rubbish, under a motley multitude of the most extravagant and intolerable doctrines and ceremonies. It was undoubtedly on this account that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peace-makers already mentioned.

The popish
Methodists.

XV. It was no difficult matter to defeat the purposes and ruin the credit of these pacific arbitrators, who, upon the whole, made up but a motley and ill-composed society, weakened by intestine discords. It required more dexterity, and greater efforts of genius, to oppose the progress, and disconcert the sophistry of a set of men who had invented new methods of defending popery, and attacking its adversaries. This new species of polemic doctors were called Methodists, and the most eminent of them arose in France, where a perpetual scene of controversy, carried on with the most learned among the Huguenots, had augmented the dexterity, and improved the theological talents of the Roman catholic disputants. The Methodists, from their different manner of treating the controversy in question, may be divided into two classes. In the one we may place those doctors whose method of disputing with the Protestants was disingenuous and unreasonable, and who followed the examples of those military chiefs, who shut up their troops in intrenchments and strongholds, in order to cover them from the attacks of the enemy. Such was the manner of proceeding of the Jesuit Veron, who was of opinion that the Protestants should be obliged to prove the tenets of their church^a by plain passages of Scripture, without being allowed the liberty of illustrating these passages, reasoning upon them, or drawing any conclusions from them.^a In the same class may be ranked Nihusius, an apostate from the Protestant religion,^b the two Walenburgs, and other polemics, who,

^a More especially the doctrines that peculiarly oppose the decrees and tenets of the council of Trent.

^a Musæna, De Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis, lib. i. c. iv. p. 22; G. Calixti Digressio de Arte Novæ, p. 125; Simon, Lettres Choisiées, tom. i. p. 276.

^b See a particular account of this vain and superficial doctor in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Nihusius. His work, entitled, Ars Nova dicto Sacre Scripturæ unico lucandri o Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum detecta, &c., was refuted in the most satisfactory manner, by Calixtus, in his Digressio in

looking upon it as an easier matter to maintain their pretensions, than to show upon what principles they were originally founded,* obliged their adversaries to prove all their assertions and objections, whether of an affirmative or negative kind; and confined themselves to the eager business of answering objections and repelling attacks. We may also place among this kind of Methodists, Cardinal Richelieu, who judged it the shortest and best way to attend little to the multitude of accusations, objections, and reproaches, with which the Protestants loaded all the various branches of the Romish government, discipline, doctrine, and worship; and to confine the whole controversy to the single article of the divine institution and authority of the Church, which he thought it essential to establish by the strongest arguments, as the grand principle that would render popery impregnable.^d

The Methodists of the second class were of opinion that the most expedient manner of reducing the Protestants to silence, was not to attack them by piecemeal, but to overwhelm them at once, by the weight of some general principle or presumption, some universal argument, which comprehended, or might be applied to, all the points contested between the two churches. They imitated the conduct of those military leaders, who, instead of spending their time and strength in sieges and skirmishes, endeavour to put an end to the war by a general and decisive action. This method, if not invented,^e was at least improved and seconded by all the aids of eloquence and genius, by Nicolle, a celebrated doctor among the Jansenists;^f and it was followed by many of the disputants of the church of Rome, who were so fully persuaded of its irresistible influence, that they looked upon any one of the general points already mentioned as sufficient, when properly handled, to overturn the whole Protestant cause. Hence it was, that some of these polemics rested the defence of popery upon the single principle of prescription;

Arte Nova contra Nihusium, a curious and learned work, which was published* in 4to at Helmstadt, in 1634.

^c That is to say, in other words, that they pleaded prescription in favour of Popery; and acted like one, who, having been for a long time in possession of an estate, refuses to produce his title, and requires that those who question it should prove its insufficiency or falsehood.

^d For a more ample account of these methods of controversy, and of others used by the church of Rome, the curious reader may consult *Fred. Spanheim, Strictur. ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti*, tom. iii. *Opp.* par. II. p. 1037; *Jo. Heur. Heidegger, Histor. Papatus*, Period. vii. sect. cxxviii. p. 316; *Walchii Introd. ad Controvers. Theolog.* tom. iii.; *Weismanni Histor. Ecclesiastica*, sæc. xvii. p. 726.

^e This method certainly was not the invention of Nicolle, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of Cardinal Richelieu. We may observe further, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. Mosheim has placed him.

^f Nicolle is supposed to be the author of a

book, entitled, *Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, which was first published at Paris in 1671, passed afterwards through several editions, and was answered in a satisfactory manner by several learned men. It is very remarkable, that some of the principal arguments employed in this book against the Protestants are precisely the same that the Deists make use of to show that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe upon a rational foundation. The learned Claude, in his *Defence of the Reformation*, showed, in a demonstrative manner, that the difficulties arising from the incapacity of the multitude to examine the grounds and principles of the Protestant religion, are much less than those which occur to a Papist, whose faith is founded, not on the plain word of God alone, but on the dictates of tradition, on the decrees of councils, and a variety of antiquated records, that are beyond his reach. The Protestant divine goes still farther, and proves that there are arguments in favour of Christianity and the Protestant faith that are intelligible by the lowest capacity, and, at the same time, sufficient to satisfy an upright and unprejudiced mind.

* This piece originally made a part of the *Theologia Moralis* of Calixtus, but was afterwards published separately.

others upon the vicious lives of several of those princes who had withdrawn their dominions from the yoke of Rome; others again, upon the criminal nature of religious schism, with which they reproached the promoters of the Reformation; and they were all convinced, that, by urging their respective arguments, and making good their respective charges, the mouths of their adversaries must be stopped, and the cause of Rome and its pontiff triumph.^a The famous Bossuet stood foremost in this class, which he peculiarly adorned, by the superiority of his genius, and the insinuating charms of his eloquence. His arguments, indeed, were more specious than solid, and the circumstances from which they were drawn were imprudently chosen. From the variety of opinions that take place among the Protestant doctors, and the changes that have happened in their discipline and doctrine, he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the church founded by Luther was not the true church; and, on the other hand, from the perpetual sameness and uniformity that reigns in the tenets and worship of the church of Rome, he pretended to prove its divine original.^b Such an argument must indeed surprise, coming from a man of learning, who could not be ignorant of the temporising spirit of the Roman pontiffs, nor of the changes they had permitted in their discipline and doctrine, according to the genius of time and place, and the different characters of those whom they were desirous to gain over to their interest. It was still more surprising in a French prelate, since the doctors of that nation generally maintain, that the leaden age does not differ more from the age of gold, than the modern church of Rome differs from the ancient and primitive church of that famous city.

Deserters from the
Protestant to the
Romish Church.

XVI. These various attempts of the votaries of Rome, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the protestant doctors, were not, however, attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church, from whose superstition and tyranny their ancestors had delivered themselves and others; but these defections were only personal; nor was there any people or province either inclined or engaged to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the protestant religion were Christina, queen of Sweden,^c a princess of

^a Frid. Spanhemii Diss. de Prescriptione, in Rebus Fidei adversus novos Methodistas, tom. iii. part II. Opp. p. 1079.

^b This is the purpose of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, which was published in 8vo., at Paris, in the year 1688, and is still considered by the Roman Catholics as one of the strongest bulwarks of popery. Let them go on in their illusions, and boast of this famous champion and defender; but if they have any true zeal for the cause he defends, or any regard for the authority of the supreme head of their church, they will do well to bury in oblivion that maxim of this their champion, that "the church which frequently modifies, varies, and changes its doctrines, is destitute of the direction of the Holy Spirit." ^c This observation of Dr. Mosheim's might be verified by numberless instances of variations in the doctrine and worship of Rome, that must strike every one who has any tolerable acquaintance with the

history of that church. But, without going any farther than one single instance, we may observe that Bossuet had a striking proof of the variations of his own church, in the different reception that his *Exposition of the Roman catholic faith* met with from different persons, and at different times. It was disapproved of by one pope, and approved of by another; it was applauded by the Archbishop of Rheims, and condemned by the University of Louvain; it was censured by the Sorbonne in the year 1671, and declared by the same society a true exposition of the Catholic faith in the following century. For a full proof of the truth of these and other variations, see Wake's *Exposition*, &c.; Le Clerc, *Bibl. Univ.* tom. xi. p. 438, &c.; General Dictionary, at the article Wake, in the note; and Biblioth. des Sciences, &c., tom. xviii. p. 29, &c.

^d See Archenhult, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, which contains a variety of agreeable and interesting anecdotes.

great spirit and genius, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure, and liberty, to all other considerations; Wolfgang William, count Palatine of the Rhine; Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, prince of Hesse;² John Frederick, duke of Brunswick; and Frederick Augustus, king of Poland.

The learned men that embraced the communion of the church of Rome were, Baron Boineburg, secretary to the elector of Mentz, and an eminent patron of erudition and genius;¹ Christopher Ranzow, a knight of Holstein;^m Casper Scioppius; Petrus Bertius; Christopher Besold; Ulric Hunnius; Nicolas Stenon, a Danish physician of great reputation in his profession; John Philip Pfeiffer, professor at Königsburg; Lucas Holstenius; Petrus Lambechius; Henry Blumius, professor at Helmstadt, a man of learning, and of excessive vanity;ⁿ Daniel Nesselius; Andrew Frommii; Barthold Nihusius; Christopher Hellwigius; Matthew Prætorius, and a few others of inferior rank in the learned world. But these conversions, when considered with the motives that produced them, will be found, in reality, less honourable to the church of Rome than they are in appearance; for if, in the list of princes and learned men above mentioned, we efface those whom the temptations of adversity, the impulse of avarice and ambition, the suggestions of levity, the effects of personal attachments, the power of superstition upon a feeble and irresolute mind, and other motives of like merit, engaged to embrace the Romish religion, these proselytes will be reduced to a number too small to excite the envy of the protestant churches.*

¹ & The candid and impartial writer, mentioned in the preceding note, has given an ample account of the circumstances that attended this queen's change of religion, and of the causes that might have contributed to determine her to a step so unexpected and inexcusable. It was neither the subtlety of Des Cartes, nor the dexterity of Canut, that brought about this event, as Baillet would persuade us. The true state of the case seems to have been this: Christina, having had her sentiments of religion in general considerably perverted by the licentious insinuations of her favourite Bourdelot, was by that means prepared for embracing any particular religion, that pleasure, interest, or ambition should recommend to her. Upon this foundation the Jesuits Macodo, Malines, and Cassati, under the immediate protection of Pimentel, and encouraged by the courts of Rome, Spain, and Portugal, employed their labours and dexterity in the conversion of this princess, whose passion for Italy, together with that taste for the fine arts, and the precious remains of antiquity, that made her desirous of sojourning there, may have contributed not a little to make her embrace the religion of that country.

² This learned and well-meaning prince was engaged by the conversation and importunities of Valerius Magnus, a celebrated monk of the Capuchin order, to embrace Popery, in the year 1651. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 27, 35; *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 216. It is, however, to be observed, that this prince, together with Anthony Ulric,

duke of Brunswick, and several others, who went over to the church of Rome, did not go over to that church of Rome which is now exhibited to us in the odious forms of superstition and tyranny, but to another kind of church, which, perhaps, never existed but in their idea, and which at least has long ceased to exist. That this was the case appears evidently from the theological writings of prince Ernest.

¹ This eminent man, who had more learning than philosophy, and who was more remarkable for the extent of his memory than for the rectitude of his judgment, followed the example of the prince of Hesse, in the year 1658. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, in which his Letters, and those of Coringius, are published, tom. i. p. 55, 37, 39, 48, 56, 60, 70, 76, 93, &c.

^m See Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 520.

ⁿ Blumius deserted from the Protestant church in the year 1665. See Burkardi *Historia Biblioth. Augustæ*, part III. p. 223, 238; Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 41, 95, 135, 137, 379, 388, 410. In these letters he is called *Florus*, probably in allusion to his German name *Blum*, which signifies a flower.

^o See for a particular account of these proselytes to Popery, Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii.* p. 738; Walikii's *Introductio in Controversias*, tom. ii. p. 728; Arnold's *Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie*, par. II. p. 912; and other writers of civil and literary history.

The interest of the
Romish church
loses ground in
the East.

XVII. The Christian churches in the East, which were independent of the yoke of Rome, did not stand less firm and stedfast against the attempts of the papal missionaries than those of Europe. The pompous accounts which several Roman catholic writers have given of the wonderful success of these missionaries among the Nestorians and Monophysites, are little less than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the wisest and best of the Roman catholic doctors acknowledge that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendents of the Christian sects in these remote regions to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.^p It is evident, on the contrary, that Rome, in two remarkable instances, suffered a considerable diminution of its influence and authority in the eastern world during this century. One of these instances was the dreadful revolution in Japan, which has been already related, and which was unhappily followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfal of popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of Abyssinia, of which it will not be improper, or foreign from our purpose, to give here a brief account.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed, under the most auspicious encouragement, the mission to Abyssinia that had been, for some time before that period, interrupted and suspended. For the emperor Susneius, who assumed the denomination of Seltam Segued, after the defeat of his enemies, and his accession to the throne, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to Alphonso Mendez, a missionary from that nation; created him patriarch of the Abyssinians; and not only swore in a public manner allegiance to the Roman pontiff, in the year 1626, but, moreover, obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. But the new patriarch ruined, by his intemperate zeal, imprudence, and arrogance, the cause in which he had embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of the Roman pontiff's authority and jurisdiction, which had really been established upon solid foundations; for he began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish inquisition, he employed formidable threatenings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be rebaptized who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of Rome, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of Paganism.^q This the

^p See the remarks made by Chardin in several places of the last edition of his travels. See also what Urban Cerri, in his *Present State of the Church of Rome*, says of the Armenians and Copts. It is true, indeed, that among these sects the papal missionaries sometimes form congregations that are obedient to the see of Rome; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable, and com-

posed only of a handful of members. Thus the Capuchins, about the middle of the century now under consideration, founded a small congregation among the Monophysites of Asia, whose bishop resides at Aleppo. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

^q The reader will recollect that the Abyssinians differ but very little from the

Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult upon the religious discipline of their ancestors, and as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings in the church: he excited tumults and factions in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced at length, in the year 1631, a public declaration from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of Rome. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent towards the Jesuits, considering the treatment their insolence and presumption had so justly deserved; but in the following reign much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides, the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in the year 1632, no sooner ascended the throne, than he thought it expedient to rid his dominions of these troublesome and despotic guests; and, accordingly, in the year 1634, he banished from the territories of Ethiopia the patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans that belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman catholic missionaries with excessive rigour and severity.* From this period the very name of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories in disguise, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontiffs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence

Copts in Egypt, and acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual chief. They receive the Old and New Testament, the three first Councils, the Nicene Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Their first conversion to Christianity is attributed by some to the famous prime minister of their queen Candace, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; it is, however, probable that the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected before the fourth century, when Frumentius, ordained bishop of Axuma by Athanasius, exercised his ministry among them with the most astonishing success. They were esteemed a pure church before they fell into the errors of Eutychus and Dioscorus; and even since that period they are still a purer church than that of Rome.

* See Ludolfi *Histor. Æthiopica*, lib. iii. cap. xii.; Geddes's *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 233; La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Éthiopie*, p. 79; Lobo, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, p. 116, 130, 144, with the additions of Le Grand, p. 173, and the fourth Dissertation,

that is subjoined to the second volume. In this dissertation, Le Grand, himself a Roman catholic, makes the following remarks upon the conduct of the patriarch Mendez: "It were to be wished," says he, "that the patriarch had never intermeddled in such a variety of affairs [by which mitigated expression the author means his ambitious attempts to govern in the cabinet as well as in the church,] nor carried his authority to such a height, as to behave in Ethiopia as if he had been in a country where the inquisition was established; for by his conduct he set all the people against him, and excited in them such an aversion to the Roman catholics in general, and to the Jesuits in particular, as nothing has been hitherto able to diminish, and which subsists in its full force to this day." &c. The third book of La Croze's *History*, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in *The Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 308, &c.; as also is Poncet's *Voyage*, mentioned in the following note.

and intercession of Lewis XIV. king of France, to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire;* but, as far as we have learned, these attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful; nor have the pontiffs or their votaries been as yet able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of Rome.

XVIII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of the church of Rome, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will now be proper to change the scene, to consider this church in its internal constitution, and to pass in review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and imposing burdensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honoured

* These projects are mentioned by Cerri, in his *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 217; Le Grand, in his *Supplement to Lobo's Itinerarium Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 181.* The reader, who would know what credit is to be given to what the Jesuits say of the attachment and veneration which the Asiatic and African Christians express for the church of Rome, will do well to compare the relations of Le Grand, who was a Roman catholic, and no enemy to the Jesuits, and who drew his relations from the most authentic records, with those of Poncet, a French physician, who went into Ethiopia in the year 1698, accompanied by Father Bredevant, a Jesuit, who died during the voyage. This comparison will convince every ingenuous and impartial inquirer, that the accounts of the Jesuits are not to be trusted to, and that they surpass ancient Carthage itself in the art of deceiving. Poncet's *Voyage* is published in the fourth volume of the Jesuitical work, entitled *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangères*.

† Lafitau and Reboulet, who have composed each a life of Pope Clement XI., tell us that the emperor of Abyssinia desired the Roman pontiff, in the year 1703, to send to his court missionaries and legates to instruct him and his people, and to receive their submission to the see of Rome. These biographers go still farther, and assert that this monarch actually embraced the communion of Rome, in the year 1712. But these assertions are idle fictions, forged by the Jesuits and their creatures.

* † Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct, description of that vast empire, in his *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*. This Itinerary was translated into French by

It is well known, on the contrary, that so lately as a very few years ago, the edict prohibiting all Europeans to enter into Ethiopia was still in force, and was executed with the greatest severity. Even the Turks are included in this prohibition; and, what is still more remarkable, the Egyptian Monophysites, who have once entered within the Abyssinian territories, are not allowed to return into their own country. All these facts are confirmed by a modern writer of the most unquestionable authority, the learned and worthy M. Maillet, the French consul-general in Egypt, and ambassador from Lewis XIV. to the Emperor of Abyssinia, in his *Description de l'Egypte*, part I. p. 325, which was published at Paris in 4to, in the year 1735. See also Le Grand's *Supplement to Lobo's Itinerarium*, which was published in the year 1728. This last mentioned author, after relating all the attempts that have been made in our times, by the French nation and the Roman pontiffs, to introduce Romish priests into Abyssinia, adds, that all such attempts must appear vain and chimerical to all those who have any knowledge of the empire of Abyssinia, and of the spirit and character of its inhabitants; his words are: "Toutes ces entreprises paroîtront chimériques à ceux qui connoîtront l'Abyssinie et les Abyssins." It is highly probable that the new mission which is preparing at Rome for the empire of Abyssinia, will prove a new instance of the solidity of M. Le Grand's reflection.

M. Le Grand, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. Mosheim sometimes quotes the Itinerary under the title of *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, referring to Le Grand's French translation of it.

with the same pompous titles and denominations, found, nevertheless, frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations diminished from day to day. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted that important maxim that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation: "That the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs." In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the asserters of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who give themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of Rome's Holy Father. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

The rupture between Paul V. and the Venetians.

XIX. This the Roman pontiffs learned, by a disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured, during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and the consequences that followed it, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontiff laid the republic of Venice under an interdict in the year 1606. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate; and the other, the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favour of the clergy, without the express approbation of the republic. The Venetian senate received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent the clergy from executing the interdict, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had commanded in this imperious mandate. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin friars, who obeyed the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, to demonstrate on the one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine on the other, after an accurate and impartial inquiry, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and urgent, that Baronius, and the other learned advocates whom

the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against their irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended towards a rupture, and Paul V. was gathering together his forces, in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV., king of France, interposed as mediator,* and concluded a peace between the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious pontiff.† For the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the court of Rome upon this occasion, nor to recall the Jesuits from their exile.‡ It is remarkable, that, at the time of this rupture, the senate of Venice entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the church of Rome, in which the ambassadors of England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm them. But many considerations of a momentous nature intervened to prevent the execution of this design, which, as it would seem, had not the approbation of the sagacious and prudent Fra-Paolo, notwithstanding his aversion to the tyranny and maxims of the court of Rome.‡

* It must be observed here, that it was at the request of the pope, and not of the Venetians, that Henry IV. interposed as mediator. The Venetians had nothing to fear. Their cause was considered as the common cause of all the sovereign states of Italy; and the dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, had already offered their troops and services to the republic. But the rash pontiff, perceiving the storm that was gathering against him, took refuge in the French monarch's intercession.

† Besides De Thou and other historians, see Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. x. p. 385; Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, Period. vii. sect. ccxx. p. 322; Wolfg. Jaegeri *Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii. decenn. l. p. 108.*—More especially, the writings of the famous Paul Sarpi, commonly called Fra-Paolo, and of the other divines and canonists that defended the cause of the republic, deserve a careful and attentive perusal. For these writings were composed with such solidity, learning, and eloquence, that they produced remarkable effects, and contributed much to open the eyes of several princes and magistrates; and to prevent their submitting blindly and implicitly, as their ancestors had done, to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs. Among the most masterly pieces written in this cause, we must place Fra-Paolo's *Istoria delle cose Passate entre Paul V. et la Republ. di Venetia*, published in 4to, at Mirandola, in the year 1624; and his *Historia Interdict. Venet.* which was published in 4to, at Cambridge, in the year 1626, by bishop Bedell, who, during these troubles, had been chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice. Paul V. by forcing the Venetians to publish to the world, in these admirable productions, his arrogance and temerity on the one hand, and many truths unfavourable to the pretensions of the popes on the other, was the occasion of the greatest perplexities and oppositions that the court of Rome had to encounter in after times.

‡ When the peace was made between the Venetians and the pope, in the year 1607, the Capuchins and the other ecclesiastics, that had been banished on account of their partiality to the cause of Rome, were all reinstated in their respective functions, except the Jesuits. These latter, however, were recalled in the year 1657, under the pontificate of Alexander VII. in consequence of the earnest and importunate requests of Lewis XIV. king of France, and several other princes, who gave the Venetians no rest until they readmitted these dangerous guests into their territories. It is, nevertheless, to be observed, that the Jesuits never recovered the credit and influence they had formerly enjoyed in that republic, nor, at this present time, is there any people of the Romish communion, among whom their society has less power than among the Venetians, who have never yet forgotten their rebellious behaviour during the quarrel now mentioned. See the *Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, et Suisse*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo, in the year 1736, tom. i. p. 291. It is further worthy of observation, that since this famous quarrel between the republic of Venice and the court of Rome, the bulls and rescripts of the popes have just as much authority in that republic, as its senate judges consistent with the rules of wise policy, and the true interests and welfare of the community. For proof of this, we need go no further than the respectable testimony of cardinal Henry Noria, who in the year 1676, wrote to Magliabechi in the following terms: "Poche Bulle passavano quelle acque verso la parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel Testamento di Fra-Paolo:" i. e. "Few papal Bulls pass the Po, or approach the coasts of the Adriatic sea; the maxims bequeathed to the Venetians by Fra-Paolo render this passage extremely difficult."

§ This design of the Venetians is particularly mentioned by Burnet, in his *Life of Bishop Bedell*, and by La Courayer, in his *Défence de la Nouvelle Traduction de l'His-*

The contest between the Roman pontiffs and the court of Portugal.

XX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest with the court of Rome, which began under the pontificate of Urban VIII. in the year 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the tyranny and oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose Don John, duke of Braganza, for their king. Urban VIII. and his successors in the see of Rome, obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing solicitations, both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowledge Don John's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops whom this prince had named to fill the vacant sees in Portugal. Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ upon earth, whose character ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of Spain, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors and spiritual guides. The French, and other European courts, advised and exhorted the new king of Portugal to follow the noble example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope, in their respective sees. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their counsels, and to act with resolution and vigour at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the inquisition, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation, in general, discovered for the person and authority of the Roman pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before the peace concluded between Portugal and Spain, five-and-twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of Portugal and Rome. It must, indeed, be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, that, notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of Rome, they vigorously opposed its ambitious pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power and authority in that kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights enjoyed by their monarchs in former ages.⁷

The contests between the French nation and the Roman pontiffs.

XXI. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted misintelligence between the French monarchs and the Roman pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which produced more than once that violent effect during this century. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labour, were employed by the popes during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the pretensions and authority of the court of Rome, and to undermine imper-

toire du Concile de Trente, published in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1742, p. 35. This latter writer shows plainly, that Fra-Paolo, though his sentiments differed in many points from the doctrine of the church of Rome, yet did not approve of all the tenets received by the Protestants, nor suggest to the Venetians the design of renouncing the Romish faith.

⁷ See Geddes's History of the Popes' behaviour towards Portugal, from 1641 to 1666, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. ii. p. 73—186. The cause of the Portuguese, in this quarrel, is defended with great learning and sagacity by a French writer, whose name was Bulliad, in a book entitled, *Pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis ad Clerum Gallicanum Libelli Duo*,

ceptibly, and enervate and destroy by degrees the liberties of the Gallican church. In this arduous and important enterprise the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded with all their dexterity and craft, the designs of the aspiring pontiffs. But these attempts and stratagems were effectually defeated and disconcerted by the parliament of Paris; while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims. Richer, Launoy, Petrus de Marca, Natalis Alexander, Ellis, Du Pin, and others, displayed their learning and talents in this contest, though with different degrees of merit. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the Gallican church, which they confirmed by recent authorities, and enforced by new and victorious arguments. It will naturally be thought, that these bold and respectable defenders of the rights and liberties, both of church and state, were amply rewarded for their generous labours, by peculiar marks of the approbation and protection of the court of France. But this was so far from being always the case, that they received, on the contrary, from time to time, several marks of its resentment and displeasure, designed to appease the rage and indignation of the threatening pontiff, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice and caution. Rome, however, gained but little by this mild policy of the French court. For it has been always a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives and pretensions are to be defended against the encroachments of the Roman pontiffs with as little noise and contention as possible; and that pompous memorials, and warm and vehement remonstrances, are to be carefully avoided, except in cases of urgent necessity.* Nor do these princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a mighty veneration for the orders and authority of the pontiffs, in order to obtain from them, by fair means, the immunities and privileges which they look upon as their due. But they are, nevertheless, constantly on their guard; and as soon as they perceive the court of Rome taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, and the lordly popes growing insolent in consequence of their mildness and submission, they then alter their tone, change their measures, and resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation that could never bear the tyranny and oppression of the papal yoke. All this appears evidently in the contests that arose between the courts of France and Rome, under the reign of Lewis XIV., of which it will not be improper to give here some interesting instances.*

XXII. The first of these contests happened under the pontificate of Alexander VII., and was owing to the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in the year 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and duchess of Crequi, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephews. Lewis demanded satisfaction for this insult offered to his representative; and, on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for Italy, and to besiege the arrogant pontiff in his capital. The latter, terrified by these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted his pardon and absolu-

* & It is with a view to this, that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of France maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says, pleasantly, that "the king of France kisses the pope's feet, and ties up his hands."

* & The large note (1) of the original, in which Dr. Mosheim has examined that

interesting question, viz. "Whether or no the papal authority gained or lost ground in France during the seventeenth century," is transposed by the translator into the text, and placed at the end of our author's account of Lewis XIV.'s quarrels with the pope, where it comes in with the utmost propriety. See sect. xxiii.

tion to the humbled pontiff, and concluded a peace with him at Pisa, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. It is, however, to be observed, that in this contest, Lewis did not chastise Alexander, considered in his ghostly character as head of the church; but as a temporal prince, violating the law of nations.^b He, however, showed on other occasions, that when properly provoked, he was as much disposed to humble papal as princely ambition, and that he feared the head of the church as little as the temporal ruler of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared evidently by the important and warm debate he had with Innocent XI. considered in his spiritual character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on with great animosity and contention for several years after. The subject of this controversy was a right, called in France the *Regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, laid claim to the revenues and fruits of his see, and discharged also several parts of the episcopal function, until a new bishop was elected: Lewis was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to the *regale*. Innocent pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature that had formerly been enjoyed by the kings of France. Thus the claims of the prince, and the remonstrances of the pontiff, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on, on both sides, with spirit and resolution. The pontiff sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pontiff refused to confirm the bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world that the Gallican church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman pontiff. Innocent XI., who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings; but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigour and intrepidity which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish church, were not yet totally extinguished.^d This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Lewis. And accordingly that monarch

^b See Jægeri *Hist. Eccles. Sec. xvi. Decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180*; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 131. Edit. de Dresde, 1753*; Arckenholtz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. p. 72*.

^c The author means here undoubtedly the collation of all benefices which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. This right of collation, in such cases, was comprehended in the *Regale*. See below, note ^e.

^d See Jo. Hen. Heideggeri *Historia Papatus,*

Period. vii. sect. cccxli. p. 555. ♂ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 221. Edit. de Dresde, 1753.* A great number of writers have either incidentally or professedly treated the subject of the *Regale*, and have given ample accounts of the controversies it has occasioned. But none has traced out more circumstantially the rise and progress of this famous right than Cardinal Henry Noris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast. p. 547*, which is inserted in the fourth volume of his works.

summoned the famous assembly of bishops,* which met at Paris in the year 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be merely spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions,† which were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy, and to all the universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith. But even this respectable decision of the matter, which gave such a mortal wound to the authority of Rome, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontiff, or reduce him to silence.‡

Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between these two princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike of each other contributed much to inflame their divisions. This new dispute broke out in the year 1687, when Innocent XI. wisely resolved to suppress the franchises and the right of asylum that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at Rome,§ and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors. The Marquis De Lavardin refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and Lewis took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent to oblige the pontiff to restore to his ambassador the immunities above mentioned.¶ Innocent, on

* ¶ This assembly, which consisted of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second Order, extended the Regale to all the churches in France without exception. The bishops, at the same time, thought proper to represent it to the king as their humble opinion, that those ecclesiastics whom he should be pleased to nominate, during the vacancy of the see, to benefices attended with the cure of souls, were obliged to apply for induction and confirmation to the grand vicars appointed by the chapters.

† ¶ These four propositions were to the following purpose:

1st, That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2nd, That the decrees of the council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to that of the popes in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3rd, That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4th, That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

‡ This pope was far from keeping silence with respect to the famous propositions mentioned in the preceding note. As they were highly unfavourable to his authority, so he took care to have them refuted and opposed both

in private and in public. The principal champion for the papal cause, on this occasion, was Cardinal Celestin Sfondrati, who, in the year 1684, published, under the feigned name of Eugenius Lombardus, a treatise, entitled *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor propositionibus explicatum*. This treatise was printed in Switzerland, as appears evidently by the character or form of the letters. A multitude of Italian, German, and Spanish doctors stood forth to support the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the court of France; and more especially the learned Nicolas du Bois, professor at Louvain, whose writings in defence of the pope are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these papal champions were defeated by the famous prelate last mentioned, the learned and elegant bishop of Meaux, who, by the king's special order, composed that celebrated work which appeared after his death, in two volumes 4to, and in the year 1730, under the following title: *Defensio Declarationis celeberrime, quam de Postestate Ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus, xix. Martii, MDCLXXXII. Luxemburgi*. The late publication of this work was owing to the prospect of a reconciliation between the courts of France and Rome after the death of Innocent XI., which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged Lewis XIV. to prevent this work being put to the press.

§ ¶ This right of asylum extended much further than the ambassador's palace, whose immunity the pope did not mean to violate; it comprehended a considerable extent of ground which was called a quarter, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great and crying abuses.

¶ ¶ The Marquis de Lavardin began his

the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought upon by any consideration to yield, even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary.¹ His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of asylum was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other, the right of the Regale was settled with certain modifications.² The four famous propositions, relating to the pope's authority and jurisdiction, were softened, by the king's permission in private letters addressed to the pontiff by certain bishops; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy; on the contrary, they still remain in force, and occupy an eminent place among the laws of the kingdom.

Whether or no the
papal authority
gained ground
in this century.

XXIII.¹ Several protestant writers of eminent merit and learning, lament the accessions of power and authority which the Roman pontiffs are supposed to have gained in France during the course of this century. They tell us, with sorrow, that the Italian notions of the papal majesty and jurisdiction, which the French nation had, in former ages, looked upon with abhorrence, gained ground now, and had infected not only the nobility and clergy, but almost all ranks and orders of men; and from hence they conclude, that the famous rights and liberties of the Gallican church have suffered greatly by the perfidious stratagems of the Jesuits. They are led into this opinion by certain measures that were taken by the French court, and which seemed to favour the pretensions of the Roman pontiff. They are confirmed in it by the declamations of the Jansenists, and other modern writers among the French, who complain of the high veneration that was paid to the papal bulls during this century; of the success of the Jesuits in instilling into the mind of the king and his counsellors the maxims of Rome, and an excessive attachment to its bishop; of the violence and ill treatment that were offered to all those who adhered stedfastly to the doctrine and maxims of their forefathers; and of the gradual attempts that were made to introduce the formidable tribunal of the inquisition into France. But it will perhaps appear, on mature consideration, that too much stress is laid, by many, on these complaints; and that the rights and privileges of the Gallican church were in this century, and are actually at this day, in the same state and condition in which we find them during those earlier ages, of which the writers and declaimers above mentioned incessantly boast. It might be asked, where are the victories that are said to have been obtained over the French by the Popes of Rome, and which some Protestant doctors, lending a credulous ear to the complaints of the Jansenists and Appel-lants, think they perceive with the utmost clearness? I am persuaded it

embassy by entering Rome, surrounded with a thousand men in arms.

¹ Jageri *Historia Ecclesiastic. Sæc. xvii. Decenn. ix. p. 19*; *Legatio Lavardini*, which was published in 1688. But above all, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 248. For Christina took part in this contest, and adopted the cause of the French monarch.

² See Fleury, *Institutions du Droit Ecclesiastique François*, which excellent work is translated into Latin. (†) Dr. Mosheim refers to p. 454 of the Latin version.

¹ (†) This sect. xxiii. contains the ample note [1] which is to be found at p. 880 of the original. It comes in here with more propriety.

would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory answer in the affirmative to this question.

It is true, indeed, that as the transactions of government, in general, are now carried on in France with more subtilty, secrecy, and art, than in former times; so in particular, the stratagems and machinations of the Roman pontiffs have been opposed and defeated with more artifice and less noise, than in those more rude and unpolished ages, when almost every contest was terminated by brute force and open violence. The opposition between the court of France and the bishop of Rome still subsists; but the manner of terminating their differences is changed: and their debates are carried on with less clamour, though not certainly with less animosity and vigour, than in the times of old. This new and prudent manner of disputing is not agreeable to the restless, fiery, and impatient temper of the French, who have an irresistible propensity to noisy, clamorous, and expeditious proceedings; and hence undoubtedly arise all the complaints we have heard, and still hear, of the decline of the liberties of the Gallican church, in consequence of the growing influence and perfidious counsels of the Jesuits. If those, however, who are accustomed to make these complaints, would for a moment suspend their prejudices, and examine with attention the history, and also the present state of their country, they would soon perceive that their ecclesiastical liberties,^a instead of declining, or of being neglected by their monarchs, are maintained and preserved with more care, resolution, and foresight, than ever. It must indeed be acknowledged, that, in France, there are multitudes of cringing slaves, who basely fawn upon the Roman pontiffs, exalt their prerogatives, revere their majesty, and, through the dictates of superstition, interest, or ambition, are ever ready to hug the papal chain, and to submit their necks blindly to the yoke of those ghostly tyrants; but it may be proved by the most undoubted facts, and by innumerable examples, that these servile creatures of the pope abounded as much in France in former ages as they do at this day; and it must be also considered, that it is not by the counsels of this slavish tribe that the springs of government are moved, or the affairs of state and church transacted. It must be further acknowledged, that the Jesuits have arrived at a very high degree of influence and authority,^b and sometimes have credit enough to promote measures that do not at all appear consistent with the rights of the Gallican church, and must consequently be considered as heavy grievances by the patrons of the ancient ecclesiastical liberty. But here it may be observed, on the one hand, that many such measures have been proposed and followed before the rise of the Jesuits; and, on the other, that many affairs of great consequence are daily transacted in a manner highly displeasing and detrimental to that society, and extremely disagreeable to the Roman pontiffs. If it be alleged, that those who defend with learning and judgment the ancient doctrines and maxims of the Gallican church scarcely escape public censure and punishment, and that those who maintain them with vehemence and intemperate zeal are frequently re-

^a It is not necessary to advertise the reader, that by these liberties are not meant, that rational and Christian liberty which entitles every individual to follow the light of his own conscience, and the dictates of his own judgment, in religious matters; for no such liberty is allowed in France. The liberties of the Gallican church consist in the opposition which that church has made at different times to the overgrown power of the Roman

pontiff, and to his pretended personal infallibility.

^b Dr. Mosheim wrote this in the year 1753, before the suppression of the order of Jesuits in France. The downfall of that Society, and the circumstances that have attended it, seem both to illustrate and confirm his judicious notion with respect to the degree of credit and influence which the popes have had in that kingdom for some time past.

warded with exile or a prison; nay, the most humble and modern patrons of these doctrines are left in obscurity without encouragement or recompense; all this must be granted. But it must be considered, on the other hand, that the cause they maintain, and the ancient doctrines and maxims they defend, are not condemned, nor even deserted; the matter is only this, that the prince and his ministry have fallen upon a new method of maintaining and supporting them. It appears to them much more conducive to public peace and order, that the stratagems and attempts of the Roman pontiffs should be opposed and defeated by secret exertions of resolution and vigour, without noise or ostentation, than by learned productions and clamorous disputes; which, for the most part, excite factions in the kingdom, inflame the spirits of the people, throw the state into tumult and confusion, exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them still more and more from the French nation. In the meantime the doctors and professors, who are placed in the various seminaries of learning, are left at liberty to instruct the youth in the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and to explain and inculcate those maxims and laws by which, in former times, the papal authority was restrained, and confined within certain limits. If these laws and maxims are infringed, and if even violent methods are employed, against those who adhere steadfastly to them, this happens but very rarely, and never but when some case of extreme necessity, or the prospect of some great advantage to the community, absolutely require their suspension. Besides, those who sit at the political helm always take care to prevent the pope's reaping much benefit from this suspension or neglect of the ancient laws and maxims of the church. This circumstance, which is of so much importance in the present question, must appear evident to such as will be at the pains to look into the history of the debates that attended, and the consequences that followed, the reception of the bull *Unigenitus* in France, than which no papal edict could seem more repugnant to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. But in the business of this bull, as in other transactions of a like nature, the court proceeded upon this political maxim, that a smaller evil is to be submitted to, when a greater may be thereby prevented.

In a word, the kings of France have almost always treated the Roman pontiffs as the heroes, who are said in pagan story to have descended into Tartarus, behaved towards the triple-jawed guardian of that lower region; sometimes they offered a soporiferous cake to suppress his grumbling and menacing tone; at others, they terrified him with their naked swords, and the din of arms; and this with a view to stop his barking, and to obtain the liberty of directing their course in the manner they thought proper. There is nothing invidious designed by this comparison, which certainly represents, in a lively manner, the caresses and threatenings that were employed by the French monarchs, according to the nature of the times, the state of affairs, the character of the pontiffs, and other incidental circumstances, in order to render the court of Rome favourable to their designs. We have dwelt, perhaps, too much upon this subject: but we thought it not improper to undeceive many protestant writers, who, too much influenced by the bitter complaints and declarations of certain Jansenists, and not sufficiently instructed in the history of these ecclesiastical contentions, have formed erroneous notions concerning the point we have here endeavoured to examine and discuss.

The state of the
Roman clergy.

XXIV. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished during this century,

as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connexions of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such as might be expected from persons who had risen in the church by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged, by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did.^a Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a truly Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerted their utmost vigour and activity in opposing the vices of the sacred order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge that, among the bishops and inferior clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness with which the sacred order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or, at least, to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency in their conduct and conversation. It is however matter of surprise, that these pontiffs did not perceive the insurmountable obstacles to the success of their counsels and the fruits of their wise and salutary edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government. For were the Roman pontiffs even divinely inspired, and really infallible, yet unless this inspiration and infallibility were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time, it is not conceivable how they should ever entertain a notion of the possibility of restoring or maintaining order, or good morals, among that prodigious multitude of persons of all classes and characters that are subject to their jurisdiction.

The state of the monastic orders. XXV. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with much more circumspection and decency than in former times, yet they had every where departed, in a great measure, from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. About the commencement of this century, their convents and colleges made a most wretched and deplorable figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned even of their own writers. But

^a The reader may see these disagreeable accounts of the corruptions of the clergy confirmed by a great number of unexceptionable

testimonies, drawn from the writings of the most eminent doctors of the Romish church, in the *Mémoires de Port Royal*, t. ii. p. 308.

we find, further on, several attempts made to remove this disorder. The first were made by some wise and pious Benedictines, who, in France and other countries, reformed several monasteries of their order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the laws and discipline of their founder.^p Their example was followed by the monks of Clugni, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans and Franciscans.^q It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic orders into two general classes; one of these comprehends the Reformed monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners that had formerly dishonoured their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their order. The other is composed of the Un-reformed orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institute, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austerities and hardships of the monastic life. The latter class is by far the most numerous; and the greatest part, even of the Reformed monks, do not only come short of that purity of manners which their rule enjoins, but are moreover gradually and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

The congregation
of St. Maur.

XXVI. Among the Reformed monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or congregations, who surpass all the other monastic orders both in the excellence and utility of their rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. The most famous of these societies is the congregation of St. Maur,^r which was founded in the year 1620, by the express order of Gregory XV., and was enriched by Urban VIII., in the year 1627, with several donations and privileges. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the spirit and maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labours of its members. For in this congregation there is a select number of persons, who are distinguished by their genius and talents, set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, and more especially of history and antiquities; and this

^p Le Brœuf, *Mémoires sur l' Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 513, where there is an account of the first reforms made in the convents during this century. See Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, par. II. p. 97.

^q There is an account of all the convents reformed in this century, in Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. vi. vii., to which, however, several interesting circumstances may be added, by consulting other writers. The reform of the Monks of Clugni is amply described by the Benedictines, in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544. The same author speaks of the Reform of the Regular Canons of St. Augustin, tom. vii. p. 778, 787, 790. For an account of that of the Cistercians, see Mabillon, *Annal. Bénédict.* tom. vi. p. 121; *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. i. p. 7, 8, tom. ii. p. 133, 229, 269, 303. The Cistercians were no sooner reformed themselves, than they used their most zealous endeavours for the reformation of their whole

society (*i. e.* of the Benedictine order), but in vain. See Meaupou, *Vie de l' Abbé de la Trappe*, tom. i. p. 192.

^r See the *Gallia Christiana Nova*, an admirable work, composed by the Congregation of St. Maur, tom. vii. p. 474; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The letters patent of pope Gregory XV., by which the establishment of this famous congregation was approved and confirmed, were criticised with great severity and rigour by Launoy, that formidable scourge of all the monastic orders, in his *Examen Privil. S. Germani*, tom. iii. p. 1, Opp. p. 303. The same author gives an account of the dissensions that arose in this congregation immediately after its establishment; but an account which savours too much of that partiality that he was chargeable with, whenever he treated of monastic affairs; see his *Assert. Inquisit. in Privil. S. Medardi*, P. i. cap. lxxvi. p. 227, tom. iii. Opp. p. 2.

learned part of the society is furnished with all the means and materials of knowledge in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labours, and render them successful.* It must be abundantly known, to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in Europe, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous Congregation, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon all the various branches of philology and belles lettres, and whose researches have taken in the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted.†

Its history.

XXVII. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects

* The Benedictines celebrate, in pompous terms, the exploits of this congregation in general, and more especially their zealous and successful labours in restoring order, discipline, and virtue, in a great number of monasteries, which were falling into ruin through the indolence and corruption of their licentious members; see the *Voyage de deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congregation de St. Maur*, tom. i. p. 16, tom. iii. p. 47. This eulogy, though perhaps exaggerated, is not entirely unmerited; and there is no doubt but the Benedictines have contributed much to restore the credit of the monastic orders. There are, nevertheless, several classes of ecclesiastics in the Romish church, who are no well-wishers to this learned congregation, though their dislike be founded on different reasons. In the first class, we may place a certain number of ambitious prelates, whose artful purposes have been disappointed by this ingenious fraternity; for the monks of St. Maur, having turned their principal study towards ancient history and antiquities of every kind, and being perfectly acquainted with ancient records, diplomas, and charters, are thus peculiarly qualified to maintain their possessions, their jurisdictions, and privileges, against the litigious pretensions of the bishops, and have, in fact, maintained them with more success than their order could do in former times, when destitute of learning, or but ill furnished with the knowledge of ancient history. The Jesuits form the second class of adversaries, with whom this learned congregation has been obliged to struggle; for their lustre and reputation being considerably eclipsed by the numerous and admirable productions of these Benedictines, they have used their utmost endeavours to sink, or at least to diminish, the credit of such formidable rivals. See Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 36, 45. These Benedictines have a third set of enemies, who are instigated by superstition; and it is not improbable, that this superstition may be accompanied with a certain mixture of envy. To understand this fully, it must be observed, that the learned monks, of whom we are now speaking, have substituted an assiduous application to the culture of philology and literature in the place of that bodily and manual labour which the Rule of St. Benedict prescribes to his follow-

ers. The more robust, healthy, and vigorous monks are obliged to employ a certain portion of the day in working with their hands; while those of a weaker constitution, and superior genius, are allowed to exchange bodily for mental labour, and instead of cultivating the lands or gardens of the convent, to spend their days in the pursuit of knowledge, both human and divine. The lazy monks envy this bodily repose; and the superstitious and fanatical ones, who are vehemently prejudiced in favour of the ancient monastic discipline, behold, with contempt, these learned researches as unbecoming the monastic character, since they tend to divert the mind from divine contemplation. This superstitious and absurd opinion was maintained, with peculiar warmth and vehemence, by Armand John Bouthellier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, in his book des *Devoirs Monastiques*, upon which the Benedictines employed Mabillon, the most learned of their fraternity, to defend their cause, and to expose the reveries of the abbot in their proper colours. This he did with remarkable success, in his famous book *De Studiis Monasticis*, which was first published in 8vo, at Paris, in the year 1691, passed afterwards through several editions, and was translated into different languages. Hence arose that celebrated question, which was long debated with great warmth and animosity in France, viz. "How far a monk may, consistently with his character, apply himself to the study of literature?" There is an elegant and interesting history of this controversy given by Vincent Thuillier, a most learned monk of the congregation of St. Maur; see the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinartii*, tom. i. p. 365—425.

† The curious reader will find an account of the authors and learned productions with which the congregation of St. Maur has enriched the republic of letters, in Ph. le Cerf's *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de St. Maur*, published at the Hague, in 8vo, in 1726, and also in Bernard Pez's *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mariana*, published in 8vo, at Augsberg, in 1716. These Benedictines still maintain their literary fame by the frequent publication of laborious and learned productions in all the various branches of sacred and profane literature.

they produced, even in those places where they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity that had seized the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church, though their credit be small, and their severity be generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors, having always in their eye the ancient discipline of the monastic orders, and bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline, looked upon the changes above mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole days in prayers, tears, contemplation, and silence; in the perusal of holy books, and the hardships of bodily labour; nay, they went so far as to maintain, that all other designs, and all other occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and, on that account, vain and sinful in persons of that order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by several persons, whose obscurity put it out of their power to influence many in its behalf; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places," and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port-Royal, where it has subsisted from the year 1618 until our time.' These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this austere model; but they were all surpassed by the famous Bouthelier de Rance, abbot de la Trappe," who, with the most ardent zeal and indefatigable labour, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excessive superstition, which the Jansenists had drawn upon themselves by the austerity of their monastic discipline; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self-denial. This order still subsists, under the denomination of the Reformed Bernar-

" See the *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. ii. p. 601, 602. Martin Barcos, the most celebrated Jansenist of this century, introduced this austere rule of discipline into the monastery of St. Cyran, of which he was abbot. See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 132; Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 135. But, after the death of this famous abbot, the monks of his cloister relapsed into their former disorder, and resumed their former manners. See *Voyage de deux Bénédictins*, tom. i. par i. p. 18.

" Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. chap. xliv. p. 455.

" & This illustrious abbot showed very early an extraordinary genius for the belles lettres. At the age of ten, he was master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood Homer perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of Anacreon, with learned annotations. Some writers allege, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the Sorbonne did not extinguish it entirely. They also attribute his conversion to a singular inci-

dent. They tell us, that returning from the country, after six weeks' absence from a lady whom he loved passionately, and not in vain, he went directly to her chamber by a back stair, without having the patience to make any previous inquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber illuminated, and hung with black;—and, on approaching the bed, saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes, and the most adapted to mortify passion, inspire horror, and engender the gloom of melancholy devotion, in a mind too lively and too much agitated to improve this shocking change to the purposes of rational piety; he saw his fair mistress in her shroud—dead of the small pox—all her charms fled—and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder.—From that moment, it is said, our abbot retired from the world, repaired to La Trappe, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of France, and there spent the last forty years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety.

dins of La Trappe, and has several monasteries both in Spain and Italy ; but, if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it is degenerating gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder.*

New monastic orders founded.

XXVIII. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world.

We begin with the Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, a famous order, instituted by cardinal Berulle, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service both of state and church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This order, which, both in the nature of its rules and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, has produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. Its members, however, have, on account of certain theological productions, been suspected of introducing new opinions ; and this suspicion has not only been raised, but is also industriously fomented and propagated by the Jesuits. The priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are, however, at liberty to retire whenever they think proper.† While they continue in the order, they are bound to perform, with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one single point, even the preparing and qualifying themselves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. If, therefore, we consider this order in the original end of its institution, its convents may, not improperly, be called the schools of sacerdotal divinity.‡ It is nevertheless to be observed, that, in later times, the Fathers of the Oratory have not confined themselves to this single object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan, and applied themselves to the study of polite literature and theology, which they teach with reputation in their colleges.§

After these Fathers, the next place is due to the Priests of the Missions, an order founded by Vincent de Paul, who has obtained, not long ago, the

* Marsolier, Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe, published at Paris in 1702, in 4to, and in 1703, in 2 vols. 12mo ; Meaupou, Vie de M. l'Abbé de la Trappe, published at Paris, in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1702 ; Félibien, Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, published at Paris in 1671 ; Helyot, Histoire des Ordres, tom. vi. chap. i. p. 1.

† The Fathers or priests, as they are also called, of the Oratory, are not, properly speaking, religious, or monks, being bound by no vows, and their institute being purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal.

‡ See Habert de Cerisi, Vie du Cardinal Berulle, fondateur de l'Oratoire de Jesus, published at Paris, in 4to, in the year 1646 ;

Morini Vita Antiq. prefixed to his Orientalia, p. 3, 4, 5, 110 ; R. Simon, Lettres Choicis, tom. ii. p. 60, et Bibliothèque Critique, published under the fictitious name of Saint Jorre, tom. iii. p. 303, 324, 330. For an account of the genius and capacity of Berulle, see Baillée. Vie de Richer, p. 220—342 ; Lo Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII., tom. iii. p. 397 ; Helyot, Histoire des Ordres, tom. viii. chap. x. p. 53 ; Gallia Christiana Benedictinor, tom. vii. p. 976.

§ The Fathers of the Oratory will now be obliged, in a more particular manner, to extend their plan ; since, by the suppression of the Jesuits in France, the education of youth is committed to them.

honours of saintship, and formed into a regular congregation, in the year 1632, by Pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society by its founder lays its members under the three following obligations: First, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises: Secondly, to employ eight months in the year in the villages, and in general among the country people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent: Thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations.^b

The Priests of the Missions were also intrusted with the direction and government of a female order, called Virgins of Love, or Daughters of Charity, whose office it was to administer assistance and relief to indigent persons who were confined to their beds by sickness and infirmity. This order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received, in the year 1660, the approbation of Pope Clement IX.^c The Brethern and Sisters of the pious and Christian schools, who are now commonly called Pietists, were formed into a society, in the year 1678, by Nicholas Barre, and obliged, by their engagements, to devote themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes.^d It would be endless to mention all the religious societies which rose and fell, were formed by fits of zeal, and dissolved by external incidents, or by their own internal principles of instability and decay.

The society of
Jesuits. XXIX. If the Company of Jesus, so called, which may be considered as the soul of the papal hierarchy, and the main-spring that directs its motions, had not been invincible, it must have sunk under the attacks of those formidable enemies that, during the course of this century, assailed it on all sides and from every quarter. When we consider the multitude of the adversaries the Jesuits had to encounter, the heinous crimes with which they were charged, the innumerable affronts they received, and the various calamities in which they were involved, it must appear astonishing that they yet subsist: and still more so, that they enjoy any degree of public esteem, and are not, on the contrary, sunk in oblivion, or covered with infamy. In France, Holland, Poland, and Italy, they experienced, from time to time, the bitter effects of a warm and vehement opposition, and were both in public and private, accused of the greatest enormities, and charged with maintaining pestilential errors and maxims, that were equally destructive of the temporal and eternal interests of mankind, by their tendency to extinguish the spirit of true religion, and to trouble the order and peace of civil society. The Jansenists, and all who espoused their cause, distinguished themselves more especially in this opposition. They composed an innumerable multitude of books, in order to cover the sons of Loyola with eternal reproach, and to expose them to the hatred and scorn of the whole universe. Nor were these productions mere defamatory libels, dictated by malice alone, or pompous declamations, destitute of arguments and evidence. On the contrary, they were attended

^b Abely, *Vie de Vincent de Paul*, published in 4to, at Paris, in 1664; Helyot, loc. cit. t. viii. chap. xi. p. 64; Gallia Christiana, t. vii. p. 998.

^c Gobillon, *Vie de Madame de Gras*, Fon-

datrice des Filles de la Charité, published in 12mo, at Paris, in the year 1676.

^d Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. chap. xxx. p. 233.

with the strongest demonstrations, being drawn from undeniable facts, and confirmed by unexceptionable testimonies.* Yet all this was far from overturning that fabric of profound and insidious policy which the Jesuits had raised, under the protection of the Roman pontiffs, and the connivance of deluded princes and nations. It seemed, on the contrary, as if the opposition of such a multitude of enemies and accusers had strengthened their interest, instead of diminishing it, and added to their affluence and prosperity, instead of bringing on their destruction. Amidst the storm that threatened them with a fatal shipwreck, they directed their course with the utmost dexterity, tranquillity, and prudence. Thus they got safe into the desired harbour, and arose to the very summit of spiritual authority in the church of Rome. Avoiding rather than repelling the assaults of their enemies, opposing for the most part patience and silence to their redoubled insults, they proceeded uniformly and steadfastly to their great purpose, and they seemed to have attained it. For those very nations who formerly looked upon a Jesuit as a kind of monster, and as a public pest, commit at this day, (some through necessity, some through choice, and others through both,) a great part of their interests and transactions to the direction of this most artful and powerful society.[†]

* An account of this opposition to, and of these contests with the Jesuits, would furnish matter for many volumes; since there is scarcely any Roman Catholic country which has not been the theatre of violent divisions between the sons of Loyola and the magistrates, monks, or doctors, of the Romish church. In these contests, the Jesuits seemed almost always to be vanquished; and nevertheless, in the issue, they always came victorious from the field of controversy. A Jansemit writer proposed, some years ago, to collect into one relation the accounts of these contests that lie dispersed in a multitude of books, and to give a complete history of this famous order. The first volume of his work accordingly appeared at Utrecht in the year 1741, was accompanied with a curious preface, and entitled, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*. If we may give credit to what this author tells us of the voyages he undertook, the dangers and difficulties he encountered, and the number of years he spent in investigating the proceedings, and in detecting the frauds and artifices of the Jesuits, we must certainly be persuaded, that no man could be better qualified for composing the history of this insidious order. But this good man, returning imprudently into France, was discovered by his exasperated enemies the Jesuits, and is said to have perished miserably by their hands. Hence not above a third part of his intended work was either published or finished for the press. † Some things may be added, both by way of correction and illustration, to what Dr. Mosheim has here said concerning this history of the Jesuits and its author. In the first place, its author or compiler is still alive, resides at the Hague, passes by the name of Benard, is supposed to be a Jansemit, and a relation of the famous Father Quenel, whom the Jesuits persecuted with such violence in France. He is a native of

France, and belonged to the Oratory. It is also true, that he went thither from Holland several years ago; and it was believed that he had fallen a victim to the resentment of the Jesuits, until his return to the Hague proved that report false. Secondly; this history is carried no farther down than the year 1572, notwithstanding the express promises and engagements by which the author bound himself, four-and-twenty years ago, in the preface to his first volume, to publish the whole in a very short time, declaring that it was ready for the press. This suspension is far from being honourable to Mr. Benard, who is still living at the Hague, and consequently at full liberty to accomplish his promise. This has made some suspect that though Mr. Benard is too much out of the Jesuits' reach to be influenced by their threatenings, he is not, however, too far from them to be moved by the eloquence of their promises, or steadfast enough to stand out against the weighty remonstrances they may have employed to prevent the further publication of his history. It may be observed, thirdly, that the character of a traveller, who has studied the manners and conduct of the Jesuits in the most remarkable scenes of their transactions in Europe, and the other parts of the globe, is here assumed by Mr. Benard as the most pleasing manner of conveying the accounts which he compiled in his closet. These accounts do not appear to be false, though the character of a traveller, assumed by the compiler, be fictitious. It must be allowed, on the contrary, that Mr. Benard has drawn his relations from good sources, though his style and manner cannot well be justified from the charge of acrimony and malignity.

† It may perhaps be affirmed with truth, that none of the Roman Catholic nations attacked the Jesuits with more vehemence and animosity than the French have done upon

The state of learning in the church of Rome.

XXX. All the different branches of literature received, during this century, in the more polished Roman Catholic countries, a new degree of lustre and improvement. France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, produced several men eminent for their genius, erudition, and acquaintance with the learned languages. This happy circumstance must not, however, be attributed to the labour of the schools, or to the methods and procedure of public education; for the old, dry, perplexing, inelegant, scholastic method of instruction prevailed then, and, indeed, still takes place in both the higher and lower seminaries of learning; and it is the peculiar tendency of this method to damp genius, to depress, instead of exciting and encouraging, the generous efforts of the mind towards the pursuit of truth, and to load the memory with a multitude of insignificant words and useless distinctions. It was beyond the borders of these pedantic seminaries that genius was encouraged and directed by great and eminent patrons of science, who opened new paths to the attainment of solid learning, and presented the sciences under a new and engaging aspect to the studious youth. It must be observed here, in justice to the French, that they bore a distinguished part in this literary reformation. Excited by their native force of genius, and animated by the encouragement that learning and learned men received from the munificence of Lewis XIV., they cultivated with success almost all the various branches of literature, and, rejecting the barbarous jargon of the schools, exhibited learning under an elegant and alluring form, and thereby multiplied the number of its votaries and patrons.* It is well known how much the example and labours of this polite nation contributed to deliver other countries from the yoke of scholastic bondage.

The state of philosophy.

XXXI. The Aristotelians of this century were a set of intricate dialecticians, who had the name of the Stagyrice always in their mouths, without the least portion of his genius, or any tolerable knowledge of his system; and they maintained their empire in the schools, notwithstanding the attempts that had been made to diminish their credit. It was long before the court of Rome, which beheld with terror whatever bore the smallest aspect of novelty, could think of consenting to the introduction of a more rational philosophy, or permit the modern discoveries in that noble science to be explained with freedom in the public seminaries of learning. This appears sufficiently from the fate of Galileo, the famous mathematician of Florence, who was cast into prison by the court of Inquisition, for adopting the sentiments of Coper-

several occasions; and it is certain that the Jesuits in that kingdom have been more than once involved in great difficulties and distress. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult Du Boulay's *Historia Academiæ Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 559, 648, 676, 738, 742, 744, 763, 774, 874, 890, 898, 909, in which he will find an ample and accurate account of the resolutions and transactions of the parliament and university of Paris, and also of the proceedings of the people in general, to the detriment of this artful and dangerous society. But what was the final issue of all these resolutions and transactions, and in what did all this opposition end? I answer, in the exaltation and grandeur of the Jesuits. They had been banished with ignominy out of the kingdom, and were recalled from their exile, and honourably restored to their former credit

in the year 1604, under the reign of Henry IV., notwithstanding the remonstrances of many persons of the highest rank and dignity, who were shocked beyond expression at this unaccountably mean and ignoble step. See *Mémoires de Sully* (the modern edition published at Geneva), tom. v. p. 83—814. After that period, they moved the main-springs of government both in church and state, and still continue to sit, though invisibly, at the helm of both. (¶ The reader must again be advertised, that this note was written by Dr. Mosheim some years before the suppression of the society of the Jesuits in France.

* For an ample account of this matter, see Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis XIV.*, and more especially the chapter in the second volume relative to the arts and sciences.

nicus, in relation to the constitution of the solar system. It is true, indeed, that Des Cartes and Gassendi,^b the one by his new philosophy, and the other by his admirable writings, gave a mortal wound to the Peripatetics, and excited a spirit of liberty and emulation that changed the face of science in France. It was under the auspicious influence of these adventurous guides, that several eminent men of that nation abandoned the perplexed and intricate wilds of the philosophy that was taught by the modern Aristotelians; and throwing off the shackles of mere authority, dared to consult the dictates of reason and experience in the study of nature, and in the investigation of truth. Among these converts to true philosophy, several Jesuits, and a still greater number of Jansenists and priests of the Oratory, distinguished themselves; and, accordingly, we find in this list the respectable names of Malebranche, Arnauld, Lamy, Nicole, Pascal, who acquired immortal fame by illustrating and improving the doctrine of Des Cartes, and accommodating it to the purposes of human life.^c The modesty, circumspection, and self-diffidence of Gassendi, who confessed the scanty means of his knowledge, and pretended to no other merit than that of pointing out a rational method of arriving at truth, while others boasted that they had already found it out, rendered him disagreeable in France. The ardent curiosity, the fervour, precipitation, and impatience of that lively people, could not bear the slow and cautious method of proceeding that was recommended by the cool wisdom of this prudent inquirer. They wanted to get at the summit of philosophy, without climbing the steps that lead to it.

Towards the conclusion of this century, many eminent men, in Italy and in other countries, followed the example of the French, in throwing off the yoke of the Peripatetics, and venturing into the paths that were newly opened for the investigation of truth. This desertion of the old philosophy was at first attended with that timorousness and secrecy that arose from apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of the court of Rome; but as soon as it was known that the Roman Pontiffs beheld with less indignation and jealousy the new discoveries in metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy, then the deserters broke their chains with greater confidence, and proceeded with greater freedom and boldness in the pursuit of truth.

The respective merit of the Jesuits, Benedictines, priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists, in the cultivation of sacred and profane literature.

XXXII. After this general account of the state of learning in the Roman Catholic countries, it will not be improper to point out, in a more particular manner, those of the Romish writers who contributed most to the propagation and improvement both of sacred and profane erudition during the course of this century. The Jesuits were for a long time not only possessed of an undisputed pre-eminence in this respect, but were, moreover, considered as almost the sole fountains of universal knowledge, and the only religious order that made

^b See Gassendi *Exercitationes Paradoxe adversus Aristoteleos*, Operum tom. iii. This subtle and judicious work contributed, perhaps, more than any thing else, to hurt the cause, and ruin the credit, of the Peripatetics.

^c These great men were, indeed, very ill treated by the Peripatetics, on account of their learned and excellent labours. They were accused, by these exasperated scholastics, of irreigion, and were even charged with atheism by Father Hardouin, who was really intoxi-

cated with the large draughts he had taken from the muddy fountains of Peripatetics and scholastic science. See his *Athei Detecti*, in his *Opp. Posthum.* p. 1 and 1259.—It is easy to perceive the reasons of all this resentment; since the Cartesian system, which aimed at restoring the authority of reason, and the light of true philosophy, was by no means so proper to defend the pretensions of Rome and the cause of popery as the dark and intricate jargon of the Peripatetics.

any figure in the literary world. And it must be confessed by all who are not misled by want of candour or of proper information, that this famous society was adorned by many persons of uncommon genius and learning. The names of Petau, Sirmond, Poussines, Labbe, and Abram, will live as long as letters shall be held in honour; and even that of Hardouin, notwithstanding the singularity of his disordered fancy, and the extravagance of many of his opinions, will escape oblivion.

It is at the same time to be observed, that the literary glory of the Jesuits suffered a remarkable eclipse during the course of this century, from the growing lustre of the Benedictine order, and more especially of the congregation of St. Maur. The Jesuits were perpetually boasting of the eminent merit and lustre of their society on the one hand, and exposing, on the other, to public contempt, the ignorance and stupidity of the Benedictines, who, indeed, formerly made a very different figure from what they do at present. Their view in this was to form a plausible pretext for invading the rights of the latter, and engrossing their ample revenues and possessions; but the Benedictines resolved to disconcert this insidious project, to wipe off the reproach of ignorance that had heretofore been cast upon them with too much justice, and to disappoint the rapacious avidity of their enemies, and rob them of their pretexts. For this purpose they not only erected schools in their monasteries, for the instruction of youth in the various branches of learning and science, but also employed such of their select members, as were distinguished by their erudition and genius, in composing a variety of learned productions, that were likely to survive the waste of time, adapted to vindicate the honour of the fraternity, and to reduce its enemies to silence. This important task has been executed with incredible ability and success by Mabillon, D'Archy, Massuet, Ruinart, Beaugendre, Garnier, De la Rue, Martene, Montfaucon, and other eminent men of that learned order. It is to these Benedictines that we are indebted for the best editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; for the discovery of many curious records and ancient documents, that throw a new light upon the history of remote ages, and upon the antiquities of various countries; for the best accounts of ancient transactions, whether ecclesiastical or political, and of the manners and customs of the earliest times; for the improvement of chronology, and the other branches of literature. In all these parts of philology and belles lettres, the religious order now under consideration has shone with a distinguished lustre, and given specimens of their knowledge, discernment, and industry, that are worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity. It would be perhaps difficult to assign a reason for that visible decline of learning among the Jesuits, that commenced precisely at that very period when the Benedictines began to make this eminent figure in the republic of letters. The fact, however, is undeniable; and the Jesuits have long been at a loss to produce any one or more of their members who are qualified to dispute the pre-eminence, or even to claim an equality, with the Benedictines. The latter still continue to shine in the various branches of philology, and almost every year enrich the literary world with productions that furnish abundant proofs of their learning and industry; whereas, if we except a single work, published by the Jesuits of Antwerp, many years have passed since the sons of Loyola have given any satisfactory proofs of their boasted learning, or added to the mass of literature any work worthy to be compared with the labours of the followers of Benedict.

These learned monks excited the emulation of the priests of the Oratory,

whose efforts to resemble them were far from being destitute of success. Several members of this latter order distinguished themselves by their remarkable proficiency in various branches both of sacred and profane literature. This, to mention no more examples, appears sufficiently from the writings of Morin, Thomassin, and Simon, and from that admirable work of Charles le Cointe, entitled, *The Ecclesiastical Annals of France*. The Jansenists also deserve a place in the list of those who cultivated letters with industry and success. Many of their productions abound with erudition, nay, several of them excel both in elegance of style and precision of method; and it may be said, in general, that their writings were eminently serviceable in the instruction of youth, and also proper to contribute to the progress of learning among persons of riper years. The writings of those who composed the community of Port-Royal,¹ the works of Tillemont, Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Lancelot, with many other elegant and useful productions of persons of this class, were undoubtedly an ornament to French literature during this century. The other religious societies, the higher and lower orders of the clergy, had also among them men of learning and genius that reflected a lustre upon the respective classes to which they belonged. Nor ought this to be a matter of admiration; since nothing is more natural than that, in an immense multitude of monks and clergy, all possessed of abundant leisure for study, and of the best opportunities of improvement, there should be some who, unwilling to hide or throw away such a precious talent, would employ with success this leisure and these opportunities in the culture of the sciences. It is nevertheless certain, that the eminent men who were to be found beyond the limits of the four classes already mentioned,^k were few in number, comparatively speaking, and scarcely exceeded the list that any one of these classes was able to furnish.

The principal authors in the Romish communion.

XXXIII. Hence it comes, that the church of Rome can produce a long list of writers that have arisen in its bosom, and acquired a shining and permanent reputation, by their learned productions. At the head of the eminent authors which we find among the monastic orders and the regular clergy, must be placed the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, who have obtained an immortal name in their church, the one by his laborious *Annals*, and the other by his books of *Controversy*. The other writers that belong to this class, are Serrarius, Fevardentius, Possevin, Gretser, Combefis, Natalis Alexander, Becan, Sirmond, Petau, Poussines, Cellot, Caussin, Morrin, Renaud, Fra-Paolo, Pallavicini, Labbe, Maimburg, Thomassin, Sfondrat, Aguirre, Henry Noris, D'Achery, Mabillon, Hardouin, Simon, Ruinart, Montfaucon, Galloni, Sacchi, Cornelius à Lapide, Bonfrere, Menard, Seguenot, Bernard, Lamy, Bolland, Henschen, Papebroch, and others.

The principal authors among the secular clergy, who are neither bound by vows, nor attached to any peculiar community and rules of discipline, were, Perron, Estius, Launoy, Albaspinæus, Petrus de Marca, Richelieu, Holstenius, Baluze, Bona, Huet, Bossuet, Fenelon, Godeau, Tillemont, Thiers, Du Pin, Leo Allatius, Zaccagni, Cotelier, Filesac, Visconti, &c.^l

¹ Messieurs de Port-Royal was a general denomination which comprehended all the Jansenist writers, but was however applied, in a more confined and particular sense, to those Jansenists who passed their days in pious exercises and literary pursuits in the retreat of Port-Royal, a mansion situated at a little dis-

tance from Paris. It is well known that several writers of superior genius, extensive learning, and uncommon eloquence, resided in this sanctuary of letters.

^k The Jesuits, Benedictines, Priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists.

^l For a particular account of the respective

This list might be considerably augmented by adding to it those writers among the laity who distinguished themselves by their theological or literary productions.

The doctrine of
the church of
Rome still more
corrupt than in
the preceding
ages.

XXXIV. If we take an accurate view of the religious system of the Romish church during this century, both with respect to articles of faith and rules of practice, we shall find, that, instead of being improved by being brought somewhat nearer to that perfect model of doctrine and morals that is exhibited to us in the Holy Scriptures, it had contracted new degrees of corruption and degeneracy in most places, partly by the negligence of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. This is not only the observation of those who have renounced the Romish communion, and in the despotic style of that church are called heretics; it is the complaint of the wisest and worthiest part of that communion, of all its members who have a zeal for the advancement of true Christian knowledge and genuine piety.

As to the doctrinal part of the Romish religion, it is said, and not without foundation, to have suffered extremely in the hands of the Jesuits, who, under the connivance, nay, sometimes by the immediate assistance of the Roman pontiffs, have perverted and corrupted such of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as were left entire by the council of Trent. There are not wanting proofs sufficient to support this charge; inasmuch as the subtle and insidious fathers have manifestly endeavoured to diminish the authority and importance of the Holy Scriptures, have extolled the power of human nature, changed the sentiments of many with respect to the necessity and efficacy of divine grace, represented the mediation and sufferings of Christ as less powerful and meritorious than they are said to be in the sacred writings, turned the Roman pontiff into a terrestrial Deity, and put him almost upon an equal footing with the Divine Saviour; and finally rendered, as far as in them lies, the truth of the Christian religion dubious, by their fallacious reasonings, and their subtle but pernicious sophistry. The testimonies brought to support these accusations by men of weight and merit, particularly among the Jansenists, are of very great authority, and it is extremely difficult to refuse our assent to them, when they are impartially examined; but, on the other hand, it may be easily proved, that the Jesuits, instead of inventing these pernicious doctrines, did no more in reality than propagate them, as they found them in that ancient form of the Romish religion that preceded the reformation, and was directly calculated to raise the authority of the Pope, and the power and prerogatives of the Romish church to the very highest pitch of despotic grandeur. To inculcate this form of doctrine was the direct vocation of the Jesuits, who were to derive all their credit, opulence, and influence, from their being considered as the main support of the papacy, and the peculiar favourites of the Roman pontiffs. If the ultimate end and purpose of these pontiffs were to render the church more pure and holy, and to bring it as near as possible to the resemblance of its Divine Founder, and if this were the commission they gave to their favourite emissaries and doctors, then the Jesuits would be at liberty to preach a very different doctrine from what they now inculcate. But that liberty cannot be granted to them as long as their principal orders from the papal throne are, to use all their diligence and industry, to the end that the pontiffs may hold what

they have acquired, and recover what they have lost ; and that the bishops and ministers of the Romish church may daily see their opulence increase, and the limits of their authority extended and enlarged. The chief crime then of the Jesuits is really this, that they have explained, with more openness and perspicuity, those points which the leading managers in the council of Trent had either entirely omitted, or slightly mentioned, that they might not shock the friends of true religion, who composed a part of that famous assembly. And here we see the true reason why the Roman pontiffs, notwithstanding the ardent solicitations and remonstrances that have been employed to arm their just severity against the Jesuits, have always maintained that artful order, and have been so deaf to the accusations of their adversaries, that no entreaties have been able to persuade them to condemn their religious principles and tenets, however erroneous in their nature and pernicious in their effects. On the contrary, the court of Rome has always opposed, either in a public or clandestine manner, all the vigorous measures that have been used to procure the condemnation and suppression of the doctrine of the Loyolites ; and the Roman pontiffs have constantly treated all such attempts as the projects of rash and imprudent men, who, through involuntary ignorance or obstinate prejudice, were blind to the true interest of the church.

The foundations
of morality
sapped by the
Jesuits.

XXXV. In the sphere of morals, the Jesuits made still more dreadful and atrocious inroads than in that of religion. Did we affirm, that they have perverted and corrupted almost all the various branches and precepts of morality, we should not express sufficiently the pernicious tendency of their maxims. Were we to go still further, and maintain, that they have sapped and destroyed its very foundations, we should maintain no more than what innumerable writers of the Romish church abundantly testify, and what many of the most illustrious communities of that church publicly lament. Those who bring this dreadful charge against the sons of Loyola, have taken abundant precautions to vindicate themselves against the reproach of calumny in this matter. They have published several maxims, inconsistent with all regard for virtue and even decency, which they have drawn from the moral writings of that order, and more especially from the numerous productions of its casuists. They observe more particularly, that the whole society adopts and inculcates the following maxims :

“ That persons truly wicked and void of the love of God, may expect to obtain eternal life in heaven, provided that they be impressed with a fear of the Divine anger, and avoid all heinous and enormous crimes through the dread of future punishment :

“ That those persons may transgress with safety who have a probable reason for transgressing, *i. e.* any plausible argument or authority in favour of the sin they are inclined to commit :”

^m This is one of the most corrupt and most dangerous maxims of the Jesuits. On the one hand, they have among them doctors of different characters and different principles, that thus they may render their society recommendable in the eyes of all sorts of persons, the licentious as well as the austere. On the other, they maintain, that an opinion or practice, recommended by any one doctor, becomes thereby probable, as it is not to be supposed that a learned divine would adopt an opinion, or recommend a practice, in favour of which

no considerable reason could be alleged. But here lies the poison : this probable opinion or practice may be followed, say the Jesuits, even when the contrary is still more probable, nay, when it is sure, because, though the man err, he errs under the authority of an eminent doctor. Thus Escobar affirms, that a judge may decide in favour of that side of a question that is the least probable, and even against his own opinion, if he be supported by any tolerable authority. See *Lettres Provinciales*, Letter viii.

"That actions intrinsically evil, and directly contrary to the divine laws, may be innocently performed, by those who have so much power over their own minds, as to join, even ideally, a good end to this wicked action, or (to speak in the style of the Jesuits) who are capable of directing their intention aright."

"That philosophical sin is of a very light and trivial nature, and does not deserve the pains of hell.—(By philosophical sin the Jesuits mean an action contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason, done by a person who is ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful of its true meaning:)"

"That the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of lust, agitated by the impulse of tumultuous passions, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, however detestable and heinous they may be in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressors before the tribunal of God; and that such transgressions may often be as involuntary as the actions of a madman:

"That the person who takes an oath or enters into a contract, may, to elude the force of the one, and the obligation of the other, add to the form of words that express them, certain mental additions and tacit reservations."

These and other enormities of a like nature,⁹ are said to make an essen-

⁸ For example, an ecclesiastic who buys a benefice, in order to direct his intention aright, must, by a powerful act of abstraction, turn away his thoughts from the crime of simony, which he is committing, to some lawful purpose, such as that of acquiring an ample subsistence, or that of doing good by instructing the ignorant. Thus again, a man who runs his neighbour through the body in a duel, on account of a trivial affront, to render his action lawful, has only to turn his thoughts from the principle of vengeance to the more decent principle of honour, and the murder he commits will, by the magic power of Jesuitical morality, be converted into an innocent action. There is no crime, no enormity, to which this abominable maxim may not be extended. "A famous Jesuit had declared, that a son may wish for the death of his father, and even rejoice at it when it arrives, provided that his wish does not arise from any personal hatred, but only from a desire of the patrimony which his death will procure him." See Gaspard Hurtado, *De sub. peccat. diff.* 9, quoted by Diana, p. 5, tr. 14, R. 99; and another has had the effrontery to maintain, that a monk or ecclesiastic may lawfully assassinate a calumniator, who threatens laying scandalous crimes to the charge of their community, when there is no other way of hindering him to execute his purpose. See the works of Father Lamey, tom. v. disp. 36, n. 118.

⁹ It would perhaps be more accurate to define the philosophical sin of the Jesuits to be "an action contrary to right reason, which is done by a person who is either absolutely ignorant of God, or does not think of him during the time this action is committed."

¹⁰ The books that have been written to expose and refute the corrupt and enormous maxims of the Jesuits, would make an ample

library, were they collected together. But nothing of this kind is equal to the learned, ingenious, and humorous work of the famous Pascal, entitled, *Les Provinciales, ou Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ces amis et aux Jesuites, sur la Morale et la Politique de ces Peres*. This exquisite production is accompanied, in some editions of it, with the learned and judicious observations of Nicole, who, under the fictitious name of Guillaume Wenderock, has fully demonstrated the truth of those facts which Pascal had advanced without quoting his authorities, and has placed in a full and striking light several interesting circumstances which that great man had treated with perhaps too much brevity. These letters, which did the Jesuits more real mischief than either the indignation of sovereign princes, or any other calamity that had heretofore fallen upon their order, were translated into Latin by Rachelius. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola, sensibly affected and alarmed by this formidable attack upon their reputation, left no means unemployed to defend themselves against such a respectable adversary. They sent forth their ablest champions to defend their cause, or at least to cover them from shame: among which champions the subtle and eloquent Father Daniel, the celebrated author of the *History of France*, shone forth with a superior lustre; and as if they thought it unsafe to trust to the powers of argument, and the force of evidence alone, they applied themselves for help to the secular arm, and had credit enough to obtain a sentence against the Provincials, by which they were condemned to be burnt publicly at Paris. See Daniel's *Opusculæ*, vol. i. p. 363. This author, however, acknowledges that the greatest part of the answers which the Jesuits opposed to the performance of Pascal were

tial part of the system of morality inculcated by the Jesuits. And they were complained of in the strongest remonstrances not only by the Dominicans and Jansenists, but also by the most eminent theological doctors of Paris, Poitiers, Louvain, and other academical cities, who expressed their abhorrence of them in such a public and solemn manner, that the Roman pontiff neither thought it safe nor honourable to keep silence on that head. Accordingly a part of these moral maxims were condemned, in the year 1659, by pope Alexander VII., in a public edict; and in the year 1690, the article relating to philosophical sin met with the same fate, under the pontificate of Alexander VIII.⁴ It was but natural to think, that if the order of Jesuits did not expire under the terrible blows it received from such a formidable list of adversaries, yet their system of morals must at least have been suppressed, and their pestilential maxims banished from the schools. This is the least that could have been expected from the complaints and remonstrances of the clerical and monastic orders, and the damnatory bulls of the Roman pontiffs. And yet, if we may credit the testimonies of many learned and pious men in the communion of Rome, even this effect was not produced; and the remonstrances of the monks, the complaints of the clergy, and the bulls of the popes, rather served to restrain, in a certain measure, the enormous licentiousness that had reigned among the writers of this corrupt order, than to purify the seminaries of

weak and unsatisfactory. Certain it is, that (whether it was owing to the strength of argument, or to the elegant wit and humour that reigned in them) the Provincial Letters lost not the smallest portion of their credit and reputation by all the answers that were made to them, but continued to pass through a variety of editions, which could scarcely be printed off with rapidity sufficient to satisfy the desires of the public. Another severe attack was made upon the Jesuits, in a book inferior to Pascal's in point of wit and genteel pleasantry, but superior to it in point of evidence, since it abounds with passages and testimonies which are drawn from the most applauded writings of the Jesuits, and demonstrate fully the corruption and enormity of the moral rules and maxims inculcated by that famous order. This book, which was published at Mons, in three vols. 8vo, in the year 1702, bears the following title: *La Morale des Jesuites, extraité fidèlement de leurs Livres, imprimée avec la permission et l'approbation des Supérieurs de leur Compagnie, par un Docteur de la Sorbonne*. The author was Perrault, (son of Charles Perrault, who began the famous controversy in France concerning the respective merits of the ancients and moderns,) and his book met with the same fate with the Provincials of Pascal; for it was burnt at Paris in the year 1706, at the request of the Jesuits. See the *Opuscules* du P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 356. Nor indeed is it at all surprising that the Jesuits exerted all their zeal against this compilation, which exhibited in one shocking point of view all that had been complained of and censured in their

maxims and institutions, and unfolded the whole mystery of their iniquity.

It has also been laid to the charge of the Jesuits, that they reduced their pernicious maxims to practice, especially in the remoter parts of the world. This the famous Arnauld, together with some of his Jansenist brethren, have undertaken to prove in that laborious and celebrated work, entitled, *La Morale Pratique des Jesuites*. In this important work, which consists of eight volumes in 8vo, and of which a second edition was published at Amsterdam, in the year 1742, there is a multitude of authentic relations, documents, facts, and testimonies, employed to demonstrate the criminal conduct and practices of the Jesuits. For an ample account of the Jesuitical doctrine concerning Philosophical Sin, and the dissensions and controversies it occasioned, see *Jacobi Hyacinthi Serry* Addenda ad Histor. Congregationum de Auxiliis*, p. 32; as also his *Auctarium*, p. 289.

⁴ There is a concise and accurate account of the contests and divisions, to which the morality of the Jesuits gave rise in Franco and in other places, in a work entitled, *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise*, published in the year 1730; see tom. ii. p. 26. It is very remarkable, that the two papal bulls of Alexander VII. and VIII. against the Jesuits are not to be found in the *Bullarium Pontificum*; but the Jansenists and Dominicans, who are careful in perpetuating whatever may tend to the dishonour of the Jesuits, have preserved them industriously from oblivion.

* *See* This is a fictitious name; the true name of the author of the *Addenda* is Augustin le Banc.

instruction from the contagion of their dissolute maxims. After what has been observed in relation to the moral system of the Jesuits, it will not be difficult to assign a reason for the remarkable propensity that is discovered by kings, princes, the nobility, and gentry of both sexes, and an innumerable multitudes of persons of all ranks and conditions, to commit their consciences to the direction, and their souls to the care, of the brethren of this society. It is, no doubt, highly convenient for persons, who do not pretend to a rigid observance of the duties of religion and morality, to have spiritual guides, who diminish the guilt of transgression, disguise the deformity of vice, let loose the reins of all the passions, nay, even nourish them by their dissolute precepts, and render the way to heaven as easy, as agreeable, and as smooth as is possible.*

What has here been said concerning the erroneous maxims and corrupt practices of the Jesuits must, however, be understood with certain modifications and restrictions. It must not be imagined, that these maxims are adopted, or these practices justified, by all the sons of Loyola, without exception, or that they are publicly taught and inculcated in all their schools and seminaries; for this in reality is not the case. As this order has produced men of learning and genius, so neither has it been destitute of men of probity and candour; nor would it be a difficult task to compile from the writings of the Jesuits a much more just and proper representation of the duties of religion and the obligations of morality, than that hideous and unseemly exhibition of both, which Pascal and his followers have drawn from the Jesuitical Casuists, Summists, and Moralists. Those who censure the Jesuits in general, must, if their censures be well founded, have the following circumstances in view: First, that the rulers of that society not only suffer several of their members to propagate publicly impious opinions and corrupt maxims, but even go so far as to set the seal of their approbation to the books in which these opinions and maxims are contained: Secondly, that the system of religion and morality that is taught in the greatest part of their seminaries is so loose, vague, and ill digested, that it not only may be easily perverted to bad purposes and erroneous conclusions, but even seems peculiarly susceptible of such abuse: and lastly, that the select few who are initiated into the grand mysteries of the society, and set apart to transact its affairs, to carry on its projects, to exert their political talents in the closet of the minister, or in the cabinet of the prince, commonly make use of the dangerous and pernicious maxims that are complained of, to augment the authority and opulence of their order. The candour and impartiality that become an historian oblige us to acknowledge, at the same time, that in demonstrating the turpitude and enormity of certain maxims and opinions of the Jesuits, their adversaries have gone too far, and permitted their eloquence and zeal to run into exaggeration. This we might show with the fullest evidence, by examples deduced from the doctrines of probability and mental reservation, and the imputations that have been made to the Jesuits on these heads; but this would lead us too far from the thread of our history. We shall only observe, that what happens frequently in every kind of controversy, happened here in a singular manner; I mean that the Jesuits were charged with tenets which had been drawn consequently from their doc-

* ↗ The translator has here inserted into the text the note [q] of the original.

* ↗ This is no doubt true. The Jesuits, as has been observed above, p. 339, note m, have doctors of all sorts and sizes; and this,

indeed, is necessary, in order to the establishment of that universal empire at which they aim. See *Lettres Provinciales*, let. v. p. 62 dixième edit. de Cologne, 1689.

trine, by their accusers, without their consent; that their phrases and terms were not always interpreted according to the precise meaning they annexed to them; and that the tendency of their system was represented in too partial and unequitable a light.

The state of exe-
getic theology,
or the progress
made in the in-
terpretation and
exposition of the
Scriptures.

XXXVI. The Holy Scriptures did not acquire any new degree of public respect and authority under the pontiffs of this century. It can be proved, on the contrary, by the most authentic records, that the votaries of Rome, and more especially the Jesuits, employed all their dexterity and art, either to prevent the word of God from falling into the hands of the people, or at least to have it explained in a manner consistent with the interest, grandeur, and pretensions of the church. In France and in the Low Countries there arose, indeed, several commentators and critics, who were very far from being destitute of knowledge and erudition; but it may nevertheless be said concerning them, that instead of illustrating and explaining the divine oracles, they rendered them more obscure, by blending their own crude inventions with the dictates of celestial wisdom. This is chargeable even upon the Jansenists, who, though superior to the other Roman catholic expositors in most respects, yet fell into that absurd method of disfiguring the pure word of God, by far-fetched allusions, mystic interpretations, and frigid allegories, compiled from the reveries of the ancient fathers.[†] Here, nevertheless, an exception is to be made in favour of Pasquier Quenel, a priest of the Oratory, whose edition of the New Testament accompanied with pious meditations and remarks, made such a prodigious noise in the theological world,[‡] and even in our time has continued to furnish matter of warm and violent contest, and to split the Roman catholic doctors into parties and factions.[¶]

Of didactic, moral,
and polemic the-
ology.

XXXVII. The greatest part of the public schools retained that dry, intricate, and captious method of teaching theology, that had prevailed in the ages of barbarism and darkness, and was adapted to disgust all such as were endowed with a liberal turn of mind. There was no possibility of ordering matters so, as that Didactic or Biblical theology, which is supposed to arrange and illustrate the truths of religion by the dictates of Holy Scripture, should be placed upon the same footing and held in the same honour with scholastic divinity, which had its source in the metaphysical visions of the Peripatetic philosophy. Even the edicts of the pontiffs were insufficient to bring this

[†] The reader will find a striking example of this in the well-known Bible of Isaac le Maire, commonly called Sacy, which contains all the crude and extravagant fancies and allegories with which the ancient doctors obscured the beautiful simplicity of the Holy Scriptures, and rendered their clearest expressions intricate and mysterious.

[‡] That is, in the Roman Catholic part of the theological world. Never, perhaps, did any thing show, in a more striking manner, the blind zeal of faction, than the hard treatment this book met with. Renaudot, a very learned French abbot, who resided some time at Rome during the pontificate of Clement XI. went one day to visit that pontiff, who was a patron of learned men, and found him reading Quenel's Bible. On the abbot's entering the chamber, the pope accosted him thus:

"Here is an admirable book! We have nobody at Rome capable of writing in this manner. I would be glad if I could engage the author of it to reside here." The very same pope that pronounced this encomium on Quenel's book, condemned it publicly afterwards, and employed all his authority to suppress it. See Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* vol. ii. p. 293, edit. de Dresde, 1753.

[¶] The first part of this work, which contains observations on the four Gospels, was published in the year 1671; and as it was received with universal applause, this encouraged the author not only to revise and augment it, but also to enlarge his plan and compose observations on the other books of the New Testament. See *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 150; Ch. Eberh. Weismann *Histor. Eccles. sæc. xvii.* p. 588.

about. In the greatest part of the universities, the scholastic doctors domineered, and were constantly molesting and insulting the Biblical divines, who, generally speaking, were little skilled in the captious arts of sophistry and dialectical chicanery. It is nevertheless to be observed, that many of the French doctors, and more especially the Jansenists, explained the principal doctrines and duties of Christianity in a style and manner that were at least recommendable on account of their elegance and perspicuity; and indeed it may be affirmed, that almost all the theological or moral treatises of this age, that were composed with any tolerable degree of simplicity and good sense, had the doctors of Port-Royal, or the French priests of the Oratory, for their authors. We have already taken notice of the changes that were introduced during this century, into the method of carrying on theological controversy. The German, Belgic, and French divines being at length convinced, by a disagreeable experience, that their captious, incoherent, and uncharitable manner of disputing, exasperated those who differed from them in their religious sentiments, and confirmed them in their respective systems, instead of converting them; and perceiving, moreover, that the arguments in which they had formerly placed their principal confidence proved feeble and insufficient to make the least impression, found it necessary to look out for new and more specious methods of attack and defence.

XXXVIII. The Romish church has, notwithstanding its boasted uniformity of doctrine, been always divided by a multitude of controversies. It would be endless to enumerate the disputes that have arisen between the seminaries of learning, and the contests that have divided the monastic orders. The greatest part of these, as being of little moment, we shall pass over in silence; for they have been treated with indifference and neglect by the popes, who never took notice of them but when they grew violent and noisy, and then suppressed them with an imperious nod, that imposed silence upon the contending parties. Besides, these less momentous controversies, which it will ever be impossible entirely to extinguish, are not of such a nature as to affect the church in its fundamental principles, to endanger its constitution, or to hurt its interests. It will, therefore, be sufficient to give a brief account of these debates, that by their superior importance and the various connexions and dependencies, may be said to have affected the church in general, and to have threatened it with alarming changes and revolutions.

And here the first place is naturally due to those famous debates that were carried on between the Jesuits and Dominicans, concerning the nature and necessity of divine grace; the decision of which important point had towards the conclusion of the preceding century, been committed by Clement VIII. to a select assembly of learned divines. These arbiters, after having employed several years in deliberating upon this nice and critical subject, and in examining the arguments of the contending parties, intimated, plainly enough, to the pontiff, that the sentiments of the Dominicans, concerning grace, predestination, human liberty, and original sin, were more conformable to the doctrine of Scripture, and the decisions of the ancient fathers, than the opinions of Molina, which were patronised by the Jesuits. They observed, more especially, that the former leaned towards the tenets of Augustin; while the latter bore a striking resemblance of the Pelagian heresy. In consequence of this declaration, Clement seemed resolved to pass condemnation on the Jesuits, and to determine the controversy in favour of the Dominicans. Things were in this state

The chief contests that arose under the pontificate of Clement VIII. between the Jesuits and Dominicans concerning Divine grace.

in the year 1601, when the Jesuits, alarmed at the dangers that threatened them, beset the old pontiff night and day, and so importuned him with entreaties, menaces, arguments, and complaints, that, in the year 1602, he consented to re-examine this intricate controversy, and undertook himself the critical task of principal arbitrator therein. For this purpose, he chose a council,* composed of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops, which, during the space of three years,† assembled seventy-eight times, or, to speak in the style of Rome, held so many congregations. At these meetings, the pontiff heard, at one time, the Jesuits and the Dominicans disputing in favour of their respective systems; and ordered, at another, the assembled doctors to weigh their reasons, and examine the proofs that were offered on both sides of this difficult question. The result of this examination is not known with any degree of certainty: since the death of Clement, which happened on the fourth day of March, in the year 1605, prevented his pronouncing a decisive sentence. The Dominicans assure us, that the pope, had he lived, would have condemned Molina. The Jesuits, on the contrary, maintain that he would have acquitted him publicly from all charge of heresy and error. They alone, who have seen the records of this council, and the journal of its proceedings, are qualified to determine which of the two we are to believe; but these records are kept with the utmost secrecy at Rome.

Continuation of
this controversy
under Paul V.,
and its issue.

XXXIX. The proceedings of the congregation that had been assembled by Clement were suspended for some time, by the death of that pontiff; but they were resumed, in the year 1605, by the order of Paul V. his successor. Their deliberations, which were continued from the month of September till the month of March, in the following year, did not turn so much upon the merits of the cause, which were already sufficiently examined, as upon the prudent and proper method of finishing the contest. The great question now was, whether the well-being of the church would admit of the decision of this controversy by a papal bull. And, if such a decision was found advisable, it still remained to be considered in what terms the bull should be drawn up. All these long and solemn deliberations resembled the delivery of the mountain in the fable, and ended in this resolution, that the whole controversy, instead of being decided, should be suppressed; and that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions. The Dominicans assert that the two pontiffs, together with the congregation of divines that were employed in the review of this important controversy, were entirely persuaded of the justice of their cause and of the truth of their system. They moreover observe, that Paul V. had expressly ordered a solemn condemnation of the doctrine of the Jesuits to be drawn up, but was prevented from finishing and publishing it to the world by the unhappy war that was kindled about that time between him and the Venetians. The Jesuits, on the other hand, represent these accounts of the Dominicans as entirely fictitious, and affirm, that neither the pontiff, nor the more judicious and respectable members of the congregation, found anything in the sentiments of Molina that was worthy of censure, or stood in much need of correction. In a point which is rendered thus uncertain by contradictory testimonies and assertions, it is difficult to determine what we are to believe; it however appears extremely probable, that, whatever the private opinion of Paul V. may have been, he was prevented from pronouncing a public determination of

* & This council was called the Congregation de Auxiliis.

† From the 20th March, 1602, to the 22nd of January, 1605.

this famous controversy, by his apprehensions of offending either the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who warmly maintained the cause of the Dominicans. It is farther probable, nay, almost certain, that, had the pontiff been independent of all foreign influence, and at full liberty to decide this knotty point, he would have pronounced one of those ambiguous sentences for which the oracle of Rome is so famous, and would have so conducted matters as to shock neither of the contending parties.

The rise of Jansenism, and the flame it produced.

XL. The flame of controversy, which seemed thus extinguished, or at least covered, broke out again, with new violence, in the year 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the church of Rome, which involved it in great perplexity, and proved highly detrimental to it in various respects. The occasion of these new troubles was the publication of a book, entitled *Augustinus*, composed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and published after the death of its author.* In this book, which even the Jesuits acknowledge to be the pro-

Besides the authors we have above recommended as proper to be consulted in relation to these contests, see *Le Clerc*, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Prédestination et sur la Grâce*, in his *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 235.—The conduct, both of the Jesuits and Dominicans, after their controversy was hushed in silence, affords much reason to presume that they had been both secretly exhorted by the Roman pontiff to mitigate somewhat their respective systems, and so to modify their doctrines or expressions, as to avoid the reproaches of heresy that had been cast upon them; for the Jesuits had been accused of Pelagianism, and the Dominicans of a propensity to the tenets of the Protestant churches. This appears, in a more particular manner, from a letter written by *Claudius Aquaviva*, general of the Jesuits, in the year 1613, and addressed to all the members of his order. In this letter the prudent general modifies with great dexterity and caution the sentiments of *Molina*, and enjoins it upon the brethren of the society to teach every where the doctrine which represents the Supreme Being as electing, freely, to eternal life, without any regard to their merits, those whom he has been pleased to render partakers of that inestimable blessing; but, at the same time, he exhorts them to inculcate this doctrine in such a manner as not to give up the tenets relating to divine grace, which they had maintained in their controversy with the Dominicans. Never, surely, was such a contradictory exhortation or order heard of; the good general thought, nevertheless, that he could reconcile abundantly these contradictions, by that branch of the divine knowledge which is called by the schoolmen *scientia media*. See the *Catéchisme Historique sur les Dimensions de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 207.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, although their sentiments remain the same that they were before the commencement of this controversy, have learned, notwithstanding, to cast a kind of ambiguity and obscurity over

their theological system, by using certain terms and expressions, that are manifestly borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; and this they do to prevent the latter from reproaching them with a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin. They are, moreover, much less remarkable than formerly, for their zealous opposition to the Jesuits, which may be owing perhaps to prudent reflections on the dangers they have been involved in by this opposition, and the fruitless pains and labour it has cost them. The Jansenists reproach them severely with this change of conduct, and consider it as a manifest and notorious apostasy from divine truth. See the *Lettres Provinciales de Pascal*, letr. ii. p. 27, edit. de Cologne, &c. 1689.—We are not, however, to conclude, from this change of style and external conduct among the Dominicans, that they are reconciled to the Jesuits, and that there remain no traces of their ancient opposition to that perfidious order. By no means; for, besides that many of them are shocked at the excessive timidity and prudence of a great part of their brethren, the whole body retains still some hidden sparks of the indignation with which they formerly beheld the Jesuits; and when a convenient occasion of discovering this indignation is offered, they do not let it pass unimproved. The Jansenists are here embarked in the same cause with the Dominicans; since the sentiments of *St. Thomas*, concerning divine grace, differ but very little from those of *St. Augustin*. *Cardinal Henry Noris*, the most eminently learned among the followers of the latter, expresses his concern that he is not at liberty to publish what passed in favour of *Augustin*, and to the disadvantage of *Molina* and the Jesuits, in the famous *Congregation de Auxiliis*, so often assembled by the popes *Clement VIII.* and *Paul V.* See his *Vindicie Augustiniane*, cap. vi. p. 1175, tom. i. Opp.—“Quando,” says he, “recentiori Romano decreto id vetitum est, cum pendio causæ, quam defendo, necessariam defensionem omitto.”

* For an account of this famous man, see

duction of a man of learning and piety, the doctrine of Augustin, concerning man's natural corruption, and the nature and efficacy of that divine grace, which alone can efface this unhappy stain, is unfolded at large, and illustrated, for the most part, in Augustin's own words. For the end which Jansenius proposed to himself in this work, was not to give his own private sentiments concerning these important points, but to show in what manner they had been understood and explained by that celebrated father of the church now mentioned, whose name and authority were universally revered in all parts of the Roman catholic world.^a No incident could be more unfavourable to the cause of the Jesuits, and the progress of their religious system, than the publication of this book; for, as the doctrine of Augustine differed but very little from that of the Dominicans,^b as it was held sacred, nay almost respected as divine, in the church of Rome, on account of the extraordinary merit and authority of that illustrious bishop, and, at the same time, was almost diametrically opposite to the sentiments generally received among the Jesuits, these latter could scarcely consider the book of Jansenius in any other light than as a tacit, but formidable, refutation of their opinions concerning human liberty and divine grace. And, accordingly, they not only drew their pens against this famous book, but also used their most zealous endeavours to obtain a public condemnation of it from Rome. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. The Roman inquisitors began the opposition by prohibiting the perusal of it, in the year 1641; and the year following, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several errors that had been long banished from the church.

XLI. There were nevertheless places, even within the bounds of the Romish church, where neither the decisions of the inquisitor nor the bull of the pontiff were in the least respected. The doctors of Louvain in particular, and the followers of Augustin in general, who were very numerous in the Netherlands, opposed with the utmost vigour the proceedings of the Jesuits and the condemnation of Jansenius; and hence arose a warm contest, which proved a source of much trouble to the Belgic provinces. But it was not confined within such narrow limits; it reached the neighbouring countries, and broke out with peculiar vehemence in France, where the abbot of St. Cyran,^c a man of an elegant genius, and equally distinguished by the extent of his learning, the lustre of his piety, and the sanctity of his manners, had procured Augustin many zealous followers, and the Jesuits as many bitter and implacable adver-

Bayle's Dictionary, tom. ii. at the article Jansenius; Leydecker, *De Vita et Morte Jansenii*, lib. iii., which makes the first part of his History of Jansenism, published at Utrecht in 8vo, in the year 1695; *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. p. 120.—This celebrated work of Jansenius, which gave such a wound to the Romish church as neither the power nor wisdom of its pontiffs will ever be able to heal, is divided into three parts. The first is historical, and contains a relation of the Pelagian controversy, which arose in the fifth century. In the second, we find an accurate account and illustration of the doctrine of Augustin, relating to the constitution and powers of the human nature, in its original, fallen, and renewed state. The third contains the doctrine of the same great man, relating to the aids of sancti-

fying grace procured by Christ, and to the eternal predestination of men and angels. The style of Jansenius is clear, but not sufficiently correct.

^a Thus Jansenius expresses himself in his *Augustinus*, tom. ii. lib. Proemial. cap. xxix. p. 65: "Non ego hic de aliqua novo sententia reperienda disputo . . . sed de antiqua Augustini.—Queritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et predestinatione sentiendum est, sed quid Augustinus olim ecclesiæ nomine et applausu tradiderit, prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."

^b The Dominicans followed the sentiments of Thomas Aquinas concerning the nature and efficacy of divine grace.

^c The name of this abbot was Jean du Verger de Hauranne.

saries.^d This respectable abbot was the intimate friend and relation of Jansenius, and one of the most strenuous defenders of his doctrine. On the other hand the far greater part of the French theologians appeared on the side of the Jesuits, whose religious tenets seemed more honourable to human nature, or, at least, more agreeable to its propensities, more suitable to the genius of the Romish religion, and more adapted to promote and advance the interests of the Romish church, than the doctrine of Augustin. The party of Jansenius had also its patrons, and they were such as reflected honour on the cause. In this respectable list we may reckon several bishops eminent for their piety, and some of the first and most elegant geniuses of the French nation, such as Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Quenel, and the other famous and learned men who are known under the denomination of the Authors of Port-Royal. This party was also considerably augmented by a multitude of persons, who looked upon the usual practice of piety in the Romish church, which consists in the frequent use of the sacraments, the confession of sins, and the performance of certain external acts of religion, as much inferior to what the gospel of Christ requires, and who considered Christian piety as the vital and internal principle of a soul in which true faith and divine love have gained a happy ascendant. Thus one of the contending parties excelled in the number and power of its votaries, the other in the learning, genius, and piety of its adherents; and things being thus balanced, it is not difficult to comprehend how a controversy, which began about a century ago, should be still carried on with most vehement contention and ardour.*

The methods and arguments employed by both parties in this controversy.

XLII. Those who have taken an attentive view of this long, and indeed endless controversy, cannot but think it a matter both of curiosity and amusement to observe the contrivances, stratagems, arguments, and arts, employed by both Jesuits and Jansenists; by the former in their methods of attack, and

^d This illustrious abbot is considered by the Jansenists as equal in merit and authority to Jansenius himself, whom he is supposed to have assisted in composing his Augustinus. The French more especially (I mean such of them as adopt the doctrine of Augustin), revere him as an oracle, and even extol him beyond Jansenius. For an account of the life and transactions of this pious abbot, see Launcelot's *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. de S. Cyran*, which were published at Cologne,* in the year 1738, in two volumes 8vo.—Add to these, *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 1—150.—Arnauld D'Andilly, *Mémoires au sujet de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, which are published in the first volume of his *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, p. 15—44.—Bayle's Dictionary, vol. ii. at the article Jansenius.—*Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 133.—For an account of the earlier studies of the abbot in question, see Gabriel Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iv. p. 507.

* The history of this contest is to be found in many authors, who have either given a relation of the whole, or treated apart some of

its most interesting branches. The writers that ought to be principally consulted on this subject are those which follow: Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansenisme*, published in 1700, at Amsterdam, in three volumes 8vo, and republished in five volumes 12mo, at Lyons in 1708; Du Maa, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jansenius*; printed at Liège, in 8vo, in 1694. Of these two writers, the former maintains the cause of the Jansenists, while the latter favours that of the Jesuits. Add to these, Melch. Leydecker's *Histoire du Jansenisme*, printed at Utrecht, in 8vo, in 1695; and Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 264. Several books, written on both sides, are enumerated in a work published in 8vo, in 1735, under the following title: *Bibliothèque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabétique des principaux Livres Jansenistes*, the author of which is said to be Domin. Colonia, a learned Jesuit. This book, as we have had before occasion to observe, has been republished at Antwerp, with considerable additions, in four volumes 8vo, under the title of *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*.—See *Recueil des Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 325.

* Though they are said, in the title-page, to have been printed at Cologne, yet it is

presumed, on good grounds, that they first saw the light at Utrecht.

by the latter in their plans of defence. The Jesuits came forth into the field of controversy, armed with sophistical arguments, odious comparisons, papal bulls, royal edicts, and the protection of a great part of the nobility and bishops; and, as if all this had appeared to them insufficient, they had recourse to still more formidable auxiliaries, even the secular arm, and a competent number of dragoons. The Jansenists, far from being dismayed at the view of this warlike host, stood their ground with steadfastness and intrepidity. They evaded the mortal blows that were levelled at them in the royal and papal mandates, by the help of nice interpretations, and subtle distinctions, nay, by the very same sophistical refinements which they blamed in the Jesuits. To the threatenings and frowns of the nobles and bishops, who protected their adversaries, they opposed the favour and applause of the people; to sophisms they opposed sophisms, and invectives to invectives; and to human power they opposed the Divine omnipotence, and boasted of the miracles by which Heaven had declared itself in their favour. When they perceived that the strongest arguments and the most respectable authorities were insufficient to conquer the obstinacy of their adversaries, they endeavoured by their religious exploits, and their application to the advancement of piety and learning, to obtain the favour of the pontiffs, and strengthen their interests with the people. Hence they declared war against the enemies of the Romish church; formed new stratagems to ensnare and ruin the Protestants; took extraordinary pains in instructing the youth in all the liberal arts and sciences; drew up a variety of useful, accurate, and elegant abridgments, containing the elements of philosophy and the learned languages; published a multitude of treatises on practical religion and morality, whose persuasive eloquence charmed all ranks and orders of men; introduced and cultivated an easy, correct, and agreeable manner of writing; and gave accurate and learned interpretations of several ancient authors. To all these various kinds of merit, the greatest part of which were real and solid, they added others that were at least visionary and chimerical; for they endeavoured to persuade, and did in effect persuade many, that the Supreme Being interposed particularly in support of their cause, and, by prodigies and miracles of a stupendous kind, confirmed the truth of the doctrine of Augustin, in a manner adapted to remove all doubt and triumph over all opposition.¹ All this rendered the

¹ It is well known that the Jansenists or Augustinians have long pretended to confirm their doctrine by miracles; and they even acknowledge that these miracles have sometimes saved them, when their affairs have been reduced to a desperate situation. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 256; tom. ii. p. 107. The first time we hear mention made of these miracles is in 1656, and the following years, when a pretended thorn of that derisive crown that was put upon our Saviour's head by the Roman soldiers, is reported to have performed several marvellous cures in the convent of Port-Royal. See the *Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 228, 448; Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. ii. p. 131. These were followed by other prodigies in the year 1661:—*Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 192, and in the year 1664, *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 252. The fame of these miracles was very great during the last century, and proved singularly advantageous

to the cause of the Jansenists, but they are now fallen, even in France, into oblivion and discredit. The Jansenists, therefore, of the present age, being pressed by their adversaries, were obliged to have recourse to new prodigies, as the credit of the old ones was entirely worn out; and they seemed indeed to have had miracles at command, by the considerable number they pretended to perform. Thus (if we are credulous enough to believe the reports) in the year 1725, a woman, whose name was La Fosse, was suddenly cured of a bloody flux, by imploring the aid of the host, when it was carried one day by a Jansenist priest. About two years after this, we are told, that the tomb of Gerhard Rouse, a canon of Avignon, was honoured with miracles of a stupendous kind; and, finally, we are informed, that the same honour was conferred, in the year 1731, on the bones of the Abbé de Paris, which were interred at St. Medard, where innumerable miracles are said to have been wrought. This last story has given rise

Jansenists extremely popular, and held the victory of the Jesuits for some time dubious; nay, it is more than probable, that the former would have triumphed, had not the cause of the latter been the cause of the papacy, and had not the stability and grandeur of the Romish church depended in a great measure upon the success of their religious maxims.

Five propositions
of Jansenius
condemned by
Innocent X.

XLIII. It appears from several circumstances, that Urban VIII., and after him Innocent X., were really bent on appeasing these dangerous tumults, in the same manner as the popes in former times had prudently suppressed the controversies excited by Baius and the Dominicans. But the vivacity, inconstancy, and restless spirit of the French Doctors threw all into confusion, and disconcerted the measures of the pontiffs. The opposers of the doctrine of Augustin selected five propositions out of the work of Jansenius already mentioned, which appeared to them the most erroneous in their nature, and the most pernicious in their tendency; and being set on by the instigation, and seconded by the influence of the Jesuits, employed their most zealous endeavours and their most importunate entreaties, at the court of Rome, to have these propositions condemned. On the other hand, a great part of the Gallican clergy used their utmost efforts to prevent this condemnation; and, for that purpose, they sent deputies to Rome, to entreat Innocent X. to suspend his final decision, until the true sense of these propositions was deliberately examined, since the ambiguity of style, in which they were expressed, rendered them susceptible of a false interpretation. But these entreaties were ineffectual: the interest and importunities of the Jesuits prevailed; and the pontiff, without examining the merits of the cause with a suitable degree of impartiality and attention, condemned, by a public bull, on the 31st of May 1653, the propositions of Jansenius. These propositions contained the following doctrines:

1. "That there are divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are, nevertheless, absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace that is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience:

2. "That no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace, when it operates upon the mind:

3. "That, in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not

to the warmest contests between the superstitious or crafty Jansenists, and their adversaries in all communions. Besides all this, Quesnel, Levrier, Desmaugis, and Tournus, the great ornaments of Jansenism, are said to have furnished extraordinary succours on several occasions to sick and infirm persons, who testified a lively confidence in their prayers and merits. See a famous Jansenist book composed in answer to the bull *Unigenitus*, and entitled, *Jésus Christ sous l'Anathème et sous l'Excommunication*, art. xvii. p. 61; xviii. p. 66, edit. Utrecht. There is no doubt but a great part of the Jansenists defend these miracles from principle, and in consequence of a persuasion of their truth and reality; for that party abounds with persons whose piety is blended with a most superstitious credulity, who look upon their religious system as celestial truth, and their cause as the immediate cause of Heaven, and who are consequently disposed to think that it cannot possibly be neglected by the Deity, or

left without extraordinary marks of his approbation and supporting presence. It is, however, amazing, nay almost incredible, on the other hand, that the more judicious defenders of this cause, those eminent Jansenists, whose sagacity, learning, and good sense, discover themselves so abundantly in other matters, do not consider that the powers of nature, the efficacy of proper remedies, or the efforts of imagination, produce many important changes and effects, which imposture, or a blind attachment to some particular cause, leads many to attribute to the miraculous interposition of the Deity. We can easily account for the delusions of weak enthusiasts, or the tricks of egregious impostors: but when we see men of piety and judgment appearing in defence of such miracles as those now under consideration, we must conclude that they look upon fraud as lawful in the support of a good cause, and make no scruple of deceiving the people when they propose, by this delusion, to confirm and propagate what they take to be the truth.

requisite that they be exempt from necessity, but only that they be free from constraint :^a

4. "That the Semi-pelagians err grievously in maintaining, that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace :

5. "That whosoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semi-pelagian."

Of these propositions the pontiff declared the first four only heretical ; but he pronounced the fifth rash, impious, and injurious to the Supreme Being.^b

Alexander VIII.
publishes a bull
against Janse-
nius.

XLIV. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful to the Jansenists, and of consequence highly agreeable to their adversaries. It did not however either drive the former to despair, or satisfy the latter to the extent of their desires ; for while the doctrine was condemned, the man escaped. Jansenius was not named in the bull, nor did the pontiff even declare that the five propositions were maintained in the book entitled *Augustinus*, in the sense in which he condemned them. Hence the disciples of Augustin and Jansenius defended themselves by a distinction invented by the ingenious and subtle Anthony Arnaud, in consequence of which they considered separately in this controversy the matter of doctrine and the matter of fact ; that is to say, they acknowledged themselves bound to believe, that the five propositions above mentioned were justly condemned by the Roman pontiff ;^c but they maintained, that the pope had not declared, and consequently that they were not bound to believe, that these propositions were to be found in Jansenius' book, in the sense in which they had been condemned.^d They did not however enjoy long the benefit of this artful distinction. The restless and invincible hatred of their enemies pursued them in every quarter where they looked for protection or repose ; and at length engaged Alexander VII., the successor of Innocent, to declare by a solemn bull, issued out in the year 1656, that the five propositions, that had been condemned, were the tenets of Jansenius, and were contained in his book. The pontiff did not stop here ; but to this flagrant instance of imprudence added another still more shocking ; for, in the year 1665, he sent into France the form of declaration, that was to be subscribed by all those who aspired after any preferment in the church, and in which it was affirmed that the five propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the church.^e This declaration, whose unexampled temerity and contentious tendency appeared in the most odious colours, not only to the Jansenists, but also to the wiser part of the French nation, produced the most deplorable divisions and tumults. It was immediately opposed with vigour by the Jansenists, who maintained that in matters of fact the pope was infallible, especially when his decisions were merely personal, and not confirmed by a general

^a Augustin, Leibnitz, and a considerable number of modern philosophers, who maintain the doctrine of Necessity, consider this necessity in moral actions as consistent with true liberty, because it is consistent with spontaneity and choice. According to them, constraint alone and external force destroy merit and imputation.

^b This bull is still extant in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. vi. p. 456. It has also been published, together with several other pieces relating to this controversy, by Du Plessis

D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. p. 2, 261.

^c This is what our author calls the *questio de facto*.

^d This is the *questio de facto*.

^e This bull, together with several other pieces, is also published by Du Plessis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 281, 288, 306.—See the form of Alexander's declaration, with the Mandate of Louis XIV. *ibid.* p. 314.

not

council; and, of consequence, that it was neither obligatory nor necessary to subscribe this papal declaration, which had only a matter of fact for its object. The Jesuits, on the contrary, audaciously asserted, even openly, in the city of Paris, and in the face of the Gallican church, that faith and confidence in the papal decisions relating to matter of fact, had no less the characters of a well-grounded and divine faith, than when these decisions related merely to matters of doctrine and opinion. It is to be remarked, on the other hand, that all the Jansenists were by no means so resolute and intrepid as those above mentioned. Some of them declared, that they would neither subscribe nor reject the Form in question, but show their veneration for the authority of the pope, by observing a profound silence on that subject. Others professed themselves ready to subscribe it, not indeed without exception and reserve, but on condition of being allowed to explain, either verbally or in writing, the sense in which they understood it, or the distinctions and limitations with which they were willing to adopt it. Others employed a variety of methods and stratagems to elude the force of this tyrannical declaration.¹ But nothing of this kind was sufficient to satisfy the violent demands of the Jesuits; nothing less than the entire ruin of the Jansenists could appease their fury. Such, therefore, among the latter, as made the least opposition to the declaration in question, were cast into prison, or sent into exile, or involved in some other species of persecution; and it is well known that this severity was a consequence of the suggestions of the Jesuits, and of their influence in cabinet councils.

The persecution is suspended under the pontificate of Clement IX. —Suspension commonly called the Peace of Clement.

XLV. The lenity or prudence of Clement IX. suspended, for a while, the calamities of those who had sacrificed their liberty and their fortunes to their zeal for the doctrine of Augustin, and gave them both time to breathe, and reason to hope for better days. This change, which happened in the year 1669, was occasioned by the fortitude and resolution of the bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Allet, who obstinately and gloriously refused to subscribe, without the proper explications and distinctions, the oath or declaration that had produced such troubles and divisions in the church. They did not indeed stand alone in the breach; for when the court of Rome began to menace and level its thunder at their heads, nineteen bishops more arose, with a noble intrepidity, and adopted their cause, in solemn remonstrances addressed both to the king of France and the Roman pontiff. These resolute protesters were joined by Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, duchess of Longueville, a heroine of the first rank both in birth and magnanimity, who having renounced the pleasures and vanities of the world, which had long employed her most serious thoughts, espoused with a devout ardour the doctrines and cause of the Jansenists, and most earnestly implored the clemency of the Roman pontiff in their behalf. Moved by these entreaties, and also by other arguments and considerations of like moment, Clement IX. became so indulgent as to accept of a conditional subscription to the famous declaration, and to permit doctors of scrupulous consciences to sign it according to the mental interpretation they thought proper to give it. This instance of papal condescension and lenity was no sooner made public than the Jansenists began to come forth from their lurking places, to return from their voluntary exile, and to enjoy their former tranquillity and freedom, being exempt from all uneasy apprehension of any farther persecution.

This remarkable event is commonly called the Peace of Clement IX.,

¹ See Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions*, p. 158; Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansenisme*, p. ii. p. 516.

its duration, nevertheless, was but transitory.^m It was violated in the year 1676, at the instigation of the Jesuits, by Lewis XIV., who declared, in a public edict, that it had been only granted for a time, out of a condescending indulgence to the tender and scrupulous consciences of a certain number of persons; but it was totally abolished after the death of the Duchess of Longueville, which happened in the year 1679, and deprived the Jansenists of their principal support. From that time their calamities were renewed, and they were pursued with the same malignity and rage that they had before experienced. Some of them avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile; others sustained it with invincible fortitude and constancy of mind; others turned aside its fury, and escaped its violence as well as they could, by dexterity and prudence. Anthony Arnaud, who was the head and leader of the party, fled into Holland, in the year 1679;ⁿ and in this retreat he not only escaped the fury of his enemies, but had it in his power to hurt them considerably, and actually made the Jesuits feel the weight of his talents and the extent of his influence. For the admirable eloquence and sagacity of this great man gave him such an ascendant in the Netherlands, that the greatest part of the churches there embraced his opinions, and adopted his cause; the Romish congregations in Holland, also, were by his influence, and the ministry of his intimate friends and adherents, John Neercassel and Peter Coddeus, bishops of Castorie and Sebasto,^o entirely gained over to the Jansenist party. These latter still persevere with the utmost steadfastness in the principles of Jansenism; and, secured under the protection of the Dutch government, defy the threats and hold in derision the resentment of the Roman pontiffs.^p

The austere piety
of the Jansenists.

XLVI. It is not only on account of their embracing the doctrine of Augustine concerning divine grace, (a doctrine which bears a striking resemblance with that of the Calvinists,) that the Jansenists have incurred the displeasure and resentment of the Jesuits.

^m The transactions relating to this event, which were carried on under the pontificate of Clement IX., are circumstantially related by Cardinal Rospigliosi, in his *Commentarii*, which Du Plessis D'Argentre has subjoined to his *Elementa Theologica*, published in 8vo, at Paris, in the year 1716. See also this last mentioned author's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 336, in which the letters of Clement IX. are inserted. Two Jansenists have written the History of the Clementine Peace. Varet, vicar to the archbishop of Sens, in an anonymous work, entitled, *Rélation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clément IX.*; and Quenel, in an anonymous production, also entitled, *La Paix de Clément IX. ou démonstration des deux faussetés capitales avancées dans l'Histoire des Cinq Propositions contre la Foi des Disciples de St. Augustin*. That Varet was the author of the former is asserted in the *Catechisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 352; and that the letter came from the pen of Quenel, we learn from the writer of *Bibliothèque Janseniste*, p. 314. There was another accurate and interesting account of this transaction published, in the year 1706, in two volumes 8vo, under the following title: *Rélation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de*

la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clément IX. avec les Lettres, Actes, Mémoires, et autres pièces qui y ont rapport. The important services that the Duchess of Longueville rendered the Jansenists in this affair are related with elegance and spirit by Villefort, in his *Vie d'Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*, tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 89, of the edition of Amsterdam, (1739,) which is more complete and ample than the edition of Paris.

ⁿ For an account of this great man, see Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i., at the article, Anthony Arnaud; as also *Histoire abrégée de la vie et des ouvrages de M. Arnaud*, published at Cologne, in 8vo. The change introduced into the Romish churches in Holland is not mentioned by Laftau, *Vie de Clément XI.*, tom. i. p. 123. For an account of Coddeus Neercassel, and Varet, and the other patrons of Jansenism among the Dutch, see the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 21, 48, 353: tom. ii. p. 406; tom. iv. p. 119.

^o Bishops in partibus infidelium.

^p It must, however, be observed, that notwithstanding the ascendant the Jansenists have in Holland, the Jesuits, for some time past, have by artifice and disguise got a considerable footing among the Romish churches that are tolerated by the republic.

They are charged with many other circumstances, which appear intolerable to the warm votaries of the church of Rome. And, indeed, it is certain that the various controversies which have been mentioned above, were excited in that church principally by the Jansenists, and have been propagated and handed down by them, even to our times, in a prodigious multitude of their books published both in France and in the Netherlands.^a But that which offends most the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the pontiff, is the austerity of this party, and the severity that reigns in their system of moral discipline and practical religion. For the Jansenists cry out against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and complain that neither its doctrines nor morals retain any traces of their former purity. They reproach the clergy with a universal depravation of sentiments and manners, and an entire forgetfulness of the dignity of their character, and the duties of their vocation. They censure the licentiousness of the monastic orders, and insist upon the necessity of reforming their discipline according to the rules of sanctity, abstinence, and self-denial, that were originally prescribed by their respective founders. They maintain also, that the people ought to be carefully instructed in all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and that, for this purpose, the Holy Scriptures and public Liturgies should be offered to their perusal in their mother tongue; and, finally, they look upon it as a matter of the highest moment to persuade all Christians that true piety does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love.

These sentiments of the Jansenists, on a general view, seemed just and rational, and suitable to the spirit and genius of Christianity; but when we examine the particular branches into which they extend these general principles, the consequences they deduce from them, and the manner in which they apply them, in their rules of discipline and practice, we shall find that the piety of this famous party is deeply tinged both with superstition and fanaticism; that it more especially favours the harsh and enthusiastical opinion of the Mystics; and, of consequence, that the Jansenists are not undeservedly branded by their adversaries with the denomination of Rigorists.^c This denomination they merited in a peculiar

^a See Hist. Eccles. Rom. Sec. xvi. sect. xxxi.

^c They who desire to form a just notion of the dismal piety of the Jansenists, (which carries the unseemly features of that gloomy devotion that was formerly practised by fanatical hermits in the deserts of Syria, Libya, and Egypt, but is entirely foreign from the dictates of reason and the amiable spirit of Christianity,) have only to peruse the epistles and other writings of the Abbot of St. Cyran, who is the great oracle of the party. This abbot was a well-meaning man; and his piety, such as it was, carried in it the marks of sincerity and fervour; he was also superior, perhaps as a pastor, to the greatest part of the Roman Catholic doctors; and his learning, more especially his knowledge of religious antiquity, was very considerable; but to propose this man as a complete and perfect model of genuine piety, and as a most accurate and accomplished teacher of Christian virtue, is an absurdity peculiar to the Jansenists, and can be adopted by no person who knows what

genuine piety and Christian virtue are. That we may not seem to detract rashly, and without reason, from the merit of this eminent man, it will not be improper to confirm what we have said by some instances. This good abbot, having undertaken to vanquish the heretics (i.e. the Protestants) in a prolix and extensive work, was obliged to read, or at least to look into the various writings published by that impious tribe, and this he did in company with his nephew Martin de Barcos, who resembled him entirely in his sentiments and manners. But before he would venture to open a book composed by a Protestant, he constantly marked it with the sign of the cross, to expel the evil spirit. What weakness and superstition did this ridiculous proceeding discover! for the good man was persuaded that Satan had fixed his residence in the books of the Protestants; but it was not so easy to determine where he imagined the wicked spirit lay, whether in the paper, in the letters, between the leaves, or in the doctrines of these infernal productions. Let us see the account

manner, by their doctrine concerning Repentance and Penance, whose tendency, considered both in a civil and religious point of view, is singularly pernicious. For they make repentance consist chiefly in those voluntary sufferings, which the transgressor inflicts upon himself, in proportion to the nature of his crimes, and the degree of his guilt. As their notions of the extent of man's original corruption are greatly exaggerated, they prescribe remedies to it that are of the same nature. They look upon Christians as bound to expiate this original guilt by acts of mortification performed in solitude and silence, by torturing and macerating their bodies, by painful labour, excessive abstinence, continual prayer and contemplation; and they hold every person obliged to increase these voluntary pains and sufferings, in proportion to the degree of corruption they have derived from nature, or contracted by a vicious and licentious course of

that is given of this matter by Lancelot, in his *Mémoires touchant la vie de M. l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. i. p. 226. His words are as follows: "Il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piété, qu'en les prenant il les exorcisoit toujours en faisant le signe de la croix dessus, ne doutant point que le démon n'y résidoit actuellement." His attachment to Augustin was so excessive, that he looked upon as sacred and divine even those opinions of that great man, which the wiser part of the Romish doctors had rejected as erroneous and highly dangerous. Such, among others, was that extravagant and pernicious tenet, that the saints are the only lawful proprietors of the world; and that the wicked have no right, by the divine law, to those things which they possess justly, in consequence of the decisions of human law. To this purpose is the following assertion of our abbot, as we find it in Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 201: "Jésus Christ n'est encore entré dans la possession de son royaume temporel, et des biens du monde qui lui appartiennent, que par cette petite portion qu'on tient dans l'Eglise par les bénéfices des ses clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les dépositaires de Jésus Christ." If, therefore, we are to give credit to this visionary man, the golden age is approaching, when Jesus Christ, having pulled down the mighty from their seats, and dethroned the kings and princes of the earth, shall reduce the whole world under his sole dominion, and give it over to the government of priests and monks, who are the princes of his church. After we have seen such sentiments as these maintained by their oracle and chief, it is but natural to be surprised when we hear the Jansenists boasting of their zeal in defending sovereign states, and in general the civil rights of mankind, against the stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs.

The notions of the abbot of St. Cyran concerning prayer, which breathe the fanatical spirit of mysticism, will further confirm what we have said of his propensity to enthusiasm. It is, for example, a favourite maxim with him, that the Christian who prays, ought never to recollect the good things he stands in need

of, in order to ask them of God, since true prayer does not consist in distinct notions and clear ideas of what we are doing in that solemn act, but in a certain blind impulse of divine love. Such is the account given of the abbot's sentiments on this head, by Lancelot, in his *Mémoires touchant la vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 44:—"Il ne croyoit pas (says that author) que l'on pût faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer à quelque point, ou à quelque pensée particulière—parce que la véritable prière est plutôt un attrait de son amour, qui emporte notre cœur vers lui, et nous enlève comme hors de nous-mêmes, et non pas une occupation de notre esprit, qui se remplit de l'idée de quelque objet quelconque divin." According to this hypothesis, the man prays best who neither thinks nor asks in that act of devotion. This is, indeed, a very extraordinary account of the matter, and contains an idea of prayer which seems to have been quite unknown to Christ and his Apostles; for the former has commanded us to address our prayers to God in a set form of words; and the latter frequently tells us the subject of their petitions and supplications.

But of all the errors of this arch-Jansenist, none was so pernicious as the fanatical notion he entertained of his being the residence of the Deity, the instrument of the Godhead, by which the divine nature itself essentially operated. It was in consequence of this dangerous principle, that he recommends it as a duty incumbent on all pious men to follow, without consulting their judgment or any other guide, the first motions and impulses of their minds, as the dictates of heaven. And, indeed, the Jansenists in general are intimately persuaded that God operates immediately upon the minds of those who have composed, or rather suppressed, all the motions of the understanding, and of the will, and that to such he declares from above his intentions and commands; since whatever thoughts, designs, or inclinations arise within them, in this calm state of tranquillity and silence, are to be considered as the direct suggestions and oracles of the divine wisdom. See, for a further account of this pestilential doctrine, *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 246.

life. Nay, they carry these austerities to so high a pitch, that they do not scruple to call those holy self-tormentors, who have gradually put an end to their days by excessive abstinence or labour, the sacred victims of repentance, that have been consumed by the fire of divine love. Not satisfied with this fantastical language, they go still farther, and superstitiously maintain, that the conduct of these self-murderers is peculiarly meritorious in the eye of heaven; and that their sufferings, macerations, and labours appease the anger of the Deity, and not only contribute to their own felicity, but draw down abundant blessings upon their friends and upon the church. We might confirm this account by various examples, and more especially by that of the famous Abbé De Paris, the great wonder-worker of the Jansenists, who put himself to a most painful death, in order to satisfy the justice of an incensed God; such was the picture he had formed of the best of Beings in his disordered fancy.

The convent of
Port-Royal.

XLVII. A striking example of this austere, forbidding, and extravagant species of devotion, was exhibited in that celebrated female convent called Port-Royal in the Fields, which was situated in a retired, deep, and gloomy vale, not far from Paris. The inspection and government of this austere society was given by Henry IV., about the commencement of this century, to Jacqueline, daughter of Anthony Arnaud,¹ who, after her conversion, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine. This lady had at first led a very dissolute life,² which was the general case of the cloistered fair in France about this period; but a remarkable change happened in her sentiments and manners in the year 1609, when she resolved no more to live like a nun, but to consecrate her future days to deep devotion and penitential exercises. This holy resolution was strengthened by her acquaintance with the famous Francois de Sales and the abbot of St. Cyran. The last of these pious connexions she formed in the year 1623, and modelled both her own conduct and the manners of her convent after the doctrine and example of these devout men. Hence it happened that, during the whole course of this century, the convent of Port-Royal excited the indignation of the Jesuits, the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of Europe. The holy virgins of this famous society observed, with the utmost rigour and exactness, that ancient rule of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where abrogated on account of its excessive and intolerable austerity; nay, they even went beyond its most cruel demands.*

* See Morinos, *Com. de Penitentia*, Præf. p. 3, in which there is a tacit censure of the penance of the Jansenists. See, on the other hand, the *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, p. 483. The Jansenists, among all the meritorious actions of the abbot of St. Cyran, find none more worthy of admiration and applause than his restoring from oblivion the true system of penitential discipline; and they consider him as the second author or parent of the doctrine of penance. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tom. iii. p. 445, 504. This very doctrine, however, of penance, was one of the principal reasons of his being committed to prison by the order of cardinal Richelieu. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 233, 452.

¹ An eminent lawyer, and father to the famous Arnaud, doctor in the Sorbonne.

² The dissolute life imputed to this abbess by Dr. Mosheim is an egregious mis-

take, which seems to have proceeded from his misunderstanding a passage in Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. p. 338, note F, fourth edition, in French.

³ There is a prodigious multitude of books still extant, in which the rise, progress, laws, and sanctity of this famous convent are described and extolled by eminent Jansenists, who, at the same time, deplore its fate in the most doleful strains. Of this multitude we shall mention those only which are easy to be acquired, and which contain the most modern and circumstantial accounts of that celebrated establishment. The *Benedictines of St. Maur* have given an exact, though dry history of this convent, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 910. A more elegant and agreeable account of it, but an account charged with imperfection and partiality, was composed by the famous poet Racine, under the title of

Such was the fame of this devout nunnery, that multitudes of pious persons were ambitious to dwell in its neighbourhood, and that a great part of the Jansenist penitents, or self-tormentors, of both sexes, built huts within its precincts, where they imitated the manners of those austere and gloomy fanatics, who, in the fourth and fifth centuries, retired into the wild and uncultivated places of Syria and Egypt, and were commonly called the Fathers of the Desert. The end which these penitents had in view was, by silence, hunger, thirst, prayer, bodily labour, watchings, sorrow, and other voluntary acts of self-denial, to efface the guilt, and remove the pollution the soul had derived from natural corruptions or evil habits.* They did not, however, all observe the same discipline, or follow the same kind of application and labour. The more learned consumed their strength in composing laborious productions filled with sacred and profane erudition, and some of these have, no doubt, deserved well of the republic of letters; others were employed in teaching youth the rudiments of language and the principles of science; but the far greatest part exhausted both the health of their bodies and the vigour of their minds in servile industry and rural labour, and thus pined away by a slow kind of death. What is singularly

Abrégé de l'Histoire de Port-Royal, and was published, after having passed through many preceding editions, in the year 1750, at Amsterdam, among the works of his son Lewis Racine, tom. ii. p. 275—366. The external state and form of this convent are professedly described by Moleon, in his *Voyage Liturgique*, p. 234. Add to these Nic. Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, published at Cologne, or rather at Utrecht, in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1738; Du Fosse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal: Recueil de plusieurs Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, published at Utrecht, in 8vo, in the year 1740. The editor of this last compilation promises, in his preface, further collections of pieces relative to the same subject, and seems to insinuate that a complete History of Port-Royal, drawn from these and other valuable and authentic records, will sooner or later see the light. See, besides the authors above mentioned, Lancelot, *Mémoires touchant la Vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*. All these authors confine their relations to the external form and various revolutions of this famous convent. Its internal state, its rules of discipline, the manners of its virgins, and the incidents and transactions that have happened between them and the holy neighbourhood of Jansenists, are described and related by another set of writers; see *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, et à la Vie de Marie Angélique D'Arnaud, published at Utrecht in 5 vols. in 8vo, in the year 1742; *Vies intéressantes et édifiantes des Religieuses de Port-Royal, et de plusieurs personnes qui leur étoient attachées*. There are already four volumes of this work published, of which the first appeared at Utrecht in the year 1750, in 8vo, and it must be acknowledged that they all contain several anecdotes and records that are interesting and curious. For an account

of the suppression and abolition of this convent, see the *Mémoires sur la destruction de l'Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs*, published in 8vo, in 1711. If we are not much mistaken, all these histories and relations have been much less servicable to the reputation of this famous convent than the Jansenist party are willing to think. When we view Arnaud, Tillemont, Nicole, Le Maître, and the other authors of Port-Royal, in their learned productions, they then appear truly great; but when we lay aside their works, and, taking up these histories of Port-Royal, see these great men in private life, in the constant practice of that austere discipline of which the Jansenists boast so foolishly, they indeed then shrink almost to nothing, appear in the contemptible light of fanatics, and seem totally unworthy of the fame they have acquired. When we read the Discourses that Isaac le Maître, commonly called Sacy, pronounced at the bar, together with his other ingenious productions, we cannot refuse him the applause that is due to such an elegant and accomplished writer; but when we meet with this polite author at Port-Royal, mixed with labourers and reapers, and with the spade or the sickle in his hand, he then certainly makes a comical figure, and can scarcely be looked upon as perfectly right in his head.

* Among the first and most eminent of these penitents was Isaac le Maître, a celebrated lawyer at Paris, whose eloquence had procured him a shining reputation, and who, in the year 1637, retired to Port-Royal to make expiation for his sins. The retreat of this eminent man raised new enemies to the abbot of St. Cyran. See the *Mémoires pour l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 233. The example of Le Maître was followed by a vast number of persons of all ranks, and, among these, by some persons of the highest distinction. See *Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, tom. i. p. 141.

surprising is, that many of these voluntary victims of an inhuman piety were persons illustrious both by their birth and stations, who, after having distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, debased themselves so far in this penitential retreat, as to assume the character, offices, and labours of the lowest servants.

This celebrated retreat of the devout and austere Jansenists was subject to many vicissitudes during the whole course of this century. At one time it flourished in unrivalled glory; at another it seemed eclipsed, and on the brink of ruin. At length, however, the period of its total extinction approached. The nuns obstinately refused to subscribe the declaration of pope Alexander VII., that has been so often mentioned; on the other hand, their convent and rule of discipline was considered as detrimental to the interests of the kingdom, and a dishonour to some of the first families in France. Hence Lewis XIV., in the year 1709, set on by the violent counsels of the Jesuits, ordered the convent of Port-Royal to be demolished, the whole building to be levelled with the ground, and the nuns to be removed to Paris; and, lest there should still remain some secret fuel to nourish the flame of superstition in that place, he ordered the very carcases of the nuns and devout Jansenists to be dug up and buried elsewhere.

The controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin.

XLVIII. The other controversies that disturbed the tranquillity of the church of Rome were but light blasts when compared with this violent hurricane. The old debate between the Franciscans and Dominicans concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which was maintained by the former and denied by the latter, gave much trouble and perplexity to the Roman pontiffs, and more especially to Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII. The kingdom of Spain was thrown into such combustion, and so miserably divided into factions, by this controversy, about the beginning of this century, that solemn embassies were sent to Rome, both by Philip III. and his successor, with a view to engage the Roman pontiff to determine the question, or, at any rate, to put an end to the contest by a public bull. But notwithstanding the weighty solicitations of these monarchs, the oracle of Rome pronounced nothing but ambiguous words, and its high priests prudently avoided coming to a plain and positive decision of the matter in question; for, if they were awed, on the one hand, by the warm remonstrances of the Spanish court, which favoured the sentiments of the Franciscans, they were restrained, on the other, by the credit and influence of the Dominicans. So that, after the most earnest entreaties and importunities, all that could be obtained from the pontiff, by the court of Spain, was a declaration, intimating, that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability on its side, and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in a public manner. But this declaration was accompanied with another,* by which the Franciscans were prohi-

* See Frid. Ulr. Calixti Historia Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Virginis Marie, published at Holmstadt, in 4to, in the year 1696; Horbeckii Comm. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de diebus Festis, p. 250; Launoii Præscriptionis de Conceptu Virginis Mariæ, tom. i. p. 1. oper. p. 9. Long after this period, Clement XI. went a step further, and appointed, in the year 1708, a festival to be annually celebrated in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, throughout the Romish church. See the Mémoires des Trevoux, for

the year 1709, art. xxxvii. p. 514. But the Dominicans obstinately deny that the obligation of this law extends to them, and persist in maintaining their ancient doctrine, though with more modesty and circumspection than they formerly discovered in this debate. And when we consider that this doctrine of theirs has never been expressly condemned by any pope, and that they are not in the least molested, nor even censured, for refusing to celebrate the festival above mentioned, it appears evidently from all this, that the terms of the

bited, in their turn, from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans. This pacific accommodation of matters would have been highly laudable in a prince or civil magistrate, who, unacquainted with theological questions of such an abstruse nature, preferred the tranquillity of his people to the discussion of such an intricate and unimportant point. But, whether it was honourable to the Roman pontiff, who boasts of a divine right to decide all religious controversies, and pretends to a degree of inspiration that places him beyond the possibility of erring, we leave to the consideration of those who have his glory at heart.

Quietism, or the controversies occasioned by the doctrine of Molinos.

XLIX. The controversies with the Mystics were now renewed, and that sect, which in former times enjoyed such a high degree of reputation and authority, was treated with the greatest severity, and involved in the deepest distress, towards the conclusion of this century. This unhappy change in their affairs was principally occasioned by the fanaticism and imprudence of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, and the fame of whose ardent piety and devotion procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes. A book published at Rome in the year 1681, by this ecclesiastic, under the title of *The Spiritual Guide*, alarmed the doctors of the church.⁷ This book contained, besides the usual precepts and institutions of Mystic theology, several notions relating to a spiritual and contemplative life, that seemed to revive the pernicious and infernal errors of the Beghards, and open a door to all sorts of dissoluteness and licentiousness. The principles of Molinos, which have been very differently interpreted by his friends and enemies, amount to this: "That the whole of religion consists in the perfect calm and tranquillity of a mind removed from all external and finite things, and centred in God, and in such a pure love of the Supreme Being, as is independent on all prospect of interest or reward;" or to express the doctrine of this Mystic in other words, "The soul in the pursuit of the supreme good, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and, in general, from all corporeal objects, and imposing silence upon all the motions of the understanding and will, must be absorbed in the Deity." Hence the denomination of Quietists was given to the followers of Molinos; though that of Mystics, which was their vulgar title, was more applicable, and expressed with more propriety their fanatical system. For the doctrine of Molinos had no other circumstance of novelty attending it, than the singular and unusual terms he employed in unfolding his notions, and the ingenuity he discovered in digesting what the ancient mystics had thrown out in the most confused and incoherent jargon into something that looked like a

papal edict are to be understood with certain restrictions, and interpreted in a mild and indulgent manner; and that the spirit of this edict is not contrary to the tenor of the former declarations of the pontiffs on this head. See *Lamindus Pritanius* (a fictitious name assumed by the author Muratori) *De Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis Negotio*, p. 254.

⁷ This book, which was composed in Spanish, and published for the first time in the year 1675, was honoured with the approbation and encomiums of many eminent and respectable personages. It was published in Italian in several places, and at length at Rome, in 1681. It was afterwards translated into

French, Dutch, and Latin, and passed through several editions in France, Italy, and Holland. The Latin translation, which bears the title of *Manuductio Spiritualis*, was published at Halle, in the year 1687, in 8vo, by Frank. There is another work of Molinos composed in the same spirit, concerning the daily celebration of the communion, which was also condemned. See the *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes*, ou Molinos ses sentimens et ses disciples, published in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1688, in which the reader will find a French translation of the *Spiritual Guide*, together with a collection of letters on various subjects written by Molinos.

system. The Jesuits, and other zealous votaries of Rome, soon perceived that the system of Molinos was a tacit censure of the Romish church, as having departed from the spirit of true religion, by placing the essence of piety in external works, and in the performance of a certain round of rites and ceremonies. But the warmest opponent Molinos met with was the French ambassador^a at Rome, who raised a most violent persecution against him. This made many imagine, that it was not the theological system of Molinos alone that had inflamed the resentment of that minister, but that some considerations of a political nature had been blended with this famous controversy, and that the Spanish mystic had opposed the designs and negotiations of the French monarch at the court of Rome. However that may have been, Molinos, unable to resist the storm, and abandoned by those from whom he chiefly expected succour, yielded to it in the year 1685, when, notwithstanding the number, rank, and credit of his friends at Rome, and the particular marks of favour he had received from the Roman pontiff^a, he was cast into prison. Two years after this he was obliged to renounce, in a public manner, the errors of which he was accused, and this solemn recantation was followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, from which he was, in an advanced age, delivered by death, in the year 1696^b. The candid and impartial will be obliged to acknowledge, that the opinions and expressions of this enthusiast were perfidiously misrepresented and perverted by the Jesuits and others, whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way, and excluded from every thing but contemplation and repose; and it is most certain, that his doctrine was charged with consequences which he neither approved nor even apprehended. But, on the other hand, it must also be confessed, that the system of Molinos was chargeable with the greatest part of the reproaches that are justly thrown upon the mystics, and favoured much the illusions and follies of those fanatics, who would make the crude visions of their disordered fancies pass for Divine revelations.^c

Followers of Molinos.

L. It would have been truly surprising had a system of piety, that was so adapted to seduce the indolent mind, to captivate the warm imagination, and to melt the tender heart, been destitute of votaries and followers. But this was by no means the case. In Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Molinos had a considerable number of disciples, and, besides the reasons we have now hinted, another circumstance must have contributed much to multiply his votaries; for, in all parts of the Romish dominion, there were numbers of persons, who had sense and knowledge enough to perceive, that the whole of religion could not consist in external rites and bodily mortifications, but too little to direct themselves in religious matters, or to substitute what was right in the place of what they knew to be wrong; and hence it was natural enough for them to follow the first plausible guide that was offered to them. But the church of Rome, apprehensive of the consequences of this mystic theology, left no method unemployed that could contribute to

^a Cardinal D'Estrées.

^a Innocent XI.

^b He was born in the diocese of Saragosa, in the year 1627; see *Biblioth. Janseniste*, p. 469. For an account of this controversy, see the Narrative of the proceedings of the Controversy concerning Quietism, which is subjoined to the German translation of Burnet's Travels. — As also *Arnoldi Historia*

Eccles. et Hæretic. tom. iii. c. xvii. p. 176. — *Jacgeri Histor. Eccles. et Polit. Sæculi xvii.* Decenn. ix. p. 26. — *Plessis D'Argentre, Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 357, where may be seen the papal edicts relating to this controversy.

^c All that can be alleged in defence of Molinos has been gathered together by Weismannus, in his *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xvii.* p. 555.

stop its progress; and, by the force of promises and threatenings, of severity and mildness properly applied, stifled in the birth the commotions and changes it seemed adapted to excite. The death of Molinos contributed also to dispel the anxiety of the Romish doctors, since his disciples and followers seemed too inconsiderable to deserve any notice. Among these are generally reckoned cardinal Petrucci, Francis de la Combe, a Barnabite friar, the spiritual director of Madame Guyon, (who shall be mentioned more particularly,) Francis Malaville, Berniere de Louvigni, and others of less note. These enthusiasts, as is common among the mystics, differ from Molinos in several points, and are also divided among themselves; this diversity is, however, rather nominal than real; and, if we consider the true signification of the terms by which they express their respective notions, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tend to the same conclusions.^d

The cause of Madame Guyon and M. Fenelon.

LI. One of the principal patrons and propagators of Quietism in France was Marie Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a woman of fashion, remarkable for the goodness of her heart and the regularity of her manners, but of an inconstant and unsettled temper, and subject to be drawn away by the seduction of a warm and unbridled fancy. This female apostle of Mysticism derived all her ideas of religion from the feelings of her own heart,* and described its nature to others according as she felt it herself; a manner of proceeding of all others the most uncertain and delusive. And accordingly, her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1687, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been accurately and attentively examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were, at length, pronounced erroneous and unsound; and, in the year 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the prelate last mentioned and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose sublime virtue and superior genius were beheld with veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in France, the latter seemed disposed to favour the religious system of Madame Guyon. For when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, in answer to the sentiments of that female Mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the year 1697, he published a book,^f in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and more especially that favourite doctrine of the

^d The writings of these fanatics are enumerated and sharply criticised by Colonia, in the *Bibliothèque Quietiste*, (which he has subjoined to his *Bibliothèque Janseniste*), p. 455—488. —See also Godf. Arnoldi *Historia et Descriptio Theologiæ Mysticæ*, p. 364, & Poirët's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, published at Amsterdam, 8vo, 1708.

^e Madame Guyon wrote her own life and spiritual adventures in French, and published them in the year 1720. Her writings, which abound with childish allegories and mystic ejaculations, have been translated into German. Her principal production was *La Bible de*

Mad. Guyon, avec des explications et réflexions qui regardent la vie intérieure. This Bible with Annotations relating to the hidden or internal life, was published in the year 1715, at Amsterdam, under the name of Cologne, in twenty volumes in 8vo, which abundantly discover the fertile imagination and shallow judgment of this female mystic.—See a further account of her in the *Lettres de Mad. de Maintenon*, tom. i. p. 249, tom. ii. p. 45, 47, 49, 51.

^f This book was entitled, *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure*. It has been translated into Latin.

Mystics, which teaches, that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward.^a This doctrine Fenelon explained with a pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemployed which artifice and jealousy could suggest to mortify a rival whom illustrious merit had rendered so formidable. For this purpose, he threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. implored the succours of the Roman pontiff, and by his importunities and stratagems obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII. who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by the Congregation that had been appointed to examine it. The book, however, was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the papal decree.^b This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous, as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it supposed, that the prelate in question condemned with his lips what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing indeed seems generally agreed on, and that is, that Fenelon persisted, to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

III. Besides these controversies, which derived their importance chiefly from the influence and reputation of the disputants, and thus became productive of great tumults and divisions in the church, there were others excited by several innovators, whose new and singular opinions were followed with troubles,

§ 63. This doctrine of the Mystics has thus far a foundation in reason and philosophy, that the moral perfections of the Deity are, in themselves, intrinsically amiable; and that their excellence is as much adapted to excite our esteem and love, as the experience of their beneficent effects in promoting our well-being, is to inflame our gratitude. The error, therefore, of the Mystics lay in their drawing extravagant conclusions from a right principle, and in their requiring in their followers a perpetual abstraction and separation of ideas which are intimately connected, and, as it were, blended together, such felicity and perfection; for though these two are inseparable in fact, yet the Mystics, from a fantastic pretension to disinterestedness, would separate them right or wrong, and turned their whole attention to the latter. In

their views also of the Supreme Being, they overlooked the important relations he bears to us as benefactor and rewarder: relations that give rise to noble sentiments and important duties, and confined their views to his supreme beauty, excellence and perfection.

^a An ample and impartial account of this controversy has been given by Toussaints du Pleissis, a Benedictine, in his *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, livr. v. t. i. p. 485—523.—Ramsay in his life of Fénelon, written in French, and published at the Hague in the year 1723, is less impartial; but is nevertheless worthy of being consulted on this subject. See Voltaire; *Siècle de Louis XIV.* t. ii. p. 301.—The public acts and edicts relating to this controversy have been collected by Du Pleissis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio Judiciorum de Nova Eriobus*, t. iii. p. ii. p. 402.

though of a less momentous and permanent nature. Such was the strange doctrine of Isaac la Peyrere, who, in two small treatises, published in the year 1655, maintained that it is the origin of the Jewish nation, and not of the human race, that we find recorded in the books of Moses, and that our globe was inhabited by many nations before Adam, whom he considered as the father of the Jews. Though Peyrere was a protestant when he published this opinion, yet the doctors of the Romish church looked upon themselves as obliged to punish an error that seemed to strike at the foundation of all Revealed Religion; and, therefore, in the year 1656, had him seized at Brussels, and cast into prison, where, to escape the flames, he publicly renounced his erroneous system, and, to make a full expiation for it, embraced the popish religion.¹

Thomas White, known at different times, and in different countries, by the names of Albius, Anglius, Candidus, Blanchi,² which he assumed successively, made a considerable figure, about the middle of this century, in England, Portugal, France, and the Netherlands, by the number and subtilty of his philosophical productions; but he also incurred the displeasure of many of the doctors of his communion, on account of the novelty and singularity of his opinions. He was undoubtedly a man of genius and penetration: but, being a passionate admirer of the Peripatetic philosophy, he ventured to employ it in the explication of some of the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church. This bold attempt led him imperceptibly out of the beaten road of popery, opened to him new views of things, and made him adopt notions that had never been heard of in the church of Rome; and hence his books were prohibited and condemned in several places, and particularly at Rome by the Congregation of the Index. This innovator is said to have died in England, his native country, and to have left a sect behind him that embraced his doctrine, but in process of time fell into oblivion.³

His peculiarities, however, were nothing in comparison with the romantic notions of Joseph Francis Borri, a Milanese knight, eminent for his knowledge of chemistry and physic; but who, at the same time, appears to have been rather a madman than a heretic. The fancies broached by this man, concerning the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, the erection of a new celestial kingdom, of which he himself was to be the founder, and the downfall of the Roman pontiff, are so extravagant, childish, and absurd, that no sober person can view them in any other light than as the crude reveries of a disordered brain. Besides, the conduct of this fanatic, in several places, discovered the greatest vanity and levity, attended with that spirit of imposture that is usually visible in quacks and mountebanks; and, indeed, in the whole of his behaviour, he seemed destitute of sense, integrity, and prudence. The inquisitors had spread their snares for Borri, but he luckily escaped them, and wandered up and down through a great part of Europe, giving himself out for another Æsculapius, and pretending to be initiated into the most profound mysteries of chemical science. But in the year 1672, he imprudently fell into the clutches of the Roman pontiff, who pronounced against him a sentence of perpetual imprisonment.⁴

¹ Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Peyrere; Arnoldi Histor. Eccles. et Hæret. tom. iii. p. 70; Menagiana, published by De la Monnoye, tom. ii. p. 40.

² All these denominations were relative to his true name, which was White. This man was a peculiar favourite of Sir Kenelm Digby's, and mentions him with singular

veneration in his philosophical writings. See more of this White in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 665, and in the Biograph. Brit. article Glanvil, vol. iv. p. 2206.

³ See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Anglius; Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, tom. ii. p. 245.

⁴ There is a very interesting article in

The last innovator we shall here mention is Celestine Sfondrati, who, having formed the design of terminating the disputes concerning predestination, by new explications of that doctrine, wrote a book upon that knotty subject, which threw into combustion, in the year 1696, a considerable part of the Romish church; since it was, in some things, agreeable to none of the contending parties, and neither satisfied entirely the Jesuits nor their adversaries. Five French bishops, of great credit at the court of Rome, accused the author, notwithstanding the high rank of cardinal to which he had been raised on account of his extensive learning, of various errors, and more especially of having departed from the sentiments and doctrine of Augustine. This accusation was brought before Innocent XII. in the year 1696, but the contest it seemed adapted to excite was nipped in the bud. The pontiff appeased, or rather put off, the French prelates with a fair promise that he would appoint a congregation to examine the cardinal's doctrine, and then pronounce sentence accordingly; but he forgot his promise, imitated the prudent conduct of his predecessors on like occasions, and did not venture to give a final decision to this intricate and knotty controversy."

Canonisations.

LIII. There was scarcely any change introduced into the ritual of the Romish church during this century, if we except an edict of Urban VII. for diminishing the number of holidays, which was issued out in the year 1643;" we shall therefore conclude this account with a list of the saints added to the Kalendar by the Roman pontiffs during the period now before us.

In the year 1601, Clement VIII. raised to that spiritual dignity Raymond of Pennafort, the famous compiler of the Decretals; in 1608, Frances Pontiani, a Benedictine nun; and, 1610, the eminent and illustrious Charles Boromeo, bishop of Milan, so justly celebrated for his exemplary piety, and almost unparalleled liberality and beneficence.

Gregory XV. conferred, in the year 1622, the honour of saintship on Theresa, a native of Avilla in Spain, and a nun of the Carmelite order.

Urban VIII. in the year 1623, conferred the same ghostly honours on Philip Neri, the founder of the order entitled Fathers of the Oratory, in Italy; on Ignatius Loyola, the parent of the Jesuits; and on his chief disciple Francis Xavier, the Jesuitical Apostle of the Indians.

Alexander VII. canonized, in the year 1658, Thomas de Villanova, a Spanish monk, of the order of St. Augustine; and, in 1664, Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva.

Clement X. added to this ghostly list, in the year 1670, Pedro de Alcantara, a Franciscan monk; and Maria Magdalena Bactii, a Florentine nun of the Carmelite order; and in the year 1671, Rose, an American

Bayle's Dictionary relating to Borri, in which all the extravagances of that wrong-headed man are curiously related. See also Arnold, loc. cit. p. iii. c. xviii. p. 193.

" This book, which was published at Rome in 4to, in the year 1696, is entitled, *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus*.—The Letters of the French bishops, with the answer of the Roman pontiff, are to be found in *Du Plessis D'Argentre's Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 394, and *Natalis Alexander's Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis*, p. 877. The Letters of the bishops are remarkable in this respect, that they contain sharp animadversions against the Jesuits and their discipline. The prelates express, in the strongest terms, their abhorrence of the doc-

trine of philosophical sin, which has rendered the Jesuits so deservedly infamous, and their detestation of the methods of propagating Christianity employed by the missionaries of that order in China. Nay, to express their aversion to the doctrine of Sfondrati, they say, that his opinions are still more erroneous and pernicious than even those of the Molinists. The doctrine of this cardinal has been accurately represented and compared with that of Augustine by the learned Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. xii. c. iii. sect. xi. p. 713.

" The bull issued out by Urban VIII. for diminishing the number of the holidays celebrated in the church of Rome, may be seen in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, tom. xv. p. 88.

virgin, of the third order of Dominic, and Lewis Bertrand, a Dominican monk.

Under the pontificate of Innocent XII. saintship was conferred upon Cajetan of Vicenza, a regular clerk of the order of Theatins, for whom that honour had been designed twenty years before, by Clement X., who died at the time the canonization was to have been performed; John of Leon, a hermit of St. Augustine; Paschal Baylonios, a Franciscan monk of the kingdom of Arragon; and John de Dieu, a Portuguese, and one of the order of the Brethren of Hospitality, all of whom had been marked for a place in the Kalendar, by Alexander VIII., were solemnly canonized, in the year 1691, by Innocent XII.*

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The state of the
Greek church.

I. THE history of the Greek and Eastern Christians, faithfully and accurately composed, would, no doubt, furnish us with a variety of entertaining and useful records; but the events that happen, and the transactions that are carried on in these distant regions, are very rarely transmitted to us genuine and uncorrupted. The spirit of religious party, and the pious frauds it often engenders, want of proper information, and undistinguishing credulity, have introduced a fabulous mixture into the accounts we have of the state of the Christian religion in the East; and this consideration has engaged us to treat, in a more concise manner than would otherwise have been expedient, this particular branch of ecclesiastical history.

The Greek Church, whose wretched situation was mentioned in the history of the preceding century, continued during the present one in the same deplorable state of ignorance and decay, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting solid and useful knowledge. This account is, however, to be considered as taken from a general view of that church; for several of its members may be alleged as exceptions from this general character of ignorance, superstition, and corruption. Among that multitude of Greeks who travel into Sicily, Venice, Rome, England, Holland, and Germany, or carry on trade in their own country, or fill honourable and important posts in the court of the Turkish emperor, there are undoubtedly several who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition and profligacy, and who make a figure by their opulence and credit.* But nothing can be more rooted and invincible than the

* The diplomas of the pontiffs, relative to all these canonizations, may be seen in Justus Fontaninius' *Codex Constitutionum, quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemnibus Canonizatione sanctorum*, p. 260, published in folio at Rome, in the year 1729. As they contain the particular reasons which occasioned the elevation of these persons to a place in the Kalendar, and the peculiar kind of merit on which each of these ghostly promotions was founded, they offer abundant matter for reflection and censure to a judicious reader. Nor would it be labour ill employed to inquire, without prejudice or partiality, into the justice, piety, and truth of what the popes allege in these diplomas, as the reasons inducing

them to confer saintship on the persons therein mentioned.

* I have been led to these remarks by the complaints of Alexander Helladius, and others, who see things in the light in which he has placed them. There is still extant a book published in Latin by this author, in the year 1714, entitled, *The present State of the Greek Church*, in which he throws out the bitterest reproaches upon several authors of eminent merit and learning, who have given accounts of that church, and maintains that his brethren of the Greek communion are much more pious, learned, wise, and opulent, than they are commonly supposed to be. Instead of envying the Greeks the merit and

aversion the Greeks in general discover to the Latin or Romish church ; an aversion which neither promises nor threatenings, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, or even to temper or diminish, and which has continued inflexible and unrelenting amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries to gain over this people to their communion and jurisdiction.^b It is true, indeed, that the Latin doctors have founded churches in some of the islands of the Archipelago ; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable ; nor will either the Greeks, or their masters, the Turks, permit the Romish missionaries to extend further their spiritual jurisdiction.

The hopes of a union between the Greek and Latin churches entirely dispelled.

II. Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. great hopes were entertained of softening the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latin church,^c and of engaging them, and the other Christians of the East, to embrace the communion of Rome, and acknowledge the supremacy and jurisdiction of its pontiff. This was the chief object that excited the ambitious zeal and employed the assiduous labour and activity of Urban, who called to his assistance such ecclesiastics as were most eminent for their acquaintance with Greek and Oriental learning, and with the tempers, manners, and characters of the Christians in those distant regions, that they might suggest the shortest and most effectual method of bringing them and their churches under the Roman yoke. The wisest of these counsellors advised the pontiff to lay it down for a preliminary in this difficult negotiation, that the Greek and Eastern Christians were to be indulged in almost every point that had hitherto been refused them by the Romish missionaries, and that no alteration was to be introduced either into their ritual or doctrine ; that their ceremonies were to be tolerated, since they did not concern the essence of religion ; and that their doctrine was to be explained and understood in such a manner, as might give it a near and striking resemblance of

felicity which this panegyrist supposes them possessed of, we sincerely wish them much greater degrees of both. But we observe, at the same time, that, from the very accounts given by Helladius, it would be easy to prove that the state of the Greeks is not a whit better than it is generally supposed to be ; though it may be granted, that the same ignorance, superstition, and immorality, do not abound alike in all places, nor among all persons. See what we have remarked on this subject in the accounts we have given of the Eastern church during the sixteenth century.

^b The Jesuit Tarillon has given an ample relation of the numerous missions in Greece and the other provinces of the Ottoman empire, and of the present state of these missions, in his letter to Pontchartrain, Sur l'état présent des Missions des Pères Jésuites dans la Grèce, which is published in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. i. p. 1125. For an account of the state of the Romish religion in the islands of the Archipelago, see the letter of the Jesuit Xavier Portier, in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères*, tom. x. p. 328. These accounts are, it is true, somewhat embellished, in order to advance the glory of the Jesuits ; but the exaggerations

of these missionaries may be easily corrected by the accounts of other writers, who, in our times, have treated this branch of ecclesiastical history. See, above all others, R. Simon's (under the fictitious name of Saniose) *Bibliothèque Critique*, tom. i. cap. xxiii. p. 340, and especially p. 346, where the author confirms a remarkable fact, which we have mentioned above upon the authority of Urban Cerri, viz., that amidst the general dislike which the Greeks have of the Romish church, none carry this dislike to such a high degree of antipathy and aversion as those very Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or in the other schools and seminaries belonging to its spiritual jurisdiction. "Ils sont (says Father Simon) les premiers à crier contre et à médire du Pape et des Latins. Ces Pelerins Orientaux qui viennent chez nous fourbent et abusent de notre crédulité pour acheter un bénéfice et tourmenter les missionnaires Latins, &c." We have still more recent and ample testimonies of the invincible hatred of the Greeks towards the Latins, in the preface to Cowell's Account of the present state of the Greek Church, printed at Cambridge, in the year 1722.

^c See the *Life of Morinus*, which is prefixed to his *Antiquitates Eccles. Orient.* p. 37.

the doctrine and institutions of the church of Rome. In method of proceeding, it was judiciously observed, that to be much more tractable and obsequious, were they told by that it was not meant to convert them; that they Roman Catholics in reality though not in profession; and had no intention of persuading them to abandon the ancestors, but only desired that they would understand genuine sense. This plan gave rise to a variety of labor in which there was more learning than probity, and more candour and good faith. Such were the treatises published Morinus, Clement Galanus, Lucas Holstenius, Abraham others who pretended to demonstrate, that there was little between the religion of the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestor the church of Rome, a few ceremonies excepted, together with phrases and terms that are peculiar to the Christians of the

The story of Cy-
rillus Lucar.

This design of bringing by artful complaisance and Eastern churches under the jurisdiction opposed by many; but by none with more resolution as Cyrillus Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of extensive knowledge of the world, who had travelled through Europe, and was well acquainted with the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant and Romish churches. This prelate declared indeed with more courage than prudence, that he had a serious regard to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and rituals and bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the primitive church. This was sufficient to render the venerable patriarch odious to the pope of Rome. And accordingly the Jesuits, seconded by the influence of the French ambassador, and assisted by the treachery of some perfidious Greeks, continued to perplex and persecute him in various ways, and at length accomplished his ruin; of false witnesses, they obtained an accusation of treason, the consequence of which he was put to death in the year 1635 of the Emperor.* He was succeeded by Cyrillus, bishop of

* The book of Leo Allatius, *De concordia Ecclesiarum Orientalis et Occidentalis*, is well known, and deservedly looked upon, by the most learned men among the Protestants, as the work of a disingenuous and insidious writer. The *Græcia Orthodoxa* of the same author, which was published at Rome in the year 1652, in 4to, and contains a compilation from all the books of the Grecian doctors that were well affected to the Latin church is still extant. We have nothing of Lucas Holstenius (who was superior to Allatius in learning and sagacity) upon this subject, except two posthumous dissertations, *De ministro et forma sacramenti confirmationis apud Græcos*, which were published at Rome in the year 1666. The treatises of Morinus, *De Pœnitentia et Ordinationibus*, are known to all the learned, and seem expressly composed to make the world believe, that there is a striking uniformity of sentiment between the Greek and Latin churches on these two important points, when, laying aside the differences that scholastic terms and peculiar modes of expression

may appear to occasion, meaning that is annexed to members of the two communities in a long and laborious Rome in the year 1650, prove, that the Armenians from the Latins in their and Abraham Echellensis convince us in several treatises specially in his *Animadversiones in Catalogum librorum* of all Christians throughout have the same system of doctrine received among the Latins.

* The Confession of Faith of Cyrillus Lucar, was published in the year 1645; and is also found, in his *Monuments de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. In this confession, it appears evidently, that a stronger inclination toward the reformed churches than commonly received among the Greeks was he, by any means, ill-a-

of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit, and the infamous instrument the Jesuits had chiefly employed in bringing him to an untimely end. As this new patriarch declared himself openly in favour of the Latins, the reconciliation of the Greeks with the church of Rome seemed more probable than ever, nay, almost certain; but the dismal fate of this unworthy prelate dispelled all of a sudden the pleasing hopes and the anxious fears with which Rome and its adversaries beheld the approach of this important event. The same violent death that concluded the days of Cyrillus Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer of the doctrine and ambitious pretensions of Rome, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period, the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church, no favourable opportunity being offered either of deposing its patriarchs, or gaining them over to the Romish communion.

Whether or not the Romish doctors and missionaries contributed to the corruption of the doctrine of the Greek church.

III. Notwithstanding these unsuccessful attempts of the Roman pontiffs to reduce the Greek church under their dominion, many allege, and more especially the reformed clergy complain, that the doctrine of that church has been manifestly corrupted by the emissaries of Rome. It is supposed, that in later times the munificence of the French ambassadors at the Porte, and the persuasive sophistry of the Jesuits, have made such irresistible impressions on the avarice and ignorance of the Greek bishops, whose poverty is great, that they have departed, in several points, from the religious system of their ancestors, and have adopted, among other errors of the Romish church, the monstrous and unnatural doctrine of Transubstantiation. This change is said to have been more especially brought about in the famous council which was assembled, in the year 1672, at Jerusalem, by Dositheus, the patriarch of that city.* Without entering into any examination of the truth and equity of this charge brought against the Greek bishops, we shall only observe that it was the controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in France that first gave rise to it. The latter, and more especially John Claude, so justly celebrated for his extensive learning and masterly eloquence, maintained that many of the doctrines of the Romish church, and more parti-

Lutherans, since he addressed several letters to the Swedish clergy about this time, and solicited their friendship, as appears from the learned Arckenholtz's *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 486; tom. ii. Append. p. 113. Aymond has published in the work already mentioned, p. 1—199, twenty-seven letters of this patriarch to the clergy of Geneva, and to other doctors of the reformed church, in which his religious sentiments are still more plainly discovered. His life, transactions, and deplorable fate, have been recorded by Thomas Smith, a learned divine of the English church, in his *Narratio de Vita, Studiis, Gestis, et Martyrio Cyrilli Lucaria*, which is the third article of his *Miscellanea*, published at London in 8vo, in the year 1686; as also by Hottinger, in his *Analect. Historico-Theolog. Appendic. dissert. viii.* p. 550, and by other authors mentioned by Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 499.

* See *Elizæ Vegellii Defensio Exerc. de Ecclesia Græca*, p. 100, where we find the letters

of the Roman pontiff Urban VIII. to Cyrillus of Borea, in which he loads with applause this new patriarch for having been so instrumental in banishing from among the Greeks the pernicious errors of Cyrillus Lucar, and warmly exhorts him to depose all the Greek patriarchs and bishops that are not favourable to the Latin Church. These exhortations are seconded by flattering promises, and particularly by an assurance of protection and succour from the king of Spain. Cyrillus of Borea died in the communion of the Romish church. See *Hen. Hillarii Not. ad Phil. Cyprii Chron. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 470.

* See, for an account of this council, Aymond, *Mémoires Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 263; Gisberti *Cuperi Epistolæ*, p. 404, 407. See, more especially, the judicious and learned observations of Baasnage on the transactions of this council, in his *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées*, period. iv. p. i. c. xxxii. p. 452, and Cowell's *Account of the Present State of the Greek Church*, book i. chap. v. p. 136.

cularly that of Transubstantiation, were of a modern date, had been heard of before the ninth century. The Roman church, on the contrary, with Arnaud at their head, affirmed, that the doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and the real conversion of the elements into the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, was held by Christians in all ages of the church.^a To strengthen this assertion by authorities, that they imagined would have no small influence on their adversaries, they ventured to assert that this doctrine was held by the eastern Christians, and particularly by the Greek church.

This bold assertion required striking and authentic testimony to give it any degree of credit. Accordingly, the ambassador of France at Constantinople, received orders from his court to conceal his mission, and to leave no methods unemployed in procuring certificates from the Greek clergy to confirm this assertion. On the other hand, the English and Dutch ambassadors, persuaded that no such doctrine was held in the Greek church, procured also the testimonies of several Greek divines in order to take from the Roman Catholic disputants this point, which, after all, was of no great consequence, as it did not affect the main cause. The result, however, of this scrutiny was favourable to the Greek doctors, whose agents in foreign parts procured a more numerous set of testimonies than their adversaries could produce. The English divines invalidated these testimonies, by proving fully that many of them were obtained by bribery from the indigent Greeks, whose deplorable poverty made them sacrifice truth to lucre; and that a great number of them were the artifices of ignorant priests, whom the Jesuits deceived in order to establish the doctrines of Rome in such a manner as to give them the appearance of antiquity, and make them resemble the religious system of the Eastern church. Granting all this to be true, it may nevertheless be justly questioned whether the admission of certain doctrines in the Greek church, which the errors of popery is to be dated from the period now before us, ever examines this controversy with a spirit of impartiality. A person with a competent knowledge of the history of the religious systems of the Greek churches, will perhaps find that a certain vague and indistinct doctrine, similar to the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation has prevailed during many ages by several of these churches; though sometimes they may have learned from the Romish missionaries a more proper manner of expressing this monstrous and unaccountable tenet.

The Russian church.

IV. Of those independent Greek churches, which are governed by their own laws, and are not under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, there is one church established in Russia that can furnish any matter for

^a It was to prove this most groundless assertion, that the famous Nicolle published his artful book, *De la Perpetuité de la Foi*, in the year 1664, which was answered with a victorious force of evidence by the learned Claude.

^b The names and productions of the principal writers that appeared in this controversy, may be found in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius, vol. x. p. 444, and in the learned Pfaff's *Dissertatio contra Ludov. Logerii Opus Eucharisticum*, published at Tubingen in the year 1718.

^c Here, above all other histories, the reader will do well to consult Cowell's Account of the present State of the Greek Church, Pref.

p. 2, and also book i. chap. 1. The author was actually at Constantinople at this scene of fraud and bribery, and was an eye-witness of the most artful and perfidious practices of the Jesuits to obtain from the monks testimonies in favour of the Latin or Romish church.

^d The learned La Croix, who was suspected of any propensity to the doctrines of Rome in general, or the doctrine of Transubstantiation in particular, was of opinion that the Greek church had been long in possession of this doctrine of transubstantiation. See his *Epistol.* p. 37, 44, 48, 51,

cal historian ; the rest are sunk in the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity that can possibly be imagined. About the year 1666, a certain sect, which assumed the name of Isbraniki, *i. e.* the multitude of the Elect, but were called by their adversaries Roskolniki, or the seditious faction, arose in Russia, and excited considerable tumults and commotions in that kingdom.¹ The reasons that this sect alleges in defence of its separation from the Russian Church, are not yet known with any degree of certainty ; nor have we any satisfactory or accurate account of its doctrines and institutions ;² we only know in general, that its members affect an extraordinary air of piety and devotion, and complain of the corruptions introduced into the ancient religion of the Russians, partly by the negligence, and partly by the ambition, of the Episcopal order.³ On the other hand, great pains were taken to conquer the obstinacy of this factious sect ; arguments, promises, threatenings, dragoonings, the authority of synods and councils, seconded by racks and gibbets ; in a word, all the methods that artifice or barbarity could suggest were practised to bring back these seditious heretics into the bosom of the church. But the effect of these violent measures by no means answered the expectations of the Russian government ; they exasperated, instead of reclaimed, these schismatics, who retired into the woods and deserts, and, as it often happens, were rendered more fierce and desperate by the calamities and sufferings in which they were involved. From the time that Peter the Great ascended the throne of Russia, and made such remarkable changes in the form and administration both of its civil and ecclesiastical government, this faction has been treated with more humanity and mildness ; but it is alleged, that these mild proceedings have by no means healed the schism ; and that, on the contrary, the Roskolniki have gained strength, and are become still more obstinate since the period now mentioned.

The changes introduced into the Russian church by Peter I.

V. It will not be improper here to give some account of this reformation of the church of Russia, that was owing to the active zeal and wisdom of Peter I., for though this interesting event belongs to the history of the follow-

¹ These perhaps are the same persons of whom the learned Gmelin speaks, under the denomination of Sterowetzi, in the account of his Voyage into Siberia, tom. iv. p. 404.

² (†) This sect is called by other authors, the sect of the Roskolniki. According to the account of Voltaire, who pretends to have drawn the materials of his History of the Russian Empire under Peter I. from authentic records furnished by the court of Petersburg, this sect made its first appearance in the twelfth century. The members of it allege, in defence of their separation, the corruptions, both in doctrine and discipline, that have been introduced into the Russian church. They profess a rigorous zeal for the letter of Holy Scripture, which they do not understand ; and the transposition of a single word in a new edition of the Russian Bible, though this transposition was made to correct an uncouth phrase in the translation commonly received, threw them into the greatest combustion and tumult. They will not allow a priest to administer baptism after having tasted spirituous liquor ; and in this, perhaps, they do not amiss, since it is well known that the Russian priests seldom touch the flask without drinking deep. They hold, that there is no

subordination of rank, no superior or inferior among the faithful ; that a Christian may kill himself for the love of Christ ; that Hallelujah must be but twice pronounced, and that it is a great sin to repeat it thrice ; and that a priest must never give a blessing but with three fingers. They are regular, even to austerity, in their manners ; but as they have always refused to admit Christians of other denominations into their religious assemblies, they have been suspected of committing in them various abominations, which ought not to be believed without the strongest demonstrative proof. They are accused, for example, of killing a child in these assemblies, and of drinking its blood, and of lascivious commerce in its most irregular forms.

³ See Bergius, *De Statu Ecclesie Religionis Muscoviticæ*, sect. xi. cap. vii. p. 69 ; sect. ii. cap. xvi. p. 218—Append. 270 ; Heineccius's Account of the Greek Church, written in German, p. 30 ; Haven's *Iter Russicum*.—Some doctors conjecture, that these Isbraniki, or Roskolniki, are a branch descended from the ancient Bogomilians, of whom we have already given some account, cent. xii. p. ii. chap. v. sect. ii.

ing century, yet the scheme, by which it was brought about, was laid towards the conclusion of that now before us. This great prince made no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have this doctrine explained in a manner conformable to the dictates of right reason and the spirit of the gospel; and he used the most effectual methods to destroy, on the one hand, the influence of that hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation; and, on the other, to dispel the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people which would have surpassed it, had that been possible. These were great and arduous undertakings; and the reformation to which they pointed, was such as seemed to require whole ages to accomplish and bring to any degree of perfection. To accelerate the execution of this glorious plan, Peter I. became a zealous protector and patron of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning and genius to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite in his subjects a desire of emerging from their ignorance and brutality, and a taste for knowledge and the useful arts. And, to crown all these noble attempts, he extinguished the infernal spirit of persecution; abolished the penal laws against those who differed merely in religious opinion from the established church; and granted to Christians of all denominations liberty of conscience, and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies and institutions. This liberty, however, was modified in such a prudent manner, as to restrain and defeat any attempts that might be made by the Latins to promote the interests of popery in Russia, or to extend the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff beyond the chapels of that communion that were established by law. For though Roman Catholics were allowed places for the celebration of divine worship, yet the Jesuits were not permitted to exercise the functions of missionaries or public teachers in Russia, and a particular charge was given to the council, to which belonged the cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, to use their utmost care and vigilance to prevent the propagation of Romish tenets among the people.

Besides all this, a notable change was now introduced into the manner of governing the church. The splendid dignity of patriarch, which approached too near the lustre and prerogatives of majesty, not to be offensive to the emperor and burdensome to the people, was suppressed, or rather assumed by this spiritual prince, who declared himself the supreme pontiff and head of the Russian church.* The functions of this high and important office were intrusted with a council assembled at Petersburg, which was called the Holy Synod, and in which one of the archbishops, the most distinguished by his integrity and prudence, was appointed as president. This honourable office was filled by the famous Stephen Javorsci,

* & This account is not perhaps entirely accurate. Dr. Mosheim seems to insinuate that Peter assumed not only the authority, but also the office and title of patriarch, or supreme pontiff, and head of the church. This, however, was not the case; he retained the power without the title, as may be seen by the oath that every member of the synod he had established was obliged to take, when he was appointed to that office. It was in consequence of his authority, as emperor, that he claimed an absolute authority in the church,

and not from any ghostly character or denomination. The oath now mentioned ran thus: "I swear and promise to be a faithful and obedient subject and servant to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors it shall please him to appoint, in consequence of the indisputable power he has to regulate the succession to the crown. I acknowledge him as the supreme judge of this spiritual college," &c. See Voltaire's *Histoire d'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, tom. i. p. 174.

who composed a laborious work, in the Russian language, against heresy.^p The other orders of the clergy continued in their respective rank and offices: but both their revenues and their authority were considerably diminished. It was resolved at first, in this general reformation, to abolish all monasteries and convents, as prejudicial to the community, and unfriendly to population; but this resolution was not put in execution; on the contrary, the emperor himself erected a magnificent monastery in honour of Alexander Newsky, whom the Russians place in the list of their heroes.^q

The state of the
Monophysites.

VI. A small body of the Monophysites in Asia abandoned for some time the doctrine and institutions of their ancestors, and embraced the communion of Rome. This step was entirely owing to the suggestions and intrigues of a person named Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, where he imbibed the principles of popery, and, having obtained the title and dignity of patriarch from the Roman pontiff, assumed the denomination of Ignatius XXIV.^r After the death of this pretended patriarch, another usurper, whose name was Peter, aspired after the same dignity, and taking the title of Ignatius XXV., placed himself in the patriarchal chair; but the lawful patriarch of this sect had credit enough with the Turks to procure the deposition and banishment of this pretender; and thus the small congregation which acknowledged his jurisdiction was entirely dispersed.^s The African Monophysites, and more especially the Copts, notwithstanding that poverty and ignorance which exposed them to the seductions of sophistry and gain, stood firm in their principles, and made an obstinate resistance to the promises, presents, and attempts employed by the papal missionaries to bring them under the Roman yoke.—With respect to the Abyssinians, we have mentioned already, in its proper place, the revolution by which they delivered themselves from that tyrannical yoke, and resumed the liberty they had so imprudently renounced. It is proper, however, to take notice here of the zeal discovered by the Lutherans, in their attempts to dispel the ignorance and superstition of this people, and to bring them to the knowledge of a purer religion, and a more rational worship. It was with this pious design that the learned Heyling, of Lubec, undertook a voyage into Ethiopia in the year 1634, where he resided many years, and acquired such a distinguished place in the favour and esteem of the emperor, that he was honoured with the high and important office of prime minister of that mighty empire. In this eminent station he gave many instances of his zeal both for the interests of religion and the public good; after which he set out for Europe, but never arrived there, nor is it known in what manner, or by what accident, he ended his days.^t

Several years after this, Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Gotha, surnamed the Pious, on account of his eminent sanctity and virtue, formed the resolution of making a new attempt to spread the knowledge of the Gospel in its

^p Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1295.

^q Those who are acquainted with either the Danish or German languages, will find several interesting anecdotes relating to these changes in Haven's *Iter Russicum*.

^r From the fifteenth century downwards, all the patriarchs of the Monophysites have taken the name of Ignatius, and that for no other purpose than to show that they are the lineal successors of Ignatius, who was bishop of Antioch in the first century, and of consequence the lawful patriarchs of Antioch. A

like reason induces the religious chief of the Maronites, who also lays claim to the same dignity, to assume the name of Peter; for St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

^s Jo. Simon. *Assemani Biblioth. Orientalis, Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 482, and his *Dissert. de Monophysitis*, sect. iii. p. 6, 7.

^t A very curious life of Heyling was published in German by Dr. Michaelis at Halle, in 1724. See also *Mollerii Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 253.

purity and simplicity, among the ignorant and superstitious Abyssinians. This design was formed by the counsels and suggestions of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of Abbot Gregory, an Abyssinian, who had resided for some time in Europe.* The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck in the year 1657, did not totally discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose; for in the year 1663 he intrusted the same pious and important commission with John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurt, to whom he gave the wisest orders, and whom he charged particularly to leave no means unemployed that might contribute to give the Abyssinian nation a favourable opinion of the Germans, as it was upon this basis alone that the success of the present enterprise could be built. Wansleb, however, whose virtue was by no means equal to his abilities, instead of continuing his journey to Abyssinia, remained several years in Egypt. On his return from thence into Europe, he began to entertain uneasy apprehensions of the account that would naturally be demanded both of his conduct, and of the manner in which he had employed the sums of money he received for his Abyssinian expedition. These apprehensions rendered him desperate, because they were attended with a consciousness of guilt. Hence, instead of returning into Germany, he went directly to Rome, where, in the year 1667, he embraced, at least in outward profession, the doctrine of that church, and entered into the Dominican order.† Thus the pious designs of the best of princes failed in the execution. To them, however, we are indebted for the great light that has been thrown by the learned and laborious Ludolph on the history, doctrine, literature, and manners of the Abyssinians, which before this period were but very superficially known in Europe.

The state of the
Armenians.

VII. The state of the Christians in Armenia underwent a considerable change soon after the commencement of this century, in consequence of the incursions of Abbas the Great, king of Persia, into that province. This prince laid waste all that part of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions, and ordered the inhabitants to retire into Persia. These devastations were designed to prevent the Turks from approaching to his frontier; for the Eastern monarchs, instead of erecting fortified towns on the borders of their respective kingdoms, as is done by the European princes, laid waste their borders upon the approach of the enemy, that, by thus cutting off the means of their subsistence, their progress might be either entirely stopped, or considerably retarded. In this general emigration the more opulent and better sort of the Armenians removed to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where the generous monarch granted them a beautiful suburb for their residence, with the free exercise of their religion, under the jurisdiction of a bishop or patriarch. Under the reign of this magnanimous prince, who cherished his people with a paternal tenderness, these happy exiles enjoyed the sweets of liberty and abundance; but, after his death, the scene changed, and they were involved in calamities of various kinds.‡ The storm of persecution that arose upon them shook their constancy; many of them apostatized to the Mahometan religion, so that it was justly to be feared that this branch of the Armenian church would gradually perish. On the

* See Ludolphi *Præmium ad Comm. in Hist. Ethiop.* p. 31; Junckeri *Vita Jobi Ludolphi*, p. 68.

† For an account of this inconstant and worthless, but learned man, see Lobo, *Voyage de Abyss.* tom. I. p. 198, 227, 233, 248; Cyprian, *Catalog. MSS. Biblioth. Gothanae*,

p. 64; Eus. Renaudot, *Pref. ad Histor. Patriarch. Alexand.*; Erchard and Quetif, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædic.* tom. ii. p. 693. See the same author's *Historia Ecclesiae Alexandrinæ*.

‡ See Chardin, *Voyages en Perso*, tom. ii. p. 106; Gabriel du Chinois, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant*, p. 206.

other hand, the state of religion in that church derived considerable advantages from the settlement of a prodigious number of Armenians in different parts of Europe for the purposes of commerce. These merchants, who had fixed their residence during this century at London, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and Venice,^{*} were not unmindful of the interest of religion in their native country; and their situation furnished them with favourable opportunities of exerting their zeal in this good cause, and particularly of supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Holy Scriptures, and of other theological books from the European presses, especially from those of England and Holland. These pious and instructive productions being dispersed among the Armenians who lived under the Persian and Turkish governments, contributed, no doubt, to preserve that illiterate and superstitious people from falling into the most consummate and deplorable ignorance.

The state of the
Nestorians.

VIII. The divisions that reigned among the Nestorians in the preceding century still subsisted; and all the methods that had been employed to heal them proved hitherto ineffectual. Some of the Nestorian bishops discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the church of Rome. Elias II., bishop of Mosul, sent two private embassies to the pope, in the years 1607 and 1610, to solicit his friendship; and in the letter he addressed upon that occasion to Paul IV. declared his desire to bring about a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin church.[†] Elias III., though at first extremely averse to the doctrine and institutions of that church,[‡] changed his sentiments in this respect, and, in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, in which he intimated his readiness to join with the church of Rome, on condition that the Pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city, and would abstain from all attempts to alter the doctrine or discipline of that sect.^{*} The Romish doctors could not but perceive that a reconciliation, founded on such conditions as these, would be attended with no advantage to their church, and promised nothing that could flatter the ambition of their pontiff; and, accordingly, we do not find that the proposal above mentioned was accepted. It does not appear that the Nestorians were received, at this time, into the communion of the Romish church, or that the bishops of Mosul were, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship or good-will of the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian bishops of Ormus, who successively assume the name of Simeon, proposed also, more than once,[‡] plans of reconciliation with the church of Rome; and, with that view, sent the Roman Pontiff a confession of their faith, that gave a clear idea of their religious tenets and institutions. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of Rome, which was either owing to its dislike of the doctrine of these Nestorians,^b or to that contempt which their poverty and want of influence excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of more consequence; for it is well known that, since the year 1617, the bishops

^{*} For an account of the Armenians who settled at Marseilles, and of the books they took care to have printed in that city for the use of their brethren in foreign parts, see Richard Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. ii. p. 137. The same author (tom. iv. p. 160), and the learned John Joachim Schroder, in a Dissertation prefixed to his *Thesaurus Lingue Armenicæ*, give an account of the Armenian Bible that was printed in Holland. The latter

also takes notice of the other Armenian books that were published at Venice, Lyons, and Amsterdam, loc. cit. cap. ii. sect. xxv. p. 38.

[†] Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican. tom. i. p. 543, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. p. i. p. 650.*

[‡] Asseman, loc. cit. tom. iii. p. 2.

^a In the years 1619 and 1653.

^b Asseman, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 531, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. p. i. p. 662.

of Ormus have been in a low and declining state, both in point of opulence and credit, and are no longer in a condition to excite the envy of their brethren at Mosul.^c The Romish missionaries gained over, nevertheless, to their communion, a handful of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation or church, about the middle of this century. The bishops or patriarchs of this little flock reside in the city of Amida, or Diarbeker, and all assume the denomination of Joseph.^d The Nestorians who inhabit the coasts of Malabar, and are called the Christians of St. Thomas, suffered innumerable vexations and the most grievous persecution from the Romish priests, and more especially the Jesuits, while these settlements were in the hands of the Portuguese; but neither artifice nor violence could engage them to embrace the communion of Rome.^e But when Cochin was taken by the Dutch in the year 1663, and the Portuguese were driven out of these quarters, the persecuted Nestorians resumed their primitive liberty, and were reinstated in the privilege of serving God without molestation, according to their consciences. These blessings they still continue to enjoy; nor are such of them as entered into the communion of Rome disturbed by the Dutch, who are used to treat with toleration and indulgence all sects who live peaceably with those who differ from them in religious opinions and ceremonies.^f

SECTION II.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Lutheran church
loses ground in
some places.
The Hessians
embrace Cal-
vinism.

I. WE have already seen^a the calamities and vexations the Lutheran church suffered from the persecuting spirit of the Roman pontiffs, and the intemperate zeal of the house of Austria, which, on many occasions, showed too great a propensity to second their ambitious and despotic measures; we shall, therefore, at present confine our view to the losses it sustained from other quarters. The cause of Lutheranism suffered considerably by the desertion of Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, a prince of uncommon genius and learning, who not only embraced the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed church,^b but also, in the year 1604, removed the Lutheran professors from their places in the university of Marburg, and the doctors of that communion from the churches they had in his dominions. Maurice,

^c Pet. Struzza, *Præf. ad librum de Chal-dæorum dogmatibus.*

^d See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

^e Le Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, livr. v. p. 344.

^f Schouten *Voyages aux Indes Orient.* tom. i. p. 319. 466.

^a In the History of the Romish Church. See above.

^b &c. The reader must always remember, that the writers of the continent generally use the denomination of Reformed in a limited sense, to distinguish the Church of England and the Calvinistical Churches from those of the Lutheran persuasion.

after taking this vigorous step, on account of the obstinacy with which the Lutheran clergy opposed his design, took particular care to have his subjects instructed in the doctrine of the Helvetic church, and introduced into the Hessian churches the form of public worship that was observed at Geneva. This plan was not executed without some difficulty; but it acquired a complete degree of stability and consistence in the year 1619, when deputies were sent by this prince to the synod of Dort, in Holland, with express orders to consent, in the name of the Hessian churches, to all the acts that should be passed in that assembly. The doctors of the Reformed church, who lived at this period, defended strenuously the measures followed by Maurice, and maintained that in all these transactions he observed the strictest principles of equity, and discovered an uncommon spirit of moderation. Perhaps the doctors of modern days may view this matter in a different point of light. They will acknowledge, perhaps without hesitation, that if this illustrious prince had been more influenced by the sentiments of the wisest of the Reformed doctors, concerning the conduct we ought to observe towards those who differ from us in religious matters, and less by his own will and humour, he would have ordered many things otherwise than he actually did.*

The new Reformation takes place in Brandenburg.

II. The example of the Landgrave of Hesse was followed, in the year 1614, by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg; who also renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the communion of the Reformed churches, though with certain restrictions, and without employing any acts of mere authority to engage his subjects in the same measure. For it is observable, that this prince did not adopt all the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism. He introduced, indeed, into his dominions the form of public worship that was established at Geneva, and he embraced the sentiments of the Reformed churches concerning the person of Christ, and the manner in which he is present in the eucharist, as they appeared to him much more conformable to reason and scripture than the doctrine of the Lutherans relating to these points. But, on the other hand, he refused to admit the Calvinistical doctrine of Divine Grace and Absolute Decrees; and on this account neither sent deputies to the synod of Dort, nor adopted the decisions of that famous assembly on these intricate subjects. This way of thinking was so exactly followed by the successors of Sigismund, that they never would allow the opinion of Calvin concerning the Divine Decrees to be considered as the public and received doctrine of the Reformed churches in their dominions. It must be particularly mentioned, to the honour of this wise prince, that he granted to his subjects an entire liberty in religious matters, and left it to their unrestrained and free choice, whether they would remain in the profession of Lutheranism, or follow the example of their sovereign; nor did he exclude from civil honours and employments, or from the usual marks of his protection and favour, those who continued in the faith of their ancestors. This lenity and moderation, which seemed so adapted to prevent jealousy and envy, and to satisfy both parties, did not however produce this natural and salutary effect; nor were they sufficient to restrain within the bounds

* The reader will find a more ample account of this matter in the controversial writings of the divines of Cassel and Darmstadt, published at Cassel, Marburg, and Giessen, in the years 1632, 1636, 1647; and of which Salig speaks largely in his *Hist. Aug. Confess.* tom. i. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 766. Those who understand the

German language, may also consult Garth's *Historischer Bericht von dem Religion Wesen in Fürstenthum Hessen*, 1706, in 4to; Cyprian's *Unterricht von Kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 263, and Appendix, p. 101. As also the acts published in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1749, p. 25.

of decency and charity several warm and inconsiderate votaries of Lutheranism. These over zealous persons, who breathed the violent spirit of an age in which matters of consequence were usually carried on with vehemence and rigour, looked upon it as intolerable and highly provoking,—that the Lutherans and Calvinists should enjoy the same honours and prerogatives,—that all injurious terms and odious comparisons should be banished from religious debates,—that the controverted points in theology should either be entirely omitted in the sermons and public discourses of the clergy, or explained with a spirit of modesty and Christian charity,—that certain rites which displeased the Calvinists should be totally abolished, and that they who differed in opinions, should be obliged to live in peace, concord, and the mutual exchange of good offices. If not unreasonable in them to be offended at injunctions of this nature, it was still more so to discover their indignation in a manner that excited not only sharp and uncharitable debates, but also civil commotions and violent tumults, that disturbed considerably the tranquillity of the state, and nourished a spirit of sedition and revolt, which the labour of years was employed to extinguish in vain. In this troubled state of things, the divines of Saxony, and more especially those of Wittemberg, undertook to defend the Lutheran cause; but if it be acknowledged, on the one hand, that their views were good, and their intentions upright; it must be owned, on the other, that their style was keen even to a degree of licentiousness, and their zeal warm beyond all measure. And, indeed, as it generally happens, their want of moderation hurt, instead of promoted, the cause in which they had embarked; for it was in consequence of their violent proceedings, that the form of concord was suppressed in the territories of Brandenburg, and the subjects of that electorate prohibited by a solemn edict from studying divinity in the academy of Wittemberg.^d

Attempts made to-
wards a union
between the Lu-
theran and Re-
formed churches.

III. It was deplorable to see two churches, which had discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and fortitude in throwing off the despotic yoke of Rome, divided among themselves, and living in discords that were highly detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society. Hence several eminent divines and leading men, both among the Lutherans and Calvinists, sought anxiously after some method of uniting the two churches, though divided in their opinions, in the bonds of Christian charity and ecclesiastical communion. A competent knowledge of human nature and human passions was sufficient to persuade these wise and pacific mediators, that a perfect uniformity in religious opinions was not practicable, and that it would be entirely extravagant to imagine that any of these commu-

^d The edicts of Sigismund and his successors, relating to this change in the state of religion in Brandenburg, have been several times republished in one collection. Besides these, there are many books, treatises, and pamphlets, which give an account of this remarkable transaction, and of which the reader will find a complete list in the German work, entitled *Unschuldige Nachrichten*. An. 1745, p. 34, A. 1746, p. 326, compared with Jo. Carol. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiae Symbolica*, p. 312. The reader who desires to attain a perfect acquaintance with this controversy, and to be able to weigh the merits of the cause, by having a true state of the case before him, will do well to consult Arnoldi

Histor. Eccles. et Hæret. p. ii. lib. xvii. c. vii. p. 965; Cyprian's *Unterricht von der Vereinigung der Protestant.* p. 75, and in *Append. Monum.* p. 225; *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1729, p. 1067, et A. 1732, p. 715. They who affirm that the elector's ultimate end, in changing the face of religion in his dominions, was not the prospect of augmenting and extending his authority, found their opinion rather on conjecture than on demonstration; nor do they confirm this assertion by testimonies that are sufficient to bring full conviction. It must, however, be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their conjectures have neither an absurd nor an improbable aspect.

nities could ever be brought to embrace universally, and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. They made it, therefore, their principal business to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy, that the points in debate between the two churches were not essential to true religion;—that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were received and professed in both communions;—and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to render mankind wiser nor better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in nowise concerned. Those who viewed things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowledge, that the diversity of opinions between the two churches was by no means a sufficient reason for their separation; and that of consequence they were called, by the dictates of that gospel which they both professed, to live not only in the mutual exercise of Christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of church communion. The greatest part of the Reformed doctors seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the Lutherans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious tendency; and that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; and thus on their side an important step was made towards peace and union between the two churches. But the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the Reformed churches; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all surprising, that this steadiness and constancy of the Lutherans was branded by the opposite party with the epithets of morose obstinacy, supercilious arrogance, and such like odious denominations. The Lutherans were not behindhand with their adversaries in acrimony of style; they recriminated with vehemence, and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, different in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them with having dealt disingenuously, by disguising, under ambiguous expressions, the real doctrine of the Reformed churches; they observed farther, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between the two churches arose from views of private interest, rather than from a zeal for the public good.

IV. Among the public transactions relative to the project of a union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, we must not omit mentioning the attempt made by James I. king of Great Britain, to accomplish this salutary purpose, in the year 1615. The person employed for this end by the British monarch, was Peter de Moulin, the most eminent among the Protestant doctors in France;* but this design was neither carried on with spirit, nor attended with success.† Another attempt of the same pacific nature was made in the year 1631, in the synod of Charenton, in which an act was passed by the Reformed doctors of that respectable assembly, declaring the Lutheran

* See Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. ii. p. 21.

† King James, who would have abandoned the most important and noble design, at any time, to discuss a point of grammar or

theology, or to gain a point of interest for himself or his minions, neglected this union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, which he had begun to promote with such an appearance of piety and zeal.

system of religion conformable with the pernicious and fundamental errors. offered to the Lutherans of joining with ourable terms, and of entering into the communion with their Calvinistical brethren. The table proceeding was attended with Lutherans were disposed to embrace the offered them, of terminating the dissensions. The same year a conference was held at Thorn, Hoe, Lyser, and Hopfner, on the eminent divines of Hesse-Cassel and at the end that, by exposing with fidelity and it might be more easily seen what the way of the union projected between the conference was conducted with decency and were neither disturbed by intemperate attention and dispute; but that openness of confidence, which are so essential to the were wanting here. For though the exposed, with the utmost precision and and made, moreover, many concessions could scarcely expect; yet the latter, apprehensive of schemes, formed by art to betray and ensnare them, did not dare satisfied with these explications and offered up without having contributed in any way of peace.^a To form a true idea of these that gave rise to them, and of the projected, it will be necessary to study the period with attention and care.

The conferences
at Thorn and
Cassel.

V. Uladislaus IV., king of Poland, extensive plan of religion mentioned; he proposed a reformation of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, but in opposition to that of Rome. For this purpose, at Thorn, in the year 1645, the issue of the conference had been expected, was far from being favorable to the persons employed by the three churches, at least to calm their animosities, returned with a measure of party zeal, and a smaller portion of candor had brought to it.

The conference held at Cassel, in the year 1646, by William VI. landgrave of Hesse, between the Lutherans at Rintelen, on the side of the Lutheran church, and of the university of Marpurg, on that of the Calvinists, had much more success; and, if it did not produce a general opinion, it produced what was much better, a mutual respect and forbearance. For these candid dis-

^a Benoit, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. ii. p. 544; Amond, Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, li. ii. p. 500; Ittigii Dissert. de Synodo Carentoniensis Indulgentia erga Lutheranos, Lipsæ. 1705, 4to.

^b Timanni Geselii Historia Sacra et Eccle-

amined the nature, and weighed the importance, of the controversies that divided the church, embraced each other with reciprocal marks of affection and esteem, and mutually declared that their respective doctrines were less different from each other than was generally imagined; and that this difference was not of sufficient moment to prevent their fraternal union and concord. But it happened unluckily, that these moderate doctors of Rintelen could not infuse the same spirit of peace and charity that animated them into their Lutheran brethren, nor persuade them to view the difference of opinion that divided the Protestant churches in the same indulgent point of light in which they had considered them in the conference at Cassel. On the contrary, this their moderation drew upon them the hatred of almost all the Lutherans; and they were loaded with bitter reproaches in a multitude of pamphlets,¹ that were composed expressly to refute their sentiments, and to censure their conduct. The pains that were taken after this period by the princes of the house of Brandenburg, and more especially by Frederic William and his son Frederic, in order to compose the dissensions and animosity that divided the Protestants, and particularly to promote a fraternal union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches in the Prussian territories, and in the rest of their dominions, are well known; and it is also equally notorious, that innumerable difficulties were formed against the execution of this salutary design.

The pacific exploits
of John Dureus.

VI. Besides these public conferences held by the authority of princes, in order to promote union and concord among Protestants, a multitude of individuals, animated by a spirit of true Christian charity, embarked in this pious cause on their own private authority, and offered their mediation and good offices to reconcile the two churches. It is true, indeed, that these peace-makers were, generally speaking, of the Reformed church; and that those among the Lutherans who appeared in this amiable character, were but few in comparison with the great number of Calvinists that favoured this benevolent but arduous design. The most eminent of the Calvinistical peace-makers was John Dureus, a native of Scotland, and a man justly celebrated on account of his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning; but, at the same time, more remarkable for genius and memory, than for nicety of discernment and accuracy of judgment, as might be evinced by several proofs and testimonies, were this the proper place for discussions of that nature. Be that as it will, never, perhaps, was there such an example of zeal and perseverance as that exhibited by Dureus, who, during the space of forty years,¹ suffered vexations, and underwent labours, which required the firmest resolution, and the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed: in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest, to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the Protestant churches. For it was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence and zeal engaged him to undertake; his

¹ The writers who have given accounts of the conferences of Thorn and Cassel, are enumerated by Sagittarius, in his *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 1604*. See also Jaegeri *Historia Seculi xvii. Decenn. v. p. 689*, and *Decenn. vii. p. 160*, where the Acts of the Conferences of Cassel and Thorn are extant. Add to these, Jo. Alphons. Turretini *Nubes*

Testium pro moderato in rebus Theologicis judicio, p. 178. There is an ample account of the Conference of Cassel in the *Life of Musæus* given by Mollerus in his *Cimbria Literata*, t. ii. p. 566. The reader will find in the same work an accurate Index of the accounts of this conference published on both sides.

¹ From the year 1631 to 1674.

activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he travelled through all the countries in Europe, where the Protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connexions with the doctors of both parties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively and striking colours, the utility and importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them more or less in this good cause, or at least to derive some succour from their influence and protection. But here his views were considerably disappointed; for though his undertaking was generally applauded; and though he met with a favourable and civil reception from the greatest part of those to whom he addressed himself, yet he found very few who were seriously disposed to alleviate his labours, by lending him their assistance, and seconding his attempts by their influence and counsels. Nay, some, suspecting that the fervent and extraordinary zeal of Dureus arose from mysterious and sinister motives, and apprehending that he had secretly formed a design of drawing the Lutherans into a snare, attacked him in their writings with animosity and bitterness, and loaded him with the sharpest invectives and reproaches. So that this well-meaning man, neglected at length by those of his own communion, opposed and rejected by the followers of Luther, involved in various perplexities and distress, exhausted by unsuccessful labour, and oppressed and dejected by injurious treatment, perceived, by a painful experience, that he had undertaken a task which was beyond the power of a private person, and spent the remainder of his days in repose and obscurity at Cassel.*

It may not be improper to observe here, that Dureus, who, notwithstanding the uprightness of his intentions in general, was sometimes deficient in frankness and ingenuity, had annexed to his plan of reconciliation certain doctrines which, were they susceptible of proof, would serve as a foundation for the union, not only of Lutherans and Calvinists, but also of all the different sects that bear the Christian name. For, among other things, he maintained, that the Apostles' Creed was a complete body of divinity; the Ten Commandments a perfect system of morals; and the Lord's Prayer a comprehensive series of petitions for all the blessings contained in the divine promises. Now if this notion that these sacred compositions contain all that is essential to faith, obedience, and devotion, had been universally entertained, or evidently demonstrated, it would not have been a chimerical project to aim at a reconciliation of all Christian churches upon this basis, and to render these compositions the foundation of their coalition and the bond of their union. But it would have been highly chimerical to expect that

* See Coleri *Historia Joh. Durei*, published in 4to at Wittenberg, in 1716, to which, however, many important additions might be made from public records, and also from documents that have not as yet seen the light. Some records and documents of the kind here referred to have been published by Haaseus, in his *Bibliotheca Bremensis. Theologico-Philologica*, tom. i. p. 911, and tom. iv. p. 683. A still greater number are given by Gesenius, in the *Addenda Irenica*, that are subjoined to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 614. The transactions of Dureus at Marburg, are mentioned by Schenk, in his *Vita Professorum Theologiæ Marburg*, p. 202. His attempts in Holstein may be learned from the Letters of Lochman and Lossius, which

are joined together in the same volume. His exploits in Prussia and Poland are recorded by Jablonsky, in his *Historia Consensus Sandomirensis*, p. 127, and his labours in Denmark, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, are mentioned respectively by Elawich, in his *Fasciculus Epistol. Theolog.* p. 147; Seelen's *Deliciæ Epistol.* p. 353, and in the *Museum Helvet.* t. iii. iv. v. See also Jegeri *Historia Seculi xvii. Decenn. vii.* p. 171; Bohmius, *Englische Reformations Historie*, and more especially an account of Dureus, published under my direction at Helmstadt, in the year 1744, by Benzellius, and entitled, *Dissertatio de Joh. Dureo, maxime de actis ejus Suecanis*. This dissertation contains a variety of anecdotes drawn from records not yet made public.

the Christian sects would universally adopt this notion, or be pleased to see the doctrines of Christianity reduced to such general principles. It is further to be observed, with respect to Dureus, that he showed a peculiar propensity towards the sentiments of the Mystics and Quakers, on account of their tendency to favour his conciliatory and pacific project. Like them, he placed the essence of religion in the ascent of the soul to God, in calling forth the hidden word, in fanning the divine spark that resides in the recesses of the human mind, and in consequence of this system, was intimately persuaded, that differences merely in theological opinions did not at all concern the essence of true piety.

Matthiæ and Calixtus.

VII. Those among the Lutherans that appeared the most zealous in this pacific cause, were John Matthiæ,¹ bishop of Strengnes in Sweden, and George Calixtus, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, whom Dureus had animated with a portion of his charitable and indulgent spirit. The former was a man of capacity and merit, the latter was eminently distinguished among the doctors of this century by his learning, genius, probity, and candour; but they both failed in the arduous undertaking in which they had engaged, and suffered considerably in their attempts to promote the cause of unity and concord. The Olive Branches^m of Matthiæ, who entitled thus his pacific productions, were, by a royal edict, publicly condemned and suppressed in Sweden; and their author, in order to appease the fury of his enemies, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and passed the rest of his days in retirement.ⁿ The zeal of Calixtus, in calming the tumultuous and violent spirit of the contending parties, drew upon him the bitterest reproaches, and the warmest animosity and resentment, from those who were more bent on maintaining their peculiar opinions, than in promoting that charity which is the end of the commandment; and while he was labouring to remove all sects and divisions, he appeared to many of his brethren in the light of a new sectary, who was founding the most pernicious of all sects, even that of the Syncretists, who were supposed to promote peace and concord at the expense of truth. We shall, before we finish this chapter, endeavour to give a more particular and circumstantial account of the sentiments and trials of this great man, to whose charge many other things were laid, besides the crime of endeavouring to unite the disciples of the same master in the amiable bonds of charity, concord, and mutual forbearance, and whose opinions and designs excited warm contests in the Lutheran church.

The prosperous events that happened to the Lutheran church.

VIII. The external state of the Lutheran church at this period was attended with various circumstances of prosperity, among which we may reckon its standing firm against the assaults of Rome, whose artifice and violence were in vain employed to bring on its destruction. It is well known that a very considerable number of Lutherans resided in those provinces where the public exercise of their religion was prohibited. It has more especially been shown by the late memorable emigration of the Saltzburgers,^o that still greater numbers

¹ Matthiæ had been chaplain to Gustavus Adolphus, and was afterwards appointed by that prince preceptor to his daughter Christina, so famous in history on account of the whimsical peculiarities of her character, her taste for learning, and her desertion of the Swedish throne and the Protestant religion.

^m Rami Olivæ Septentrionalia.

ⁿ See Schefferi Suecica Litterata, p. 123, and Joh. Mølleri ad eam Hymnemat, p.

317; Arkenholtz, Mémoires de la Reine Chris. tom. i. p. 320, 505, tom. ii. p. 63.

^o For an account of the persecuted Lutherans in the archbishopric of Saltzburg, see Burnet's Travels. See more especially a famous Latin discourse, published at Tubingen, in the year 1732, under the following title: "Commentariolus Theologicus de non tolerandis in Religione Dissidentibus, quam Præside Christ. Matth. Pfaffio defendet Wolf. Lud. Leisching."

of them lay concealed in that land of despotism and bigotry, where the smallest dissent from popery, with whatever secrecy and circumspection it may be disguised, is considered as an enormous and capital crime; and that they preserved their religious sentiments and doctrines pure and uncorrupted amidst the contagion of Romish superstition, which they always beheld with aversion and horror. In those countries which are inhabited by persons of different communions, and whose sovereigns are members of the Romish church, we have numberless instances of the cruelty and injustice practised by the papists against those that dissent from them; and these cruelties are exercised under a pretext suggested by the most malevolent bigotry, which represents these dissenters as seditious subjects, and consequently as worthy of the most rigorous treatment. And yet it is certain, that amidst all these vexations, the Lutheran church has stood its ground; nor has either the craft or fury of its enemies been able, any where, to deprive it entirely of its rights and privileges. It may further be observed, that the doctrine of Luther was carried into Asia, Africa, and America, by several persons who fixed their habitations in those distant regions, and was also introduced into some parts of Europe, where it had hitherto been unknown.

The progress of
learning among
the Lutherans.

IX. When we turn our view to the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century, we shall find it improved in various respects; though several blemishes yet remained that clouded its lustre, it must be acknowledged, to the honour of the Lutherans, that they cultivated all the various branches of literature, both sacred and profane, with uncommon industry and success, and made several improvements in the sciences, which are too well known to stand in need of a particular mention; and of which a circumstantial enumeration would be inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this history. But if it cannot be denied, on the one hand, that the cause of religion gained by these improvements in learning, it must be owned, on the other, that some branches of science were perverted by injudicious or ill-designing men, to corrupt the pure simplicity of genuine Christianity, and to render its doctrines abstruse and intricate. Thus it too often happens in life, that the best things are the most egregiously abused.

About the commencement of this century, the sciences chiefly cultivated in the schools were logic and metaphysics: though the manner of treating them was almost entirely destitute of elegance, simplicity, and precision. But, in process of time, the scene changed in the seminaries of learning; and the more entertaining and agreeable branches of literature, that polish wit, excite taste, exercise judgment, and enrich memory, such as civil and natural history, philology, antiquities, criticism, and eloquence, gained the ascendant. Both these kinds of knowledge acquired also a more graceful, consistent, and regular form than that under which they had hitherto appeared. But it happened most unluckily, that while the boundaries of science were extended from day to day, and new discoveries and improvements were constantly enriching the republic of letters, the credit of learning began sensibly to decrease, and learned men seemed gradually to lose those peculiar marks of veneration and distinction that the novelty of their character, as well as the excellence and importance of their labours, had hitherto drawn from the public. Among the various circumstances that contributed to this decline of literary glory, we may particularly reckon the multitude of those who, without natural capacity, taste, or inclination, were led, by authority or a desire of applause, to literary pursuits; and, by their ignorance or their pedantry, cast a reproach upon the republic of letters.

The state of philosophy. The Aristotelians triumph.

X. The only kind of philosophy that was taught in the Lutheran schools, during the greatest part of this century, was that of Aristotle, dressed up in that scholastic form that increased its native intricacy and subtilty. And such was the devout and excessive veneration entertained by many for this abstruse system, that any attempt to reject the Grecian oracle, or to correct its decisions, was looked upon as one of the most dangerous consequence to the interests of the church, and as equally criminal with a like attempt upon the sacred writings. Those who distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner by their zealous and invincible attachment to the Peripatetic philosophy, were the divines of Leipsic, Tubingen, Helmstadt, and Altorf. The enchantment, however, was not universal; and there were many who, withdrawing their private judgment from the yoke of authority, were bold enough to see with their own eyes; and of consequence discerned the blemishes that were indeed sufficiently visible in the pretended wisdom of the Grecian sage. The first attempt to reduce his authority within narrow bounds was made by certain pious and prudent divines, who, though they did not pretend to discourage all philosophical inquiries, yet were desirous of confining them to a few select subjects; and complained, that the pompous denomination of philosophy was too frequently prostituted,^p by being applied to unintelligible distinctions and words, or rather sounds, destitute of sense. These were succeeded, in their dislike of the Peripatetic philosophy, by the disciples of Ramus, who had credit enough to banish it from several seminaries of learning, and to substitute in its place the system of their master, which was of a more practical kind, and better adapted to the purposes of life.^q But if the philosophy of Aristotle met with adversaries who opposed it upon solid and rational principles, it had also enemies of a very different character, who imprudently declaimed against philosophy in general as highly detrimental to the cause of religion and the interests of society. Such was the fanatical extravagance of Daniel Hoffman, professor at Helmstadt, who discovered, in this controversy, an equal degree of ignorance and animosity; and such also were the followers of Robert Fludd, Jacob Behmen, and the Rosicrucians, who boasted of having struck out, by the assistance of fire and divine illumination, a new, wonderful, and celestial system of philosophy, of which mention has been already made.^r These adversaries of the Stagyrte were divided among themselves, and this diminished the strength and vigour of their opposition to the common enemy. But had they been ever so closely united in their sentiments and measures, they would not have been able to overturn the empire of Aristotle, which was so deeply rooted in the schools through long possession, and had a powerful support in the multitude of its votaries and defenders.

The freedom of philosophical inquiry still gains ground.

XI. The Peripatetic system had still more formidable adversaries to encounter in Des Cartes and Gassendi, whose writings were composed with that perspicuity and precision that rendered them singularly agreeable to many of the Lutheran doctors of this century, and made them look with contempt on that obsolete and barren philosophy of the schools, which was expressed in uncouth terms and barbarous phrases, without taste, elegance, or accuracy. The votaries of Aristotle beheld with envy these new philosophers, used

^p Such, among others, was Wenceslaus Schillingius, of whom a particular account is given by Arnold, in his *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi.

^q See Jo. Herman ab Elswich, *De varia*

Aristotelis fortuna, sect. xxi. p. 64. and Walchius, *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. ii. sect. iii. par. v. in *Parergis ejus Academicis*, p. 613.

^r See above, in the *General History of the Church*, sect. xxxi.

their most zealous endeavours to bring them into discredit, and, for this purpose, represented their researches and principles as highly detrimental to the interests of religion and the growth of true piety. But when they found, by experience, that these methods of attack proved unsuccessful, they changed their manner of proceeding, and, like a prudent general, who besieged by a superior force, abandons his outworks and retires into the citadel, they relinquished much of their jargon, and defended only the main and essential principles of their system. To render these principles more palatable, they began to adorn them with the graces of elocution, and to mingle with their philosophical tenets the charms of polite literature. They even went so far as to confess, that Aristotle, though the prince of philosophers, was chargeable with errors and defects, which it was both lawful and expedient to correct. But these concessions only served to render their adversaries more confident and enterprising, since they were interpreted as resulting from a consciousness of their weakness, and were looked upon as a manifest acknowledgment of their defeat. In consequence of this, the enemies of the Stagyrice renewed their attacks with redoubled impetuosity, and with a full assurance of victory; nor did they confine them to those branches of the Peripatetic philosophy which were allowed by its votaries to stand in need of correction, but levelled them, without distinction, at the whole system, and aimed at nothing less than its total dissolution. Grotius, indeed, who marched at the head of these philosophical reformers, proceeded with a certain degree of prudence and moderation. Puffendorff, in treating of the law of nature and of the duties of morality, threw off with more boldness and freedom the Peripatetic yoke, and pursued a method entirely different from that which had been hitherto observed in the schools. This freedom drew upon him a multitude of enemies, who loaded him with the bitterest reproaches; his example was nevertheless followed by Thomasius, professor of law in the academy of Leipsic, and afterwards at Halle, who attacked the Peripatetics with new degrees of vehemence and zeal. This eminent man, though honourably distinguished by the excellence of his genius and the strength of his resolution, was not, perhaps, the properest person that could be pitched upon to manage the interests of philosophy. His views, nevertheless, were vast; he aimed at the reformation of philosophy in general, and of the Peripatetic system in particular; and he assiduously employed both the power of exhortation and the influence of example, in order to persuade the Saxons to reject the Aristotelian system, which he had never read, and which most certainly he did not understand. The scheme of philosophy that he substituted in its place, was received with little applause, and soon sank into oblivion; but his attempt to overturn the system of the Peripatetics, and to restore the freedom of philosophical inquiry, was attended with remarkable success, made, in a little time, the most rapid progress, and produced such admirable effects, that Thomasius is justly looked upon, to this day, as the chief of those bold spirits who pulled down philosophical tyranny from its throne in Germany, and gave a mortal blow to what was called the *Sectarian Philosophy** in that country. The first seminary of learning that adopted the measures of Thomasius was that of Halle, in Saxony, where he was professor; they were afterwards followed by the rest of the German schools, by some sooner, and by others later; and from thence a spirit of philosophical liberty began to spread itself into other countries

* By the *Sectarian Philosophers* were meant those who followed implicitly some one of the ancient philosophical sects, without daring to

use the dictates of their private judgment to correct or modify the doctrines or expressions of these hoary guides.

where the Lutheran religion was established. So that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Lutherans enjoyed a perfect liberty of conducting their philosophical researches in the manner they judged the most conformable with truth and reason, of departing from the mere dictates of authority in matters of science, and of proposing publicly every one his respective opinions. This liberty was not the consequence of any positive decree of the state, nor was it inculcated by any law of the church; it seemed to result from that invisible disposal of things, which we call accident, and certainly proceeded from the efforts of a few great men, seconding and exciting that natural propensity towards free inquiry, that can never be totally extinguished in the human mind. Many employed this liberty in extracting, after the manner of the ancient Eclectics, what they thought most conformable to reason, and most susceptible of demonstration, from the productions of the different schools, and connecting these extracts in such a manner as to constitute a complete body of philosophy. But some made a yet more noble use of this inestimable privilege by employing, with indefatigable zeal and industry, their own faculties in the investigation of truth, and building upon solid and unchangeable principles a new and sublime system of philosophy. At the head of these we may place Leibnitz, whose genius and labours have deservedly rendered his name immortal.¹

In this conflict between the reformers of philosophy and the votaries of Aristotle, the latter lost ground from day to day, and his system, in consequence of the extremes that reformers often fall into, grew so disgusting and odious, that condemnation was passed on every part of it. Hence the science of Metaphysics, which the Grecian sage had considered as the master-science, as the original fountain of all true philosophy, was spoiled of its honours, and fell into contempt; nor was the authority and influence even of Des Cartes, who also set out, in his inquiries, upon metaphysical principles, sufficient to support it against the prejudices of the times. However, when the first heat of opposition began to cool, and the rage of party to subside, this degraded science was not only recalled from its exile, by the interposition and credit of Leibnitz, but was also reinstated in its former dignity and lustre.

The virtues and defects of the Lutheran doctors.

XII. The defects and vices of the Lutheran clergy have been circumstantially exposed, and even exaggerated by many writers, who seem to require of the ministers of the gospel a degree of perfection, which ought indeed always to be aimed at, but which no wise observer of human nature can ever hope to see generally reduced to practice. These censures represent the leading men in the Lutheran church as arrogant, contentious, despotic, and uncharitable; as destitute of Christian simplicity and candour; fond of quibbling and dispute; judging of all things by the narrow spirit of party; and treating with the utmost antipathy and aversion those that differ from them ever so little in religious matters. The less considerable among the Lutheran doctors were charged with ignorance, with a neglect of the sacred duties of their station, and with a want of talent in their character as public teachers. And the whole body was accused of avarice, laziness, want of piety, and corruption of manners.

It will be acknowledged without difficulty, by those who have studied with attention and impartiality the genius, manners, and history of this century, that the Lutheran clergy are not wholly irreproachable with re-

¹ The curious reader will find an accurate and ample account of this revolution in philo-

sophy in the learned Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

spect to the matters that are here laid to their charge, and that many Lutheran churches were under the direction of pastors who were highly deficient, some in zeal, others in abilities, many in both, and consequently ill qualified for propagating the truths of Christianity with wisdom and success. But this reproach is not peculiarly applicable to the seventeenth century; it is a general charge, that, with too much truth, may be brought against all the ages of the church. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged by all such as are not blinded by ignorance or partiality, that the whole of the Lutheran clergy did not consist of these unworthy pastors, and that many of the Lutheran doctors of this century were distinguished by their learning, piety, gravity, and wisdom. Nay, perhaps it might be difficult to decide, whether in our times, in which some pretend that the sanctity of the primitive doctors is revived in several places, there be not as many that do little honour to the pastoral character as in the times of our ancestors. It must further be observed, that many of the defects which are invidiously charged upon the doctors of this age, were in a great measure owing to the infelicity of the times. They were the unhappy effects of those public calamities which a dreadful war of thirty years' duration produced in Germany; they derived strength from the influence of a corrupt education, and were sometimes encouraged by the protection and countenance of vicious and profligate magistrates.

The vices of the
Lutheran clergy
partly owing to
the times in
which they lived.

XIII. That the vices of the Lutheran clergy were partly owing to the infelicity of the times, will appear evident from some particular instances. It must be acknowledged that during the greatest part of this century, neither the discourses of the pulpit nor the instructions of the schools were adapted to promote among the people just ideas of religion, or to give them a competent knowledge of the doctrines and precepts of the gospel. The eloquence of the pulpit, as some ludicrously and too justly represent it, was reduced, in many places, to the noisy art of bawling (during a certain space of time measured by a sand-glass) upon various points of theology, which the orators understood but very little, and which the people did not understand at all; and when the important doctrines and precepts of Christianity were introduced in these public discourses, they were frequently disfigured by tawdry and puerile ornaments, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the divine wisdom that shines forth in the Gospel, and were thus, in a great measure, deprived of their native beauty, efficacy, and power. All this must be confessed; but perhaps it may not appear surprising when all things are duly considered. The ministers of the Gospel had their heads full of sonorous and empty words, of trivial distinctions and metaphysical subtleties, and very ill furnished with that kind of knowledge that is adapted to touch the heart and to reform the life; they had also few models of true eloquence before their eyes; and therefore it is not much to be wondered at, if they dressed out their discourses with foreign and tasteless ornaments.

The charge brought against the universities, that they spent more time in subtle and contentious controversy, than in explaining the Holy Scriptures, teaching the duties of morality and promoting a spirit of piety and virtue, though too just, yet may also be alleviated by considering the nature and circumstances of the times. The Lutherans were surrounded with a multitude of adversaries, who obliged them to be perpetually in a posture of defence; and the Roman Catholics, who threatened their destruction, contributed in a more particular manner to excite in their doctors that polemic spirit which unfortunately became a habit, and had an

unhappy influence on the exercise both of their academical and pastoral functions. In time of war, the military art not only becomes singularly respectable, but is preferred, without hesitation, before all others, on account of its tendency to maintain the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence; and thus in the midst of theological commotions, the spirit of controversy, by becoming necessary, gains an ascendant, which, even when the danger is over, it is unwilling to lose. It were indeed ardently to be wished, that the Lutherans had treated with more mildness and charity those who differed from them in religious opinions, and had discovered more indulgence and forbearance towards such, more especially, as by ignorance, fanaticism, or excessive curiosity were led into error, without pretending, nevertheless, to disturb the public tranquillity by propagating their peculiar systems. But they had unhappily imbibed a spirit of persecution in their early education; this was too much the spirit of the times, and it was even a leading maxim with our ancestors, that it was both lawful and expedient to use severity and force against those whom they looked upon as heretics. This maxim was derived from Rome, and even those who separated from that church did not find it easy to throw off, all of a sudden, that despotic and uncharitable spirit that had so long been the main-spring of its government, and the general characteristic of its members. Nay, in their narrow views of things, their very piety seemed to suppress the generous movements of fraternal love and forbearance; and the more they felt themselves animated with a zeal for the divine glory, the more difficult did they find it to renounce that ancient and favourite maxim, which had so often been ill interpreted and ill applied, that whoever is found to be an enemy to God, ought also to be declared an enemy to his country.*

The ecclesiastical
law and polity
of the Lutherans.

XIV. There were few or no changes introduced, during this century, into the form of government, the method of worship, and the external rites and ceremonies of the Lutheran church. Many alterations would indeed have been made in all these, had the princes and states of that communion judged it expedient to put in execution the plans that had been laid by Thomasius, and other eminent men, for reforming its ecclesiastical polity. These plans were built upon a new principle, which supposed, that the majesty and supreme authority of the sovereign was the only source of church-power. On this fundamental principle, which these great men took all imaginable pains to prove, by solid and striking arguments, they raised a voluminous system of laws, which, in the judgment of many, evidently tended to this conclusion: that the same sovereign who presides in the state ought to rule in the church; that prince and pontiff are inseparable characters; and that the ministers of the gospel are not the ambassadors of the Deity, but the deputies and vicerents of the civil magistrate. These reformers of Lutheranism did not stop here; they reduced within narrower bounds the few privileges and advantages that the clergy yet retained; and treated many of the rites, institutions, and customs of our church, as the remains of popish superstition. Hence an abundant source of contention was opened, and a long and tedious controversy was carried on with warmth and animosity between the clergy and civilians. We leave others to de-

* It were to be wished that the Lutherans had not, in many places, persevered in these severe and despotic principles longer than other Protestant churches. Until this very day the Lutherans of Frankfort on the Main have al-

ways refused to permit the Reformed to celebrate public worship within the bounds, or even in the suburbs of that city. Many attempts have been made to conquer their obstinacy in this respect, but hitherto without success.

termine with what views these debates were commenced and fomented, and with what success they were respectively carried on by the contending parties. We shall only observe, that their effects and consequences were unhappy, as in many places they proved, in the issue, detrimental to the reputation of the clergy, to the dignity and authority of religion, and to the peace and prosperity of the Lutheran church.* The present state of that church verifies too plainly this observation. It is now its fate to see few entering into its public service, who are adapted to restore the reputation it has lost, or to maintain that which it yet retains. Those who are distinguished by illustrious birth, uncommon genius, and a liberal and ingenious turn of mind, look upon the study of theology, which has so little external honours and advantages to recommend it, as below their ambition; and hence the number of wise, learned, and eminent ministers grows less considerable from day to day. This circumstance is deeply lamented by those among us who consider with attention the dangerous and declining state of the Lutheran church; and it is to be feared, that our descendants will have reason to lament it more bitterly.

The most eminent Lutheran writers. XV. The eminent writers that adorned the Lutheran church through the course of this century were many in number. We shall only mention those whom it is most necessary for a student of ecclesiastical history to be more particularly acquainted with; such are *Ægideus* and *Nicolas Hunnius*, *Leonard Hutter*, *Joseph and John Ernesti Gerhard*, *George and Frederick Ulric Calixtus*, the *Mentzers*, the *Oleariuses*, *Frederic Baldwin*, *Albert Grawer*, *Matthias Hoe*, the *Carpzoviuses*, *John and Paul Tarnovius*, *John Affelman*, *Elihart Luber*, the *Lysers*, *Michael Walther*, *Joachim Hildebrand*, *John Valentine Andreas*, *Solomon Glassius*, *Abraham Colovius*, *Theodore Hackspan*, *John Hulseman*, *Jacob Weller*, *Peter and John Musæus*, brothers, *John Conrad Danhaver*, *John George Dorschadus*, *John Arndt*, *Martin Geyer*, *John Adam Schartzler*, *Balthazar and John Meisner*, *Augustus Pfeiffer*, *Henry and John Muller*, *Justus Christopher Schomer*, *Sebastian Schmidt*, *Christopher Horsholt*, the *Osianders*, *Philip Jacob Spener*, *Geb. Theodore Meyer*, *Fridem. Bechman*, and others.†

An historical view of the religious doctrines of the Lutherans. XVI. The doctrine of the Lutheran church remained entire during this century; its fundamental principles received no alteration, nor could any doctor of that church, who should have presumed to renounce or invalidate any of those theological points that are contained in the symbolical books of the Lutherans, have met with toleration and indulgence. It is, however, to be observed, that in later times various circumstances contributed to diminish, in many places, the authority of these symbolical oracles, which had been so long considered as an almost infallible rule of faith and practice. Hence arose that unbounded liberty, which is at this day enjoyed by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers, of dissenting from the decisions of these symbols or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the

* & It has been the ill hap even of well-designing men to fall into pernicious extremes in the controversies relating to the foundation, power, and privileges of the church. Too few have steered the middle way, and laid their plans with such equity and wisdom as to maintain the sovereignty and authority of the State, without reducing the church to a mere creature of civil policy. The reader will find a most interesting view of this nice and im-

portant subject in the learned and ingenious bishop of Gloucester's *Alliance between Church and State*, and in his *Dedication of the second volume of his Divine Legation of Moses to my Lord Mansfield*.

† For account of the lives and writings of these authors, see *Witte's Memoriz Theologorum*, and his *Diarium Biographicum*: as also *Pippingius*, *Goesius*, and other writers of literary history.

manner they judge the most expedient. The case was very different in former times; whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines of the church, or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the higher powers to give an account of his conduct, and very rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. But the teachers of novel doctrines had nothing to apprehend, when, towards the conclusion of this century, the Lutheran churches adopted that leading maxim of the Arminians, that "Christians were accountable to God alone for their religious sentiments; and that no individual could be justly punished by the magistrate for his erroneous opinions, while he conducted himself like a virtuous and obedient subject, and made no attempts to disturb the peace and order of civil society." It were to be wished that this religious liberty, which the dictates of equity must approve, but of which the virtuous mind alone can make a wise and proper use, had never degenerated into that unbridled licentiousness that holds nothing sacred, but with an audacious insolence tramples under foot the solemn truths of religion, and is constantly endeavouring to throw contempt upon the respectable profession of its ministers.

XVII. The various branches of sacred erudition were cultivated with uninterrupted zeal and assiduity among the Lutherans, who, at no period of time, were without able commentators, and learned and faithful guides for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. It is natural to mention here Tarnovius, Gerhard, Hackspan, Calixtus, Erasmus, Schmidt, to whom might be added a numerous list of learned and judicious expositors of the sacred oracles. But what appears more peculiarly worthy of observation is, that the very period which some look upon as the most barren of learned productions, and the most remarkable for a general inattention to the branch of erudition now under consideration, produced that inestimable and immortal work of Solomon Glassius, which he published under the title of *Sacred Philology*, and than which none can be more useful for the interpretation of Scripture, as it throws an uncommon degree of light upon the language and phraseology of the inspired writers. It must, at the same time, be candidly acknowledged that a considerable part of this century was more employed, by the professors of the different universities, in defending, with subtilty and art, the peculiar doctrines of the Lutheran church, than in illustrating and explaining the Holy Scriptures, which is the only genuine source of divine truth. Whatever was worthy of censure in this manner of proceeding, was abundantly repaired by the more modern divines of the Lutheran communion; for no sooner did the rage of controversy begin to subside, than the greatest part of them turned their principal studies towards the exposition and illustration of the Sacred Writings; and they were particularly animated in the execution of this laborious task, by observing the indefatigable industry of those among the Dutch divines, who, in their interpretations of Scripture, followed the sentiments and method of Cocceius. At the head of these modern commentators we may place, with justice, Sebastian Schmidt, who was at least the most laborious and voluminous expositor of this age. After this learned writer may be ranked Calovius, Geyer, Schomer, and others of inferior note.* The contests excited by the persons called Pietists, though unhappy in several respects, were nevertheless attended with this good effect, that they engaged many to apply themselves to the study of the

* See J. Franc. Budæi *Imago* in *Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686.

Holy Scriptures, which they had too much neglected before that period, and to the perusal of the commentators and interpreters of the sacred oracles. These commentators pursued various methods, and were unequal both in their merit and success. Some confined themselves to the signification of the words of Scripture, and the literal sense that belonged to the phrases of the inspired writers; others applied their expositions of Scripture to the decision of controverted points, and attacked their adversaries, either by refuting their false interpretations of Scripture, or by making use of their own commentaries to overturn their doctrines; a third sort, after unfolding the sense of Scripture, applied it carefully to the purposes of life and the direction of practice. We might mention another class of interpreters, who, by an assiduous perusal of the writings of the Cocceians, are said to have injudiciously acquired their defects, as appears by their turning the sacred history into allegory, and seeking rather the more remote and mysterious sense of Scripture, than its obvious and literal signification.

The didactic theology, or articles of faith adopted by the Lutherans.

XVIII. The principal doctors of this century followed, at first, the loose method of deducing their theological doctrine from Scripture under a few general heads. This method had been observed in ancient times by Melancthon, and was vulgarly called Common-Place divinity. They, however, made use of the principles, terms, and subtle distinctions of the Peripatetic philosophy, which was yet in high reputation, in explaining and illustrating each particular doctrine. The first person that reduced theology into a regular system, and gave it a truly scientific and philosophical form, was George Calixtus, a man of great genius and erudition, who had imbibed the spirit of the Aristotelian school. His design, in general, was not so much censured, as the particular method he followed, and the form he gave to his theological system; for he divided the whole science of divinity into three parts, viz. the end, the subject, the means; and this division, which was borrowed from Aristotle, appeared extremely improper to many. This philosophical method of ranging the truths of Christianity was followed, with remarkable zeal and emulation, by the most eminent doctors in the different schools of learning, and even in our times it has its votaries. Some indeed had the courage to depart from it, and to exhibit the doctrines of religion under a different, though still under a scientific form; but they had few followers, and struggled in vain against the empire of Aristotle, who reigned with a despotic authority in the schools.

There were, however, many pious and good men, who beheld, with great displeasure, this irruption of metaphysics into the sphere of theology, and never could be brought to relish this philosophical method of teaching the doctrines of Christianity. They earnestly desired to see divine truth freed from captious questions and subtleties, delivered from the shackles of an imperious system, and exhibited with that beautiful simplicity, perspicuity, and evidence, in which it appears in the sacred writings. Persons of this turn had their wishes and expectations in some measure answered, when, towards the conclusion of this century, the learned Spener, and others, animated by his exhortations and example, began to inculcate the truths and precepts of religion in a more plain and popular manner, and when the eclectics had succeeded so far as to dethrone Aristotle, and to banish his philosophy from the greatest part of the Lutheran schools. Spener was not so far successful as to render universal his popular method of teaching theology; it was nevertheless adopted by a considerable number of doctors; and it cannot be denied, that, since this

period, the science of divinity, delivered from the jargon of the schools, has assumed a more liberal and graceful aspect. The same observation may be applied to controversial productions; it is certain that polemics were totally destitute of elegance and perspicuity so long as Aristotle reigned in the seminaries of learning, and that they were more or less embellished and improved since the suppression and disgrace of the Peripatetic philosophy. It is, however, to be lamented, that controversy did not lose, at this period, all the circumstances that had so justly rendered it displeasing; and that the defects that had given such offence in the theological disputants of all parties, were far from being entirely removed. These defects still subsist, though perhaps in a less shocking degree; and whether we peruse the polemic writers of ancient or modern times, we shall find too few among them who may be said to be animated by the pure love of truth, without any mixture of pride, passion, or partiality, and whom we may pronounce free from the illusions of prejudice and self-love.

The state of moral
science among
the Lutherans.

XIX. The science of morals, which must ever be esteemed the master-science, from its immediate influence upon life and manners, was for a long time neglected among the Lutherans. If we except a few eminent men, such as Arndt and Gerhard, who composed some popular treatises concerning the internal worship of the Deity, and the duties of Christians, there did not appear during the greatest part of this century any moral writer of distinguished merit. Hence it happened, that those who applied themselves to the business of resolving what are called Cases of Conscience, were held in high esteem, and their tribunals were much frequented. But as the true principles and foundations of morality were not, as yet, established with a sufficient degree of precision and evidence, their decisions were often erroneous, and they were liable to fall into daily mistakes. Calixtus was the first who separated the objects of faith from the duties of morality, and exhibited the latter under the form of an independent science. He did not, indeed, live to finish this work, the beginning of which met with universal applause; his disciples, however, employed with some degree of success the instructions they had received from their master, in executing his plan, and composing a system of moral theology. This system, in process of time, fell into discredit on account of the Peripatetic form under which it appeared; for, notwithstanding the striking repugnance that there is, in the very nature of things, between the beautiful science of morals and the perplexing intricacies of metaphysics, Calixtus could not abstain from the latter in building his moral system. The moderns, however, stripped morality of the Peripatetic garment, calling to their assistance the law of nature, which had been explained and illustrated by Puffendorff and other authors, and comparing this law with the sacred writings, they not only discovered the true springs of Christian virtue, and entered into the true spirit and sense of the divine laws, but also digested the whole science of morals into a better order, and demonstrated its principles with a new and superior degree of evidence.

Commutations and
contests in the
Lutheran church.

XX. These improvements in theology and morality did not diffuse such a spirit of concord in the Lutheran church, as was sufficient to heal ancient divisions, or to prevent new ones. That church, on the contrary, was involved in the most lamentable commotions and tumults, during the whole course of this century, partly by the controversies that arose among its most eminent doctors, and partly by the intemperate zeal of violent reformers, the fanatical predictions of

pretended prophets, and the rash measures of innovators, who studiously spread among the people, new, singular, and, for the most part, extravagant opinions. The controversies that divided the Lutheran doctors may be ranged under two classes, according to their different importance and extent, as some of them involved the whole church in tumult and discord, while others were less universal in their pernicious effects. Of the former class there were two controversies, that gave abundant exercise to the polemic talents of the Lutheran doctors, during the greatest part of this century; and these turned upon the religious systems that are generally known under the denominations of Syncretism and Pietism. Nothing could be more amiable than the principles that gave rise to the former, and nothing more respectable and praise-worthy than the design that was proposed by the latter. The Syncretists,⁷ animated with that fraternal love and that pacific spirit which Jesus Christ had so often recommended as the peculiar characteristics of his true disciples, used their warmest endeavours to promote union and concord among Christians; and the Pietists had undoubtedly in view the restoration and advancement of that holiness and virtue, that had suffered so much by the influence of licentious manners on the one hand, and by the turbulent spirit of controversy on the other. These two great and amiable virtues that gave rise to the projects and efforts of the two orders of persons now mentioned, were combated by a third, even a zeal for maintaining the truth, and preserving it from all mixture of error. Thus the love of truth was unhappily found to stand in opposition to the love of union, piety, and concord: and thus, in this present critical and corrupt state of human nature, the unruly and turbulent passions of men can, by an egregious abuse, draw the worst consequences from the best things, and render the most excellent principles and views productive of confusion, calamity, and discord.

Rise of the Syncretistical or Calixtine controversies.

XXI. The origin of Syncretism was owing to George Calixtus of Sleswick, a man of eminent and distinguished abilities and merit, and who had few equals in this century, either in point of learning or genius. This great man being placed in a university,⁸ which, from the very time of its foundation, had been remarkable for encouraging freedom of inquiry, improved this happy privilege, examined the respective doctrines of the various sects that bear the Christian name, and found, in the notions commonly received among divines, some things defective and erroneous. He accordingly gave early intimations of his dissatisfaction with the state of theology, and lamented, in a more particular manner, the divisions and factions that reigned among the servants and disciples of the same great Master. He therefore turned his views to the salutary work of softening the animosities produced by these divisions, and showed the warmest desire, not so much of establishing a perfect harmony and concord between the jarring sects, which no human power seemed capable of effecting, as of extinguishing the hatred, and appeasing the resentment, which the contending parties discovered too much in their conduct towards each other. His colleagues did not seem at all averse to this pacific project; and the surprise that this their silence or acquiescence must naturally excite, in such as are acquainted with the theological spirit of the seventeenth century, will be diminished when it is considered, that the professors of divinity at Helmstadt bind themselves,

⁷ The Syncretists were also called Calixtines, from their chief, George Calixtus; and Helmsstadians, from the university where their plan of doctrine and union took its rise.

⁸ The university of Helmstadt, in the Duchy of Brunswick, founded in the year 1576.

at their admission, by an oath, to use their best and most zealous endeavours to heal the divisions and terminate the contests that prevail among Christians. Neither Calixtus, however, nor his friends escaped the opposition that was natural to expect in the execution of such an unpopular and comprehensive project. They were warmly attacked, in the year 1639, by Statius Buscherus, a Hanoverian ecclesiastic, a bigoted votary of Ramus, a declared enemy to all philosophy, and a man of great temerity and imprudence. This man, exasperated at the preference Calixtus and his companions had given to the Peripatetic philosophy over the principles of the Ramists, composed a very malignant book entitled, *Crypto-Papismus novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*,^a in which Calixtus was charged with a long list of errors. Though this production made some small impression on the minds of certain persons, it is nevertheless probable that Buscher would have almost universally passed for a partial, malicious, and rash accuser, had his invectives and complaints rendered Calixtus more cautious and prudent. But the upright and generous heart of this eminent man, which disdained dissimulation to a degree that bordered upon the extreme of imprudence, excited him to speak with the utmost frankness his private sentiments, and thus to give a certain measure of plausibility to the accusations of his adversary. Both he and his colleague Conrad Horneius maintained, with boldness and perseverance, several propositions, which appeared to many others besides Buscher new, singular, and of a dangerous tendency; and Calixtus, more especially by the freedom and plainness with which he declared and defended his sentiments, drew upon him the resentment and indignation of the Saxon doctors, who, in the year 1645, were present at the conference of Thorn. He had been chosen by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, as colleague and assistant to the divines he sent from Königsberg to these conferences; and the Saxon deputies were greatly incensed to see a Lutheran ecclesiastic in the character of an assistant to a deputation of Reformed doctors. This first cause of offence was followed by other incidents, in the course of these conferences, which increased the resentment of the Saxons against Calixtus, and made them accuse him of leaning to the side of the Reformed churches. We cannot enter here into a circumstantial account of this matter, which would lead us from our main design. We shall only observe, that when these conferences broke up, the Saxon doctors, and more especially Hulseman, Weller, Scharfius, and Calovius, turned the whole force of their polemic weapons against Calixtus; and in their public writings reproached him with apostasy from the principles of Lutheranism, and with a propensity towards the sentiments both of the Reformed and Romish churches. This great man did not receive tamely the insults of his adversaries. His consummate knowledge of the philosophy that reigned in the schools, and his perfect acquaintance with the history of the church, rendered him an able disputant: and accordingly he repelled with the greatest vigour the attacks of his enemies, and carried on with uncommon spirit and erudition this important controversy until the year 1656, when death put an end to his labours, and transported him from these scenes of dissension and tumult into the regions of peace and concord.^b

^a i. e. Popery disguised under the mask of the new theological system of Helmstadt.

^b Those who desire to be more minutely acquainted with the particular circumstances of this famous controversy, the titles and characters of the books published on that occasion, and the doctrines that produced such warm

contests, and such deplorable divisions, will do well to consult Walchius, Carolus, Weismann, Arnold, and other writers; but, above all, the third volume of the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, p. 121, in which there is an ample account of the life, transactions, and writings of Calixtus. But if any reader should push

The continuation
and issue of
these debates.

XXII. Neither the death of Calixtus, nor the decease of his principal adversaries, was sufficient to extinguish the flame they had kindled; on the contrary, the contest was carried on, after that period, with more animosity and violence than ever. The Saxon doctors, and more especially Calovius, insulted the ashes, and attacked the memory, of this great man, with unexampled bitterness and malignity; and, in the judgment of many eminent and worthy doctors, who were by no means the partizans of Calixtus, conducted themselves with such imprudence and temerity, as were every way adapted to produce an open schism in the Lutheran church. They drew up a new kind of Creed, or confession of the Lutheran faith,^c which they proposed to place in the class of what the members of our communion call their Symbolical books, and which of consequence all professors of divinity and all candidates for the ministry would be obliged to subscribe, as containing the true and genuine doctrine of the Lutheran church. By this new production of intemperate zeal, the friends and followers of Calixtus were declared unworthy of the communion of that church; and were accordingly supposed to have forfeited all right to the privileges and tranquillity that were granted to the Lutherans by the laws of the empire. The reputation of Calixtus found, nevertheless, some able defenders, who pleaded his cause with modesty and candour; such were Titus, Hildebrand, and other ecclesiastics, who were distinguished from the multitude by their charity, moderation, and prudence. These good men showed with the utmost evidence, that the new Creed mentioned above, would be a perpetual source of contention and discord, and would thus have a fatal effect upon the true interests of the Lutheran church: but their counsels were over-ruled, and their admonitions neglected. Among the writers who opposed this Creed, was Frederick Ulric Calixtus, who was not destitute of abilities, though much inferior to his father in learning, genius, and moderation. Of those that stood forth in its vindication and defence, the most considerable were Calovius and Strauchius. The polemic productions of these contending parties were multiplied from day to day, and yet remain as deplorable monuments of the intemperate zeal of the champions on both sides of the question. The invectives, reproaches, and calumnies, with which these productions were filled, showed too plainly that many of these writers, instead of being animated with the love of truth, and a zeal for religion, were rather actuated by a keen spirit of party, and by the suggestions of vindictive pride and vanity. These contests were of long duration: they were, however, at length suspended towards the close of this century, by the death of those who had been the principal actors in this scene of theological discord, by the abolition of the creed that had produced it, by the rise of new debates of a different nature, and by other circumstances of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention.

his curiosity still further, and be solicitous to know the more secret springs that acted in this whole affair, the remote causes of the events and transactions relating to it, the spirit, views, characters of the disputants, the arguments used on both sides; in a word, those things that are principally interesting and worthy of attention in controversies of this kind, he will find no history that will satisfy him fully in these respects. A history that would throw a proper light upon these important matters, must be composed by a man of great candour

and abilities; by one who knows the world, has studied human nature, is furnished with materials and documents that lie as yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, and is not unacquainted with the spirit that reigns, and the cabals that are carried on, in the courts of princes. But were such an historian to be found, I question very much whether, even in our times, he could publish without danger all the circumstances of this memorable contest.

^c The title of this new creed was *Consensus repetiti Fidei-verse Lutherane*.

The opinions of
Calixtus.

XXIII. It will be proper to give here some account of the accusations that were brought against Calixtus by his adversaries. The principal charge was, his having formed a project, not of uniting into one ecclesiastical body, as some have understood it, the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, but of extinguishing the hatred and animosity that reigned among the members of these different communions, and joining them in the bonds of charity, mutual benevolence, and forbearance. This is the project which was at first condemned, and is still known under the denomination of Syncretism.⁴ Several singular opinions were also laid to the charge of this great man, and were exaggerated and blackened, as the most innocent things generally are, when they pass through the medium of malignity and party-spirit. Such were his notions concerning the obscure manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation; the appearances of the Son of God during that period; the necessity of good works to the attainment of everlasting salvation; and God's being occa-

⁴ It is neither my design nor my inclination to adopt the cause of Calixtus; nor do I pretend to maintain that his writings and his doctrines are exempt from error. But the love of truth obliges me to observe, that it has been the ill hap of this eminent man to fall into the hands of bad interpreters; and that even those who imagine they have been more successful than others in investigating his true sentiments, have most grievously misunderstood them. Calixtus is commonly supposed to have formed the plan of a formal reconciliation of the protestants with the church of Rome and its pontiffs; but this notion is entirely groundless, since he publicly and expressly declared, that the protestants could by no means enter into the bonds of concord and communion with the Romish church, as it was constituted at this time; and that if there had ever existed any prospect of healing the divisions that reigned between it and the protestant churches, this prospect had entirely vanished since the council of Trent, whose violent proceedings and tyrannical decrees had rendered the union now under consideration absolutely impossible. He is further charged with having either approved or excused the greatest part of those errors and superstitions that are looked upon as a dishonour to the church of Rome; but this charge is abundantly refuted, not only by the various treatises in which he exposed the falsehood and absurdity of the doctrines and opinions of that church, but also by the declarations of the Roman catholics themselves, who acknowledged that Calixtus attacked them with much more learning and ingenuity than had been discovered by any other protestant writer.* It is true, he maintained that the Lutherans and Roman catholics did not differ about the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith; and it were to be wished that he had never

asserted any such thing, or at least, that he had expressed his meaning in more proper and inoffensive terms. It must, however, be considered, that he always looked upon the popes and their votaries as having adulterated these fundamental doctrines with an impure mixture or addition of many opinions and tenets, which no wise and good Christian could adopt: and this consideration diminishes a good deal the extravagance of an assertion which otherwise would deserve the severest censure. We shall not enter further into a review of the imputations that were cast upon Calixtus, by persons more disposed to listen to his accusers, than to those who endeavour, with candour and impartiality, to represent his sentiments and his measures in their true point of view. But if it should be asked here, what this man's real design was? we answer, that he laid down the following maxims: First, "That if it were possible to bring back the church of Rome to the state in which it was during the first five centuries, the Protestants would be no longer justified in rejecting its communion: Secondly, That the modern members of the Romish church, though polluted with many intolerable errors, were not all equally criminal; and that such of them, more especially, as sincerely believed the doctrines they had learned from their parents or masters, and by ignorance, education, or the power of habit, were hindered from perceiving the truth, were not to be excluded from salvation, nor deemed heretics, provided they gave their assent to the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed, and endeavoured seriously to govern their lives by the precepts of the gospel." I do not pretend to defend these maxims, which seem, however, to have many patrons in our times: I would only observe, that the doctrine they contain is much less intolerable than that which was commonly imputed to Calixtus.

* Bossuet, in his *Traité de la Communion sous les deux Epeces*, p. i. sect. ii. p. 12, speaks thus of the eminent man now under

consideration: "Le fameux George Calixte, le plus habile des Lutheriens de notre tems, qui a écrit le plus doctement contre nous," &c.

sionally* the author of sin. These notions, in the esteem of many of the best judges of theological matters, have been always looked upon as of an indifferent nature, as opinions which, even were they false, do not affect the great and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But the two great principles that Calixtus laid down as the foundation and ground-work of all his reconciling and pacific plans, gave much more offence than the plans themselves, and drew upon him the indignation and resentment of many. Those principles were:—First, That “the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, by which he meant those elementary principles from whence all its truths flow, were preserved pure and entire in all the three communions, and were contained in that ancient form of doctrine that is vulgarly known by the name of the Apostles’ Creed.” And, secondly, That “the tenets and opinions which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first five centuries, were to be considered as of equal truth and authority with the express declarations and doctrines of scripture.” The general plan of Calixtus was founded upon the first of these propositions; and he made use of the second to give some degree of plausibility to certain Romish doctrines and institutions, which have been always rejected by the Protestant church, and to establish a happy concord between the various Christian communions that had hitherto lived in the state of dissension and separation from each other.

Debates carried on
with the doctors
of Rintelen and
Konigsberg.

XXIV. The divines of Rintelen, Konigsberg, and Jena, were more or less involved in these warm contests. Those of Rintelen, more especially Henichius and Musæus, had on several occasions, and more especially at the conference of Cassel, shown plainly that they approved of the plan of Calixtus for removing the unhappy discords and animosities that reigned among Christians, and that they beheld with peculiar satisfaction that part of it that had for its object union and concord among the protestant churches. Hence they were opposed with great animosity by the Saxon doctors and their adherents in various polemic productions.[†]

The pacific spirit of Calixtus discovered itself also at Konigsberg. John Laterman, Michael Behmius, and the learned Christopher Dreyer, who had been disciples of that great man, were at little pains to conceal their attachment to the sentiments of their master. By this discovery they drew upon them the resentment of their colleagues, John Behmius and Celestine Mislenta, who were seconded by the whole body of the clergy of Konigsberg; and thus a warm controversy arose, which was carried on, during many years, in such a manner as did very little honour to either of the contending parties. The interposition of the civil magistrate, together with the decease of Behmius and Mislenta, put an end to this intestine war, which was succeeded by a new contest, of long duration, between Dreyer and his associates on the one side, and several foreign divines on the other, who considered the system of Calixtus as highly pernicious, and looked upon its defenders as the enemies of the church. This new controversy was managed on both sides with as little equity and moderation as those which preceded it.[‡]

XXV. It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, to And those of Jena. the immortal honour of the divines of Jena, that they dis-

* Per accidens.

† See Abrah. Calovii *Historia Syncretistica*, p. 618.—Jo. Georgii Walchii *Introductio in controversias Lutheranas*, vol. i. p. 286.

‡ See Christopher Hariknoch’s *Church History of Prussia*, written in German, book

ii. ch. x. p. 602.—Molleri, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 150.—See also the Acts and Documents contained in the famous collection, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1740, p. 144. A. 1742, p. 29. A. 1743, p. 91.

covered the most consummate prudence, and the most amiable moderation, in the midst of those theological debates. For, though they confessed ingenuously that the sentiments of Calixtus were not of such a nature as that they could be all adopted without exception, yet they maintained that the greatest part of his tenets were much less pernicious than the Saxon doctors had represented them; and that several of them were innocent, and might be freely admitted, without any danger to the cause of truth. Solomon Glassius, an ecclesiastic renowned for the mildness of his temper and the equity of his proceedings, examined, with the utmost candour and impartiality, the opposite sentiments of the doctors that were engaged in this important controversy, and published the result of this examination by the express order of Ernest, prince of Saxe-Gotha, sur-named the Pious.^a Musæus, a man of superior learning and exquisite penetration and judgment, adopted so far the sentiments of Calixtus, as to maintain that good works might, in a certain sense, be considered as necessary to salvation; and that of the erroneous doctrines imputed to this eminent man several were of little or no importance. It is very probable that the followers of Calixtus would have willingly submitted this whole controversy to the arbitration of such candid and impartial judges. But this laudable moderation offended so highly the Saxon doctors, that they began to suspect the academy of Jena of several erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus, in a particular manner, as a person who had in many respects apostatised from the true and orthodox faith.¹

The rise of the
controversy re-
lating to Pietism.

XXVI. These debates were suppressed, and succeeded by new commotions that arose in the church, and are commonly known under the denomination of the Pietistical Controversy. This controversy was owing to the zeal of a certain set of persons, who, no doubt, with pious and upright intentions, endeavoured to stem the torrent of vice and corruption, and to reform the licentious manners both of the clergy and the people. But, as the best things may be abused, so this reforming spirit inflamed persons that were but ill-qualified to exert it with wisdom and success. Many, deluded by the suggestions of an irregular imagination, and an ill-informed understanding, or, guided by principles and views of a still more criminal nature, spread abroad new and singular opinions, false visions, unintelligible maxims, austere precepts, and imprudent clamours, against the discipline of the church; all which excited the most dreadful tumults, and kindled the flames of contention and discord. The commencement of Pietism was indeed laudable and decent. It was set on foot by the pious and learned Spener, who, by the private societies he formed at Frankfort, with a design to promote vital religion, roused the lukewarm from their indifference, and excited a spirit of vigour and resolution in those who had been satisfied to lament, in silence, the progress of impiety. The remarkable effect of these pious meetings was increased by a book published by this well-meaning man, under the title of Pious Desires, in which he exhibited a striking view of the disorders of the church, and proposed the remedies that were proper to heal them. Many persons of good and upright intentions were highly pleased both with the proceedings and writings of Spener, and indeed the

^a This piece, which was written in German, did not appear in public till after the death of Glassius, in the year 1662, a second edition of it was published in 8vo, at Jena, some years ago. The piece exhibits a rare and shining instance of theological moderation, and is worthy of a serious and attentive perusal.

¹ For an account of the imputations cast upon the divines of Jena, and more especially on Musæus, see a judicious and solid work of the latter, entitled, *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung, &c.*—See also Jo. Georgii Walchii *Introductio in Controversias Ecclesie Lutherane*, vol. i. p. 405.

greatest part of those who had the cause of virtue and practical religion at heart, applauded the designs of this good man, though an apprehension of abuses restrained numbers from encouraging them openly. These abuses actually happened. The remedies proposed by Spener to heal the disorders of the church fell into unskilful hands, were administered without sagacity or prudence, and thus, in many cases, proved to be worse than the disease itself. The religious meetings above mentioned, or the Colleges of Piety, as they were usually called, by a phrase borrowed from the Dutch, tended in many places to kindle in the breasts of the multitude the flames of a blind and intemperate zeal, whose effects were impetuous and violent, instead of that pure and rational love of God, whose fruits are benign and peaceful. Hence complaints arose against these institutions of Pietism, as if, under a striking appearance of sanctity, they led the people into false notions of religion, and fomented, in those who were of a turbulent character, the seeds and principles of mutiny and sedition.

The commotions
at Leipsic.

XXVII. These first complaints would have been undoubtedly hushed, and the tumults they occasioned would have subsided by degrees, had not the contests that arose at Leipsic, in the year 1689, added fuel to the flame. Certain pious and learned professors of philosophy, and particularly Franckius, Schadius, and Paulus Antonius, the disciples of Spener, who at that time was ecclesiastical superintendent of the court of Saxony, began to consider with attention the defects that prevailed in the ordinary method of instructing the candidates for the ministry; and this review persuaded them of the necessity of using their best endeavours to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss. For this purpose, they undertook to explain in their colleges certain books of holy Scripture, in order to render these genuine sources of religious knowledge better understood, and to promote a spirit of practical piety and vital religion in the minds of their hearers. The novelty of this method drew attention, and rendered it singularly pleasing to many; accordingly, these lectures were much frequented, and their effects were visible in the lives and conversations of several persons, whom they seemed to inspire with a deep sense of the importance of religion and virtue. Whether these first effusions of religious fervour, which were in themselves most certainly laudable, were always kept within the strict bounds of reason and discretion, is a question not easily decided. If we are to believe the report of common fame, and the testimonies of several persons of great weight, this was by no means the case; and many things were both said and done in the Biblical Colleges, as they were called, which, though they might be looked upon, by equitable and candid judges, as worthy of toleration and indulgence, were, nevertheless, contrary to custom, and far from being consistent with prudence. Hence rumours were spread, tumults excited, animosities kindled, and the matter at length brought to a public trial, in which the pious and learned men above mentioned were, indeed, declared free from the errors and heresies that had been laid to their charge, but were, at the same time, prohibited from carrying on the plan of religious instruction they had undertaken with such zeal. It was during these troubles and divisions that the invidious denomination of Pietists was first invented; it may, at least, be affirmed, that it was not commonly known before this period. It was at first applied by some giddy and inconsiderate persons to those who frequented the Biblical Colleges, and lived in a manner suitable to the instructions and exhortations that were addressed to them in these seminaries of piety. It was afterwards made use of to characterize all those who were either distinguished by the

excessive austerity of their manners, or who, regardless of truth and opinion, were only intent upon practice, and turned the whole vigour of their efforts towards the attainment of religious feelings and habits. But as it is the fate of all those denominations by which peculiar sects are distinguished, to be variously and often very improperly applied, so the title of Pietists was frequently given, in common conversation, to persons of eminent wisdom and sanctity, who were equally remarkable for their adherence to truth and their love of piety; and, not seldom, to persons whose motley characters exhibited an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm, and who deserved the title of delirious fanatics better than any other denomination.

The progress of
these debates.

XXVII. This contest was by no means confined to Leipsic, but diffused its contagion, with incredible celerity, through all the Lutheran churches in the different states and kingdoms of Europe. For, from this time, in all the cities, towns, and villages, where Lutheranism was professed, there started up, all of a sudden, persons of various ranks and professions, of both sexes, learned and illiterate, who declared that they were called by a divine impulse to pull up iniquity by the root, to restore to its primitive lustre, and propagate through the world, the declining cause of piety and virtue, to govern the church of Christ by wiser rules than those by which it was at present directed, and who, partly in their writings, and partly in their private and public discourses, pointed out the means and measures that were necessary to bring about this important revolution. All those who were struck with this imaginary impulse, unanimously agreed, that nothing could have a more powerful tendency to propagate among the multitude solid knowledge, pious feelings, and holy habits, than those private meetings that had been first contrived by Spener, and that were afterwards introduced into Leipsic. Several religious assemblies were accordingly formed in various places, which, though they differed in some circumstances, and were not all conducted and composed with equal wisdom, piety, and prudence, were, however, designed to promote the same general purpose. In the mean time, these unusual, irregular, and tumultuous proceedings, filled with uneasy and alarming apprehensions both those who were intrusted with the government of the church, and those who sat at the helm of the state. These apprehensions were justified by this important consideration, that the pious and well-meaning persons who composed these assemblies, had indiscreetly admitted into their community a parcel of extravagant and hot headed fanatics, who foretold the approaching destruction of Babel, (by which they meant the Lutheran church,) terrified the populace with fictitious visions, assumed the authority of prophets honoured with a divine commission, obscured the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon of their own invention, and revived doctrines that had long before been condemned by the church. These enthusiasts also asserted, that the millennium, or thousand years' reign of the saints on the earth, mentioned by St. John, was near at hand. They endeavoured to overturn the wisest establishments, and to destroy the best institutions, and desired that the power of preaching and administering public instruction might be given promiscuously to all sorts of persons. Thus was the Lutheran church torn asunder in the most deplorable manner, while the votaries of Rome stood by and beheld, with a secret satisfaction, these unhappy divisions. The most violent debates arose in all the Lutheran churches; and persons, whose differences were occasioned rather by mere words and questions of little consequence, than by any doctrines or institutions of considerable import-

ance, attacked one another with the bitterest animosity; and in many countries, severe laws were at length enacted against the Pietists.¹

XXIX. These revivers of piety were of two kinds, who, by their different manner of proceeding, deserve to be placed in two distinct classes. One sect of these practical reformers proposed to carry on their plan without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government that were established in the Lutheran church. The other maintained, on the contrary, that it was impossible to promote the progress of real piety among the Lutherans, without making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing the whole form of their ecclesiastical discipline and polity. The former had at their head the learned and pious Spener, who in the year 1691, removed from Dresden to Berlin, and whose sentiments were adopted by the professors of the new academy at Halle; and particularly by Frankius and Paulus Antonius, who had been invited thither from Leipsic, where they began to be suspected of Pietism. Though few pretended to treat either with indignation or contempt the intentions and purpose of these good men, (which, indeed, none could despise without affecting to appear the enemy of practical religion and virtue,) yet many eminent divines, and more especially the professors and pastors of Wittemberg, were of opinion, that, in the execution of this laudable purpose, several maxims were adopted, and certain measures employed, that were prejudicial to the truth, and also detrimental to the interests of the church. Hence they looked on themselves as obliged to proceed publicly, first against Spener, in the year 1695, and afterwards against his disciples and adherents, as the inventors and promoters of erroneous and dangerous opinions. These debates are of a recent date; so that those who are desirous of knowing more particularly how far the principles of equity, moderation, and candour, influenced the conduct and directed the proceedings of the contending parties, may easily receive satisfactory information.

XXX. These debates turned upon a variety of points; and therefore the matter of them cannot be comprehended under any one general head. If we consider them, indeed, in relation to their origin, and the circumstances that gave rise to them, we shall then be able to reduce them to some fixed principles. It is well known, that those who had the advancement of piety most zealously at heart, were possessed of a notion, that no order of men contributed more to retard its progress than the clergy, whose peculiar vocation it was to inculcate and promote it. Looking upon this as the root of the evil, it was but natural that their plans of reformation should begin here; and, accordingly, they laid it down as an essential principle, that none should be admitted into

¹ This whole matter is amply illustrated by the learned Jo. George Walchius, in his *Introductio ad Controversias*, vol. ii. and iii., who exhibits successively the various scenes of this deplorable contest, with a view of the principal points that were controverted, and his judgment concerning each, and a particular account of the writers that displayed their talents on this occasion. It would, indeed, be difficult for any one man to give an ample and exact history of this contest, which was accompanied with so many incidental circumstances, and was, upon the whole, of such a tedious and complicated nature. It were therefore to be

wished, that a society of prudent and impartial persons, furnished with a competent knowledge of human nature and political transactions, and also with proper materials, would set themselves to compose the history of Pietism. If several persons were employed in collecting from public records, and also from papers that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, the events which happened in each country where this controversy reigned, and if these materials, thus carefully gathered on the spot, were put into the hands of a man capable of digesting the whole, this would produce a most interesting and useful history.

the ministry, but such as had received a proper education, were distinguished by their wisdom and sanctity of manners, and had hearts filled with divine love. Hence they proposed, in the first place, a thorough reformation of the schools of divinity; and they explained clearly enough what they meant by this reformation, which consisted in the following points: That the systematical theology, which reigned in the academies, and was composed of intricate and disputable doctrines, and obscure and unusual forms of expression, should be totally abolished;—that polemical divinity, which comprehended the controversies subsisting between Christians of different communions, should be less eagerly studied, and less frequently treated, though not entirely neglected;—that all mixture of philosophy and human learning with divine wisdom was to be most carefully avoided;—that, on the contrary, all those who were designed for the ministry, should be accustomed, from their early youth, to the perusal and study of the Holy Scriptures;—that they should be taught a plain system of theology, drawn from these unerring sources of truth;—and that the whole course of their education was to be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine, and the commanding influence of their example. As these maxims were propagated with the greatest industry and zeal, and were explained inadvertently by some, without those restrictions which prudence seemed to require; these professed patrons and revivers of piety were suspected of designs that could not but render them obnoxious to censure. They were supposed to despise philosophy and learning, to treat with indifference, and even to renounce, all inquiries into the nature and foundation of religious truth, to disapprove of the zeal and labours of those who defended it against such as either corrupted or opposed it, and to place the whole of their theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations concerning the duties of morality. Hence arose those famous disputes concerning the use of philosophy and the value of human learning, considered in connexion with the interests of religion—the dignity and usefulness of systematic theology—the necessity of polemic divinity—the excellence of the mystic system—and also concerning the true method of instructing the people.

The second great object, that employed the zeal and attention of the persons now under consideration, was, that the candidates for the ministry should not only, for the future, receive such an academical education as would tend rather to solid utility than to mere speculation; but also that they should dedicate themselves to God in a peculiar manner, and exhibit the most striking examples of piety and virtue. This maxim, which, when considered in itself, must be acknowledged to be highly laudable, not only gave occasion to several new regulations, designed to restrain the passions of the studious youth, to inspire them with pious sentiments, and to excite in them holy resolutions; but also produced another maxim, which was a lasting source of controversy and debate, viz., “that no person that was not himself a model of piety and divine love, was qualified to be a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in the way of salvation.” This opinion was considered by many as derogatory from the power and efficacy of the word of God, which cannot be deprived of its divine influence by the vices of its ministers; and as a sort of revival of the long-exploded errors of the Donatists; and what rendered it peculiarly liable to an interpretation of this nature was, the imprudence of some Pietists, who inculcated and explained it without those restrictions that were necessary to render it unexceptionable. Hence arose endless and intricate debates concerning the following questions; “whether the religious knowledge acquired by a

wicked man can be termed theology?"—"whether a vicious person can, in effect, attain to a true knowledge of religion?"—"how far the office and ministry of an impious ecclesiastic can be pronounced salutary and efficacious?"—"whether a licentious and ungodly man cannot be susceptible of illumination?"—and other questions of a like nature.

XXXI. These revivers of declining piety went yet further. In order to render the ministry of their pastors as successful as possible, in rousing men from their indolence, and in stemming the torrent of corruption and immorality, they judged two things indispensably necessary. The first was, to suppress entirely, in the course of public instruction, and more especially in that delivered from the pulpit, certain maxims and phrases which the corruption of men leads them frequently to interpret in a manner favourable to the indulgence of their passions. Such, in the judgment of the Pietists, were the following propositions: "No man is able to attain to that perfection which the divine law requires—good works are not necessary to salvation—in the act of justification, on the part of man, faith alone is concerned, without good works." Many, however, were apprehensive, that, by the suppression of these propositions, truth itself must suffer deeply; and that the Christian religion, deprived thus of its peculiar doctrines, would be exposed, naked and defenceless, to the attacks of its adversaries. The second step they took, in order to give efficacy to their plans of reformation, was to form new rules of life and manners, much more rigorous and austere than those which had been formerly practised; and to place in the class of sinful and unlawful gratifications several kinds of pleasure and amusement, which had hitherto been looked upon as innocent in themselves, and which could only become good or evil, in consequence of the respective characters of those who used them with prudence; or abused them with intemperance. Thus, dancing, pantomimes, public sports, theatrical diversions, the reading of humorous and comical books, with several other kinds of pleasure and entertainment, were prohibited by the Pietists, as unlawful and unseemly; and, therefore, by no means of an indifferent nature. Many, however, thought this rule of moral discipline by far too rigid and severe; and thus was revived the ancient contest of the schoolmen, concerning the famous question, whether any human actions are truly indifferent? *i. e.* equally removed from moral good on the one hand, and from moral evil on the other; and, whether, on the contrary, it be not true, that all actions, whatever, must either be considered as good, or as evil? The discussion of this question was attended with a variety of debates upon the several points of the prohibition now mentioned; and these debates were often carried on with animosity and bitterness, and very rarely with that precision, temper, and judgment that the nicety of the matters in dispute required. The third thing on which the Pietists insisted, was, that beside the stated meetings for public worship, private assemblies should be held for prayer and other religious exercises. But many were of opinion, that the cause of true piety and virtue was rather endangered than promoted by these assemblies: and experience and observation seemed to confirm this opinion. It would be both endless and unnecessary to enumerate all the little disputes that arose from the appointment of these private assemblies, and, in general, from the notions entertained, and the measures pursued, by the Pietists.^k It is nevertheless proper to observe,

^k These debates were first collected, and also needlessly multiplied by Schelvigius, in his *Synopsis Controversiarum sub pietatis prætextu motarum*, which was published in the

year 1701, in 8vo. The reader will also find the arguments used by the contending parties in this dispute judiciously summed up in two different works of Langius, the one entitled,

that the lenity and indulgence shown by these people to persons whose opinions were erroneous, and whose errors were by no means of an indifferent nature, irritated their adversaries to a very high degree, and made many suspect, that the Pietists laid a much greater stress upon practice than upon belief, and separating what ought ever to be inseparably joined together, held virtuous manners in higher esteem than religious truth. Amidst the prodigious numbers that appeared in these controversies, it was not at all surprising, if the variety of their characters, capacities, and views be duly considered, that some were chargeable with imprudence, others with intemperate zeal, and that many, to avoid what they looked upon as unlawful, fell injudiciously into the opposite extreme.

The restorers of
vital religion
endeavour to
promote piety
at the expense
of truth.

XXXII. The other class of Pietists already mentioned, whose reforming views extended so far as to change the system of doctrine and the form of ecclesiastical government that were established in the Lutheran church, comprehended persons of various characters and different ways of thinking. Some of them were totally destitute of reason and judgment; their errors were the reveries of a disordered brain; and they were rather to be considered as lunatics than as heretics. Others were less extravagant, and tempered the singular notions they had derived from reading or meditation, with a certain mixture of the important truths and doctrines of religion. We shall mention but a few persons of this class, and those only who were distinguished from the rest by their superior merit and reputation.

Among those was Godfrey Arnold, a native of Saxony, a man of extensive reading, tolerable parts, and richly endowed with that natural and unaffected eloquence, which is so wonderfully adapted to touch and to persuade. This man disturbed the tranquillity of the church, towards the conclusion of this century, by a variety of theological productions, that were full of new and singular opinions; and more especially by his ecclesiastical history, which he had the assurance to impose upon the public as a work composed with candour and impartiality. His natural complexion was dark, melancholy, and austere; and these seeds of fanaticism were so expanded and nourished by the perusal of the mystic writers, that the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in his breast, and broke forth in his conduct and writing with peculiar vehemence. He looked upon the Mystics as superior to all other writers, nay, as the only depositaries of true wisdom; reduced the whole of religion to certain internal feelings and motions, of which it is difficult to form a just idea; neglected entirely the study of truth; and employed the whole power of his genius and eloquence in enumerating, deploring, and exaggerating, the vices and corruptions of human nature. If it is universally allowed to be the first and most essential obligation of an historian to avoid all appearance of partiality, and neither to be influenced by personal attachments nor by private resentment in the recital of facts, it must be fairly acknowledged, that no man could be less fit for writing history than Arnold. His whole history, as every one must see who looks into it with the smallest degree of attention, is the production of a violent spirit, and is dictated by a vehement antipathy against the doctrines and institutions of the Lutheran church. One of the fundamental principles that influences the judgment, and directs the opinions and decisions of this historian, throughout the whole course of his work, is, that all the abuses and corruptions that have found admittance into the

Anti-barbarous, and the other the Middle-way;
the former composed in Latin, the latter in

German. See also the Timotheus Verrinus
of Val. Ern. Loscherus.

church since the time of the apostles have been introduced by its ministers and rulers, men of vicious and abandoned characters. From this principle he draws the following goodly consequence; that all those who opposed the measures of the clergy, or felt their resentment, were persons of distinguished sanctity and virtue; and that such, on the contrary, as either favoured the ministers of the church, or were favoured by them, were strangers to the spirit of true and genuine piety. Hence proceeded Arnold's unaccountable partiality in favour of almost all that bore the denomination of Heretics;¹ whom he defended with the utmost zeal, without having always understood their doctrine, and, in some cases, without having even examined their arguments. This partiality was highly detrimental to his reputation, and rendered his history peculiarly obnoxious to censure. He did not, however, continue in this way of thinking; but as he advanced in years and experience, perceived the errors into which he had been led by the impetuosity of his passions and the contagious influence of pernicious examples. This sense of his mistakes corrected the vehemence of his natural temper, and the turbulence of his party spirit; so that, as we learn from witnesses worthy of credit, he became at last a lover of truth, and a pattern of moderation.^m

Dippelius.

XXXIII. Arnold was far surpassed in fanatical malignity and insolence by John Conrad Dippelius, a Hessian divine, who assumed the denomination of the Christian Democritus, inflamed the minds of the simple by a variety of productions, and excited considerable tumults and commotions towards the conclusion of this century. This vain, supercilious, and arrogant doctor, who seemed formed by nature for a satirist and a buffoon, instead of proposing any new system of religious doctrine and discipline, was solely employed in overturning those that were received in the Protestant church. His days were principally spent in throwing out sarcasms and invectives against all denominations of Christians; and the Lutherans, to whose communion he belonged, were more especially the objects of his raillery and derision, which, on many occasions, spared not those things that had formerly been looked upon as the most respectable and sacred. It is much to be doubted, whether he had formed any clear and distinct notions of the doctrines he taught; since in his views of things, the power of imagination domineered evidently over the dictates of right reason and common sense. But if he really understood the religious maxims he was propagating, he had not certainly the talent of rendering them clear and perspicuous to others; for nothing can be more ambiguous and obscure than the expressions under which they are conveyed, and the arguments by which they are supported. A man must have the gift of divination, to be able to deduce a regular and consistent system of doctrine from the various productions of this incoherent and unintelligible writer, who was a chemist into the bargain, and whose brain seems to have been heated into a high degree of fermentation by the fire of the laboratory. If the rude, motley, and sarcastical writings of this wrong-headed reformer should reach posterity, it will be certainly a just matter of surprise to our descendants, that a considerable number of their ancestors should have been so blind as to choose for a model of genuine piety, and a teacher of religion, a man who had audaciously violated the first and most essential principles of solid piety and sound sense.ⁿ

¹ *q* Arnold's history is thus entitled, *Hist. Eccles. et Heretica*. Dr. Mosheim's account of this learned man is drawn up with much severity, and perhaps is not entirely destitute of partiality. See the Life of Arnold in the *Gen. Dict.*

^m See *Coleri Vita Arnoldi; Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 485.

ⁿ His works were all published, in the year 1747, in five volumes, in 4to; and his memory is still highly honoured and respected

The inventions
and reveries of
Petersen.

XXXIV. The mild and gentle temper of John William Petersen, minister and first member of the ecclesiastical consistory at Lunenburg, distinguished him remarkably from the fiery enthusiast now mentioned. But the mildness of this good-natured ecclesiastic was accompanied with a want of resolution that might be called weakness, and a certain floridness and warmth of imagination that rendered him peculiarly susceptible of illusion himself, and every way proper to lead others innocently into error. Of this he gave a very remarkable specimen in the year 1691, by maintaining publicly that Rosamond Juliana, countess of Asseburg, (whose disordered brain suggested to her the most romantic and chimerical notions,) was honoured with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to mankind. He also revived and propagated openly the obsolete doctrine of the Millennium, which Rosamond had confirmed by her pretended authority from above. This first error produced many; for error is fertile, especially in those minds where imagination has spurned the yoke of reason, and considers all its airy visions as solid and important discoveries. Accordingly, Petersen went about prophesying with his wife,^e who also gave herself out for a kind of oracle, and boasted of her extensive knowledge of the secrets of heaven. They talked of a general restitution of all things, at which grand and solemn period all intelligent beings were to be restored to happiness, the gates of hell opened, and wicked men, together with evil spirits, delivered from the guilt, power, and punishment of sin. They supposed that two distinct natures, and both of them human, were united in Christ, one assumed in heaven before the reformation of this globe, the other derived upon earth from the Virgin Mary. These opinions were swallowed down by many among the multitude, and were embraced by some of superior rank. They met, however, with great opposition, and were refuted by a considerable number of writers, to whom Petersen, who was amply furnished with leisure and eloquence, made voluminous replies. In the year 1692 he was at length deposed; and, from that period, passed his days in the tranquillity of a rural retreat in the territory of Magdeburg, where he cheered his solitude by epistolary commerce, and spent the remainder of his days in composition and study.^f

Schade and Bosius.

XXXV. It is not easy to determine whether John Caspar Schade and George Bosius may be associated properly with the persons now mentioned. They were both good men, full of zeal for the happiness and salvation of their brethren, but their zeal was neither directed by prudence, nor tempered with moderation. The former, who was a minister at Berlin, propagated several notions that seemed crude and uncouth; and in the year 1697 inveighed, with the greatest bitterness, against the custom that prevails in the Lutheran church

by many, who consider him as having been, in his day, an eminent teacher of true piety and wisdom. No kind of authors find such zealous readers and patrons as those who deal largely in invective, and swell themselves by a vain self-sufficiency into an imagined superiority over the rest of mankind. Besides, Dippelius was an excellent chemist, and a good physician; and this procured him many friends and admirers, as all men are fond of riches and long life, and these two sciences were supposed to lead to the one and to the other.

^e Her name was Johanna Eleonora à Merlau.

^f Petersen wrote his own life in German, and it was first published in 8vo, in 1717. His wife added her life to it, by way of supplement, in the year 1718. These pieces of biography will satisfy such as are desirous of a particular account of the character, manners, and talents of this extraordinary pair. For an account of the troubles they excited at Lunenburg, see Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 639; the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748, p. 974; A. 1741, p. 30—200, et passim.

of confessing privately to the clergy. These violent remonstrances excited great commotions, and were even attended with popular tumults. Bosius performed the pastoral functions at Soraw; and to awaken sinners from their security, and prevent their treating with negligence and indifference interests that are most important by being eternal, denied that God would continue always propitious and placable with respect to those offenders whose incorrigible obstinacy he had foreseen from all eternity; or that he would offer them beyond a certain period, marked in his decrees, those succours of grace that are necessary to salvation. This tenet, in the judgment of many grave divines, seemed highly injurious to the boundless mercy of God, and was accordingly refuted and condemned in several treatises; it found, nevertheless, an eminent patron and defender in the learned Rechenberg, professor of divinity at Leipsic, not to mention others of less note, who appeared in its behalf.¹

Contests concerning the omnipresence of Christ's flesh, between the doctors of Tübingen and Giessen.

XXXVI. Among the controversies of inferior note that divided the Lutheran church, we shall first mention those that broke out between the doctors of Tübingen and Giessen, so early as the year 1616. The principal part of this debate related to the abasement, humiliation, or, to what divines call the exinanition of Jesus Christ; and the great point was to know in what this exinanition properly consisted, and what was the precise nature and characteristic of this singular situation: That the Man Christ possessed, even in the most dreadful periods of his abasement, the divine properties and attributes he had received in consequence of the hypostatic union, was unanimously agreed on by both of the contending parties; but they differed in their sentiments relating to this subtle and intricate question, "Whether Christ, during his mediatorial sufferings and sacerdotal state, really suspended the exertion of these attributes, or only concealed this exertion from the view of mortals?" The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tübingen, while those of Giessen were inclined to think, that the exertion of the divine attributes was really suspended in Christ during his humiliation and sufferings. This main question was followed by others, which were much more subtle than important, concerning the manner in which God is present with all his works, the reasons and foundations of this universal presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and others of a like intricate and unintelligible nature. The champions that distinguished themselves on the side of the doctors of Tübingen, were Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicola, and Theodore Thummus. The most eminent of those that adopted the cause of the divines of Giessen was Balthazar, Menzer, and Justus Feberborn. The contest was carried on with zeal, learning, and sagacity; it were to be wished that one could add, that it was managed with wisdom, dignity, and moderation. This, indeed, was far from being the case; but such was the spirit and genius of the age, that many things were now treated with indulgence, or beheld with approbation, which the wisdom and decency of succeeding times have justly endeavoured to discountenance and correct. In order to terminate these disagreeable contests, the Saxon divines were commanded by their sovereign to offer themselves as arbitrators between the contending parties, in the year 1624; their arbitration was accepted, but it did not at all contribute to decide the matters in debate. Their decisions were vague and ambiguous, and were therefore adapted to satisfy none of the parties. They declared that they could not entirely approve of the doctrine of

¹ See Walchius' *Introductio ad Controversias*, p. 1, cap. iv.

either ; but insinuated, at the same time, that a certain degree of preference was due to the opinions maintained by the doctors of Giessen.* Those of Tubingen rejected the decision of the Saxon arbitrators ; and it is very probable, that the divines of Giessen would have appealed from it also, had not the public calamities in which Germany began to be involved at this time suspended this miserable contest, by imposing silence upon the disputants, and leaving them in the quiet possession of their respective opinions.

The controversies
occasioned by
the writings of
Rathman.

XXXVII. Before the cessation of the controversy now mentioned, a new one was occasioned, in the year 1621, by the writings of Herman Rathman, minister at Dantzic, a man of eminent piety, some learning, and a zealous patron and admirer of Arndt's famous book concerning true Christianity. This good man was suspected by his colleague Corvinus, and several others, of entertaining sentiments derogatory from the dignity and power of the sacred writings. These suspicions they derived from a book he published, in the year 1621, Concerning Christ's kingdom of grace, which, according to the representations of his adversaries, contained the following doctrine : That the word of God as it stands in the sacred writings hath no innate power to illuminate the mind, to excite in it a principle of regeneration, and thus to turn it to God ; that the external word sheweth indeed the way to salvation, but cannot effectually lead men to it ; but that God himself, by the ministry of another, and an internal word, works such a change in the minds of men as is necessary to render them agreeable in his sight, and enables them to please him by their words and actions." This doctrine was represented by Corvinus and his associates as the same which had been formerly held by Schwenckfeld, and was professed by the Mystics in general. But whoever will be at the pains to examine with attention the various writings of Rathman on this subject, must soon be convinced, that his adversaries either misunderstood his true sentiments, or wilfully misrepresented them. His real doctrine may be comprised in the four following points : First, that the divine word contained in the Holy Scriptures, is endowed with the power of healing the minds of men, and bringing them to God ; but that, secondly, it cannot exert this power in the minds of corrupt men, who resist its divine operation and influence ; and that of consequence, thirdly, it is absolutely necessary, that the word be preceded or accompanied by some divine energy which may prepare the minds of sinners to receive it, and remove those impediments that oppose its efficacy ; and, fourthly, that it is by the power of the Holy Spirit or internal word, that the external word is rendered capable of exerting its efficacy in enlightening and sanctifying the minds of men."† There is, indeed, some difference between these opinions and the doctrine commonly received in the Lutheran church, relating to the efficacy of the divine word ; but a careful perusal of the writings of Rathman on this subject, and a candid examination of his inaccurate expressions, will persuade the impartial reader that this difference is neither great nor important ; and he will only perceive, that this pious man had not the talent of expressing his opinions with order, perspicuity, and precision. However that may have been, this contest grew more general from day to day, and, at length,

* Jo. Wolf. Jager. *Hist. Eccles. et Polit. Sæc. xvii. Decenn. iii.* p. 329 ; Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xvii.* p. 1178 ; Walchius, *loc. cit.* p. 206. See also Caroli Arnold, and the other writers who have written the Ecclesiastical History of these times.

† See Mollerus, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 559 ; Hartknoch's German work, entitled, *Preussische Kirchen-Geschichte*, book iii. chap. viii. page 812 ; Arnold, *Kirchen- und-Ketzer Historie*, p. iii. chap. xvi. page 115.

extended its polemic influence through the whole Lutheran church, the greatest part of whose members followed the example of the Saxon doctors in condemning Rathman, while a considerable number, struck with the lustre of his piety, and persuaded of the innocence of his doctrine, espoused his cause. In the year 1628, when this controversy was at the greatest height, Rathman died, and then the warmth and animosity of the contending parties subsided gradually and at length ceased.

Private contro-
versies.

XXXVIII. It would be repugnant to the true end of this history, as well as to all principles of candour and equity, to swell this enumeration of the controversies that divided the Lutheran church with the private disputes of certain individuals concerning some particular points of doctrine and worship. Some writers have, indeed, followed this method, not so much with a design to enrich their histories with a multitude of facts, and to show men and opinions in all their various aspects, as with a view to render the Lutherans ridiculous or odious. In the happiest times, and in the best modelled communities, there will always remain sufficient marks of human imperfection, and abundant sources of private contention, at least, in the imprudence and mistakes of some, and the impatience and severity of others; but it must betray a great want of sound judgment, as well as of candour and impartiality, to form a general estimate of the state and character of a whole church upon such particular instances of imperfection and error. Certain singular opinions and modes of expression were censured by many in the writings of Tarnovius and Affelmann, two divines of Rostock, who were otherwise men of distinguished merit. This, however, will surprise us less when we consider, that these doctors often expressed themselves improperly, when their sentiments were just; and that, when their expressions were accurate and proper, they were frequently misunderstood by those who pretended to censure them. Joachim Lutkeman, a man whose reputation was considerable, and in many respects well deserved, took it into his head to deny that Christ remained true man during the three days that intervened between his death and resurrection. This sentiment appeared highly erroneous to many; hence arose a contest which was merely a dispute about words, resembling many other debates, which, like bubbles, are incessantly swelling and vanishing on the surface of human life. Of this kind, more especially, was the controversy which for some time exercised the talents of Boetius and Balduine, professors of divinity, the former at Helmstadt, and the latter at Wittenberg, and had for its subject the following question, Whether or no the wicked shall one day be restored to life by the merits of Christ? In the duchy of Holstein, Reinboth distinguished himself by the singularity of his opinions. After the example of Calixtus, he reduced the fundamental doctrines of religion within narrower bounds than are usually prescribed to them; he also considered the opinions of those Greeks who deny that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as an error of very little consequence. In both these respects, his sentiments were adopted by many; they, however, met with opposition from several quarters, and were censured with peculiar warmth, by the learned John Conrad Danhaver, professor of divinity at Strasburg; in consequence of this, a kind of controversy was kindled between these two eminent men, and was carried on with more vehemence than the nature and importance of the matters in debate could well justify.¹ But these and other contests of this nature must not

¹ For an account of all these controversies in general, see Arnold, *Histoire Eccles. et Heret.* p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 957. That which was occasioned by Reinboth is amply

and circumstantially related by Mollerus, in his *Introductio ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricae*, b. ii. p. 190, and in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 692.

be admitted into that list of controversies, from which we are to form a judgment of the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century.

The debates relating to Prætorius and Arndt.

XXXIX. We cannot say the same thing of certain controversies which were of a personal rather than a real nature, and related to orthodoxy or unsoundness of certain men, rather than to the truth or falsehood of certain opinions; for these are somewhat more essentially connected with the internal state and history of the church, than the contests last mentioned. It is not unusual for those who professedly embark in the cause of declining piety, and aim, in a solemn, zealous, and public manner, at its revival and restoration, to be elated with high and towering views, and warmed with a certain enthusiastic, though noble fervour. This elevation and ardour of mind is by no means a source of accuracy and precision; on the contrary, it produces many unguarded expressions, and prevents men of warm piety from forming their language by those rules which are necessary to render it clear, accurate, and proper; it frequently dictates expressions and phrases that are pompous and emphatic, but, at the same time, allegorical and ambiguous; and leads pious and even sensible men to adopt uncouth and vulgar forms of speech, employed by writers whose style is as low and barbarous as their intentions are upright and pious, and whose practical treatises on religion and morality have nothing recommendable but the zeal and fervour with which they are penned. Persons of this warm and enthusiastic turn fall with more facility than any other set of men into the suspicion of heresy, on account of the inaccuracy of their expressions. This many doctors found to be true, by a disagreeable experience, during the course of this century; but it was, in a more particular manner, the fate of Stephen Prætorius, minister of Solzwedel, and of John Arndt, whose piety and virtue have rendered his memory precious to the friends of true religion. Prætorius had, so early as the preceding century, composed certain treatises designed to revive a spirit of vital religion, and awaken in the minds of men a zeal for their future and eternal interests. These productions, which were frequently republished during this century, were highly applauded by many, while, in the judgment of others, they abounded with expressions and sentiments, that were partly false, and partly adapted by their ambiguity to lead men into error. It cannot be denied, that there are in the writings of Prætorius some improper and unguarded expressions, that may too easily deceive the ignorant and unwary, as also several marks of that credulity that borders upon weakness; but those who peruse his works with impartiality will be fully persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions.

The unfeigned piety and integrity of Arndt could not secure him from censure. His famous book concerning true Christianity, which is still perused with the utmost pleasure and edification by many persons eminent for the sanctity of their lives and manners, met with a warm and obstinate opposition. Oslander, Rostius, and other doctors inveighed against it with excessive bitterness, pretended to find in it various defects, and alleged, among other things, that its style was infected with the jargon of the Paracelsists, Weigelians, and other Mystico-chemical philosophers. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that this eminent man entertained a high disgust against the philosophy that, in his time, reigned in the schools, nor can it be denied, that he had a high, perhaps an excessive, degree of respect for the chemists, and ill-placed confidence in their obscure decisions and pompous undertakings.—This led him sometimes into conversation with those fantastic philosophers, who, by the power and ministry of fire,

pretended to unfold both the secrets of nature and the mysteries of religion. But, notwithstanding this, he was declared exempt from any errors of moment by a multitude of grave and pious divines, among whom were Egard, Dilger, Breler, Gerhard, and Dorchæus; and in the issue, the censures and opposition of his adversaries seemed rather to cast a new lustre on his reputation than to cover him with reproach.*

We may place in the class now under consideration Valentine Weigelius, a minister of the church of Zscopavia in Misnia; for though he died in the preceding century, yet it was in this that the greatest part of his writings were published, and also censured as erroneous, and of a dangerous tendency. The science of chemistry, which at this time was making such a rapid progress in Germany, proved also detrimental to this ecclesiastic; who, though in the main a man of probity and merit, neglected the paths of right reason, and chose rather to wander in the devious wilds of a chemical philosophy.†

Jacob Behmen.

XL. There were a set of fanatics among the Lutherans, who, in the flights of their enthusiasm, far surpassed those now mentioned, and who had such a high notion of their own abilities, as to attempt melting down the present form of religion, and casting a new system of piety after a model drawn from their wanton and irregular fancies; it is with some account of the principal of these spiritual projectors that we shall conclude the history of the Lutheran church during this century.

At the head of this visionary tribe we may place Jacob Behmen, a tailor at Gorlitz, who was remarkable for the multitude of his patrons and adversaries, and whom his admirers commonly called the German Theosophist. This man had a natural propensity towards the investigation of mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind; and having, partly by books, and partly by conversation with certain physicians,‡ acquired some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the Rosicrucians, which was propagated in Germany with great ostentation during this century, he struck out of the element of fire, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast, on account of his piety, integrity, and sincere love of truth and virtue; and we shall not pretend to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honour him with the character of an inspired messenger of heaven, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion: "That the divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the divine providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross;" and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology. Behmen had a considerable number of followers

* See Arnoldi Hist. Eccles. et Hæretica, p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 940; Weismanni Hist. Eccles. Sec. xvii. p. 1174, 1189; Godof. Balth. Scharffii Supplementum Historiæ Littequæ Arndtianæ, Wittem. 1727, in 8vo.

† There is an account of Weigelius, more ample than impartial, given by Arnold. loc. cit. lib. xvii. cap. xvi. p. 1088.

‡ Viz. Tobias Kober and Balthazar Walther.

in this century, the most eminent of whom were John Lewis Giftheil, John Angelus, Werdenhagen, Abraham Frankenberg, Theodore Tzetch, Paul Felgenhaver, Quirinus, Kuhlman, John Jacob Zimmerman; and he has still many votaries and admirers even in our times. There was, indeed, a signal difference between his followers; some of them retained, notwithstanding their attachment to his extravagant system, a certain degree of moderation and good sense; others of them seemed entirely out of their wits, and by their frenzy excited the compassion of those who were the spectators of their conduct; such were Kuhlman and Gichtelius, the former of whom was burnt at Moscow in the year 1684; but indeed it may be affirmed, in general, that none of the disciples or followers of Behmen propagated his doctrine, or conducted themselves in such a manner as to do honour either to their master or to his cause in the judgment of the wise.*

The prophets of
this age.

XLII. Another class of persons, who deserve to be placed immediately after Behmen, were they whom a disordered brain persuaded that they were prophets sent from above, and that they were divinely inspired with the power of foretelling future events. A considerable number of these delirious fanatics arose during the course of this century; and more especially at that juncture when the house of Austria was employed in maintaining its power in the empire, against the united armies of Sweden, France, and Germany. It is remarkable enough, that the tribe of pretended prophets and diviners is never more numerous than at those critical and striking periods when great revolutions are expected, or sudden and heavy calamities have happened; as such periods, and the scenes they exhibit, inflame the imagination of the fanatic, and may be turned to the profit of the impostor. The most eminent of the fanatical prophets now under consideration, were Nicholas Drabicius, Christopher Kotter, Christina Poniatovia, who found an eloquent defender and patron in John Amos Comenia; not to mention Joachim Greulich, Anne Vetter, Mary Frelich, George Reichard, and several others, who audaciously assumed the same character. It is not necessary to enter into a more circumstantial detail of the history of this visionary tribe, since none of them arose to such a degree of reputation and consequence, as to occasion any considerable tumults by their predictions. It is sufficient to have observed in general, that even in this century, there were among the Lutherans certain crazy fanatics, who, under the impulse of a disordered imagination, assumed the character and authority of prophets sent from above to enlighten the world.†

* It is needless to mention the writers who employed their pens in stemming the torrent of Behmen's enthusiasm. The works of this fanatic are in every body's hands, and the books that were composed to refute them are well known, and to be found every where. All that has been alleged in his favour and defence has been carefully collected by Arnold, who is, generally speaking, peculiarly eloquent in the praises of those whom others treat with contempt. For an account of Kuhlman, and his unhappy fate, see the German work, entitled, *Unschuld. Nachricht. A. 1748.*

† Behmen, however, had the good fortune to meet with, in our days, a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well-meaning, but gloomy visionary, Mr. William Law, who was for many years preparing

a new edition and translation of Behmen's works, which he left behind him, ready for the press, and which have been published in two volumes 4to, since his decease. N.

† Arnold is to be commended for giving us an accurate collection of the transactions and visions of these enthusiasts, in the third and fourth parts of his *History of Heretics*, since those who are desirous of full information in this matter may easily see, by consulting this historian, that the pretended revelations of these prophets were no more than the phantoms of a disordered imagination. A certain pious, but ignorant man, named Bonedict Bahneen, who was a native of Holstein, and lived at Amsterdam about the middle of the last century, was so delighted with the writings and predictions of these fanatics, that he col-

Ezekiel Meth,
Isaiah Stiefel,
Paul Nagel.

XLII. It will not, however, be improper to mention, somewhat more circumstantially, the case of those, who, though they did not arrive at that enormous height of folly that leads men to pretend to divine inspiration, yet deceived themselves and deluded others, by entertaining and propagating the strangest fancies, and the most monstrous and impious absurdities. Some time after the commencement of this century, Isaiah Stiefel and Ezekiel Meth, inhabitants of Thuringia, were observed to throw out the most extraordinary and shocking expressions, while they spoke of themselves and their religious attainments. These expressions, in the judgment of many, amounted to nothing less than attributing to themselves the divine glory and majesty, and thus implied a blasphemous, or rather a frenetic, insult on the Supreme Being and his eternal Son. It is nevertheless scarcely credible, however irrational we may suppose them to have been, that these fanatics should have carried their perverse and absurd fancies to such an amazing height; and it would perhaps be more agreeable both to truth and charity to suppose, that they had imitated the pompous and turgid language of the mystic writers in such an extravagant manner, as to give occasion to the heavy accusation above mentioned. Considering the matter even in this candid and charitable light, we may see by their examples how much the constant perusal of the writings of the Mystics is adapted to shed darkness, delusion, and folly into the imagination of weak and ignorant men.* The reveries of Paul Nagel, professor of divinity at Leipsic, were highly absurd, but of a much less pernicious tendency than these already mentioned. This prophetic dreamer, who had received a light tincture of mathematical knowledge, pretended to see, in the position of the stars, the events that were to happen in church and state; and, from a view of these celestial bodies, foretold, in a more particular manner, the erection of a new and most holy kingdom in which Christ should reign here upon earth.*

Christian Hoburg,
Frederic Breck-
ling, Seidenbe-
cher.

XLIII. Christian Hoburg, a native of Lunenburg, a man of a turbulent and inconstant spirit, and not more remarkable for his violence than for his duplicity, threw out the most bitter reproaches and invectives against the whole Lutheran church without exception,^b and thereby involved himself in various perplexities. He deceived indeed the multitude a long time, by his dissimulation and hypocrisy; and by a series of frauds, which he undoubtedly looked upon as lawful, he disguised so well his true character, that he appeared to many, and especially to persons of a candid and charitable turn, much less contemptible than he was in reality; and though the acrimony and violence of his proceedings were condemned, yet they were supposed to be directed, not against religion itself, but against the licentiousness and vices of its professors, and particularly of its ministers. At length, however, the mask fell from the face of this hypocrite, who became an object of general indignation and contempt, and deserting the communion of the Lutheran church, went over to the Mennonites.^c There

lected them carefully, and published them. In the year 1670, a catalogue of his library was printed at Amsterdam, which was full of chemical and fanatical books.

* See Arnold, *Historia Eccles. et Heret.* p. iii. cap. iv. p. 32; Thomasius, in his German work, entitled, *Historie de Weisheit und Narrheit*, vol. i. p. iii. p. 150.

* Arnold, loc. cit. p. iii. cap. v. p. 53;

Andr. Caroli *Memorabilia Ecclesie*, Sec. xvii. pars i. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 515.

^b Hoburg, in some of his petulant and satirical writings, assumed the names of Elias Prætorius and Bernard Baumann.

^c Arnold, loc. cit. p. iii. cap. xiii. p. 130; Andr. Caroli, loc. cit. vol. i. p. 1065; Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* p. 535; Mol-leri *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 337.

was a striking resemblance between this petulant railer and Frederic Breckling; the latter, however, surpassed even the former in impetuosity and malignity. Breckling had been pastor first in the duchy of Holstein, and afterwards at Zwooll, a city in the United Provinces, where he was deposed from his ministry, and lived a great many years after without being attached to any religious sect or community. There are several of his writings still extant, which, indeed, recommend warmly the practice of piety and virtue, and seem to express the most implacable abhorrence of vicious persons and licentious manners; and yet, at the same time, they demonstrate plainly that their author was destitute of that charity, prudence, meekness, patience, and love of truth, which are the essential and fundamental virtues of a real Christian.⁴ It is undoubtedly a just matter of surprise, that these vehement declaimers against the established religion and its ministers, who pretend to be so much more sagacious and sharp-sighted than their brethren, do not perceive a truth, which the most simple may learn from daily observation; even that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry, petulant, and violent reformer, who comes to heal the disorders of a community, armed, as it were, with fire and sword, with menaces and terrors. It is also to be wondered, that these men are not aware of another consideration equally obvious, namely, that it is scarcely credible, that a *spiritual* physician will cure another with entire success of the disorders under which he himself is known to labour.

George Laurence Seidenbecher, pastor at Eislefeld in Saxony, adopted himself, and propagated among the multitude, the doctrine of the Millennium, or thousand years' reign of Christ upon earth; a doctrine which scarcely ever gains admittance but in disordered brains, and rarely produces any other fruits than incoherent dreams and idle visions. Seidenbecher was censured on account of this doctrine, and deposed from his pastoral charge.*

XLIV. It would be superfluous to name the other fanatics that deserve a place in the class now before us, since they almost all laboured under the same disorder, and the uniformity of their sentiments and conduct was so perfect, that the history of one, a few instances excepted, may, in a great measure, be considered as the history of them all. We shall therefore conclude this crazy list with a short account of the very worst of the whole tribe, Martin Seidelius, a native of Silesia, who endeavoured to form a sect in Poland towards the conclusion of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but could not find followers, even among the Socinians; so wild were his views, and so extravagant his notions. This audacious adventurer in religious novelties was of opinion, that God had, indeed, promised a Saviour or Messiah to the Jews; but that this Messiah had never appeared, and never would appear, on account of the sins of the Jewish people, which rendered them unworthy of this great deliverer. From hence he concluded, that it was erroneous to look upon Christ as the Messiah; that the only office of Jesus was, to interpret and republish the law of nature, that had been perverted and obscured by the vices, corruptions, and ignorance of men; and that the whole duty of man, and all the obligations of

⁴ Arnold has given an account of Breckling, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæret.* pars iii. p. 148, and pars iv. p. 1103. He has also published some of his writings (p. 1110), which sufficiently demonstrate the irregularity and exuberance of his fancy. There is a particular account of this degraded pastor given

by Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 72.

^e There is a circumstantial account of this man given by Alb. Meno Verpoorten, in his *Commentat. de vita et institutis G. Seidenbecheri*, Gedani, 1739, 4to.

religion, were fulfilled by an obedience to this law, republished and explained by Jesus Christ. To render this doctrine more defensible and specious, or at least, to get rid of a multitude of arguments and express declarations that might be drawn from the Holy Scriptures to prove its absurdity, he boldly rejected all the books of the New Testament. The small number of disciples, that adopted the fancies of this intrepid innovator, were denominated semi-judaizers.^f Had he appeared in our times, he would have given less offence than at the period in which he lived; for, if we except his singular notion concerning the Messiah, his doctrine was such as would at present be highly agreeable to many persons in Great Britain, Holland, and other countries.^g

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The limits of the
Reformed church
extended.

I. It has been already observed, that the Reformed church, considered in the most comprehensive sense of that term, as forming a whole, composed of a great variety of parts, is rather united by the principles of moderation and fraternal charity, than by a perfect uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship. It will, therefore, be proper to take, first, a view of those events that related to this great body collectively considered; and afterwards to enter into a detail of the most memorable occurrences that happened in the particular communities of which it is composed. The principal accessions it received during this century have already been mentioned, when, in the history of the Lutheran church, we related the changes and commotions that happened in the principalities of Hesse and Brandenburg.^a These, however, were not the only changes that took place in favour of the Reformed church. Its doctrine was embraced, about the commencement of this century, by Adolphus, duke of Holstein, and it was naturally expected that the subjects would follow the example of their prince; but this expectation was disappointed, by the death of Adolphus, in the year 1616.^b Henry, duke of Saxony, withdrew also from the communion of the Lutherans, in whose religious principles he had been educated; and, in the year 1688, embraced the doctrine of the Reformed church at Dessau, in consequence, as some allege, of the solicitations of his duchess.^c In

^f See Gustavi Georgii Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini, vol. i. p. 268, 335.

^g We are much at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim means by this insinuation, as also the persons he has in view; for, on the one hand, it is sufficiently evident that he cannot mean the Deists; and, on the other, we know of no denomination of Christians who boldly reject all the books of the New Testament. Our author probably meant that the part of Seidel's doctrine which represents Christ's mission as only designed to republish and interpret the law of nature, and the whole religious and moral duty of man as consisting in an obedience to this law, would have been well received by many persons in Great Britain and Holland; but he should have said so: nothing requires such precision as accusations.

^a See section ii. part ii. chap. i. § i. ii.

where the History of the Lutheran Church commences with an account of the loss that church sustained by the secession of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who embraced solemnly the doctrine of the Reformed church, the former in 1604, and the latter in 1614.

^b Jo. Molleri Introd. ad Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ, p. ii. p. 101; Eric. Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 691.

^c See Moebii Selectæ Disp. Theolog. p. 1137. The duke of Saxony published to the world a Confession of his Faith, containing the reasons of his change. This piece, which the divines of Leipzig were obliged by a public order to refute, was defended against their attacks by the learned Isaac de Beausobre, at that time pastor at Magdeburg, in a book entitled, Défense de la Doctrine des Réformés,

Denmark, about the beginning of this century, there were still a considerable number of persons who secretly espoused the sentiments of that church, and more especially could never reconcile themselves to the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's *bodily presence with the sacrament of the eucharist*. They were confirmed in their attachment to the tenets of the Reformed, by Hemmingius and other followers of Melancthon, whose secret ministry and public writings were attended with considerable success. The face of things, however, changed; and the Reformed in Denmark saw their expectations vanish, and their credit sink, in the year 1614, when Canut, bishop of Gottenburg, who had given too plain intimations of his propensity to the doctrines of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal dignity.⁴ The progress of the Reformed religion in Africa, Asia, and America, is abundantly known: it was carried into these distant regions by the English and Dutch emigrants, who formed settlements there for the purposes of commerce, and founded flourishing churches in the various provinces where they fixed their habitations. It is also known, that in several places where Lutheranism was established, the French, German, and British members of the Reformed church were allowed the free exercise of their religion.

The decline of the
Reformed church
in France.

II. Of all the calamities, that tended to diminish the influence and eclipse the lustre of the Reformed church, none was more dismal in its circumstances, and more unhappy in its effects, than the deplorable fate of that church in France. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, the Reformed church had acquired the form of a body-politic.* Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and were possessed of several fortified places, particularly the strong city of Rochelle; in which, to render their security still more complete, they were allowed to have their own garrisons. This body-politic was not, indeed, always under the influence and direction of leaders eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown, and the person of the sovereign. Truth and candour oblige us to acknowledge that the Reformed conducted themselves, on some occasions, in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes, amidst the broils and tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation or consent; nay, they went so far as to solicit, more than once, without so much as disguising their measures, the alliance and friendship of England and Holland, and formed views which, at least in appearance, were scarcely consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom, nor with a proper respect for the authority of its monarch. Hence the contests and civil broils that arose in the year 1621, and subsisted long, between Lewis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and hence the severe and despotic maxim of Richelieu, the first minister of that monarch, that the kingdom of France could never enjoy the sweets of peace, nor the satisfaction that is founded upon the assurance of public safety, before the Protestants were deprived of their towns and strongholds, and before their rights and privileges, together with their ecclesiastical polity, were crushed to pieces and totally suppressed. This haughty

et en particulier de la Confession de S. A. S. Magr. le Duc Henry de Saxe, contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Théologie à Leipsic. Magdeb. 1684, in 8vo.

⁴ Pontoppidan. Annal. Eccles. Danicæ, tom. iii. p. 695.

* Imperium in imperio, i. e. an empire within an empire.

minister, after many violent efforts and hard struggles, obtained, at length, his purpose. For in the year 1628, the town of Rochelle, the chief bulwark of the Reformed interest in France, was taken, after a long and difficult siege, and annexed to the crown. From this fatal event, the Reformed party in France, defenceless and naked, dates its decline; since, after the reduction of their chief city, they had no other resource than the pure clemency and generosity of their sovereign.¹ Those who judge of the reduction of this place by the maxims of civil polity, considered the conduct of the French court as entirely consistent with the principles both of wisdom and justice; since nothing can be more detrimental to the tranquillity and safety of a nation than a body-politic erected in its bosom, independent on the supreme authority of the state, and secured against its influence or inspection by an external force. And had the French monarch, satisfied with depriving the Protestants of their strongholds, continued to maintain them in the possession of that liberty of conscience, and that free exercise of their religion, for which they had shed so much blood, and to the enjoyment of which their eminent services to the house of Bourbon had given them such a fair and illustrious title, it is highly probable they would have borne with patience this infraction of their privileges, and the loss of that liberty that had been confirmed to them by the most solemn edicts.

The injurious and tyrannical treatment it receives from the French court.

III. But the court of France, and the despotic views of its minister, were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that form of civil polity that had been annexed to the Reformed church as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, and was afterwards considered as detrimental to the supreme authority of the state, they proceeded still further, and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church that were merely of a spiritual and religious nature. At first the court, and the ministers of its tyranny, put in practice all the arts of insinuation and persuasion, in order to gain over the heads of the Reformed church, and the more learned and celebrated ministers of that communion. Pathetic exhortations, alluring promises, artful interpretations of those doctrines of popery that were most disagreeable to the Protestants; in a word, every insidious method was employed to conquer their aversion to the church of Rome. Richelieu exhausted all the resources of his dexterity and artifice, and put into execution with the most industrious assiduity, all the means that he thought the most adapted to seduce the Protestants into the Romish communion. When all these stratagems were observed to produce little or no effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate and destroy a set of men, whom mean perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments were insufficient to convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that the ingenious efforts of malice could invent, were put in execution to damp the courage of a party that were become odious by their resolute adherence to the dictates of their consciences, and to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their intemperate and unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty; many of the Protestants sank under the weight of despotic oppression, and yielded up their faith to

¹ See *Le Clerc, Vie de Cardinal Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 69, 77, 177, 199, 269; *Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII.*, tom. iii. p. 676, tom. iv. p. 1, and the following volumes. See

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armed legions, that were sent to convert them ; several fled from the storm, and deserted their families, their friends, and their country ; and by far the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion, which their ancestors had delivered, and happily separated, from the manifold superstitions of a corrupt and idolatrous church.

The edict of Nantes
revoked.

IV. When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the Protestants under the reign of Lewis XIV. the bishops and Jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence in the cabinet of that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate, by fire and sword, this resolute people, and thus to ruin, as it were by one mortal blow, the cause of the reformation in France. Their insidious arguments and importunate solicitations had such an effect upon the weak and credulous mind of Lewis, that in the year 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and regardless of all laws, human and divine, he revoked the edict of Nantes, and thereby deprived the Protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. This revocation was accompanied, indeed, with the applause of Rome, but it excited the indignation even of many Roman catholics, whose bigotry had not effaced or suspended, on this occasion, their natural sentiments of generosity and justice. It was, moreover, followed by a measure still more tyrannical and shocking, even an express order, addressed to all the Reformed churches, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this cruel and unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests and the real prosperity of the French nation,* by the prodigious emigrations it occasioned among the Protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty, and that humane treatment, which their mother country had so cruelly refused them. Those among them, whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution that could be adopted to subdue their courage, exhaust their patience, and thus engage them to a feigned and external profession of popery, which in their consciences they beheld with the utmost aversion and disgust. This crying act of perfidy and injustice in a prince, who on other occasions gave evident proofs of his generosity and equity, is sufficient to show, in their true and genuine colours, the spirit of the Romish church and of the Roman pontiffs, and the manner in which they stand affected to those whom they consider as heretics. It is peculiarly adapted to convince the impartial and attentive observer, that the most solemn oaths, and the most sacred treaties, are never looked upon by this church and its pontiffs as respectable and obliga-

* See the Life of Isaac Beausobre, composed by the ingenious Armand de la Chapelle, in French, and subjoined to Beausobre's *Remarques Historiques, Critiques, et Philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament*, p. 259.—† Some late hireling writers employed by the Jesuits have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. But it must be observed, to the honour of the French nation, that these impotent attempts to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood have been treated almost universally at Paris with indignation and contempt. They who are desirous of seeing a true state of the losses the French nation sustained by the revocation of the famous edict now mentioned, have only to consult the

curious and authentic account of the state of that nation, taken from memorials drawn up by the intendants of the several provinces, for the use of the duke of Burgundy, and published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, under the following title: "Etat de la France, extrait par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, des Mémoires dressées par les Intendants du Royaume, par l'Ordre du Roi Louis XIV. à la Sollicitation du Duc de Bourgogne." See also Voltaire, *Sur la Tolérance*, p. 41 and 201. And, for an account of the conduct of the French court towards the Protestants at that dismal period, see the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, *Plaintes des Protestans de France*, p. 12—85, edit. of Cologne.

tory, when the violation of them may contribute to advance their interest, or to accomplish their views.

The sufferings of the Waldenses and Protestants of the Palatinate. V. The Waldenses, who lived in the valleys of Piedmont, and had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of Geneva, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most barbarous and inhuman manner, during the greatest part of this century, by the ministers of Rome. This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total destruction and entire extinction of that unhappy nation.¹ The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny; and the small number of the Waldenses that survived them, were indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never ceased to solicit the clemency of the Duke of Savoy in their behalf.

The church of the Palatinate, which had been long at the head of the Reformed churches in Germany, declined apace from the year 1685, when a Roman catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so great, that instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the Protestant assemblies in that country.

The state of learning and philosophy in the Reformed church. VI. The eminent and illustrious figure that the principal members of the Reformed church made in the learned world is too well known, and the reputation they acquired, by a successful application to the various branches of literature and science, is too well established; to require our entering into a circumstantial detail of that matter. We shall also pass in silence the names of those celebrated men who have acquired immortal fame by their writings, and transmitted their eminent usefulness to succeeding times in their learned and pious productions. Out of the large list of these famous authors that adorned the Reformed church, it would be difficult to select the most eminent; and this is a sufficient reason for our silence.¹ The supreme guide and legislator of those that applied themselves to the study of philosophy had been Aristotle, who for a long time reigned unrivalled in the Reformed, as well as in the Lutheran schools; and was exhibited, in both, not in his natural

¹ Leger, *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, p. ii. c. vi. p. 72; Gilles, *Histoire Ecclesiast. des Eglises Vaudoises*, ch. xlix. p. 353. There is a particular history of the persecution suffered by these victims of papal cruelty in the year 1686, which was published in 8vo, at Rotterdam, in the year 1688.

See also a pamphlet, entitled, *An Account of the late Persecutions of the Waldenses by the Duke of Savoy and the French King*, in the year 1686, published at Oxford, in 4to, in 1688. See likewise a particular detail of the miseries endured by these unfortunate objects of papal persecution in the years 1655, 1662, 1663, and 1686, related by Peter Boyer, in his *History of the Vaudois*, ch. xii.—xxi. p. 72, &c.

² The list of the eminent divines and men of learning that were ornaments to the Reformed church, in the seventeenth century, is indeed extremely ample. Among those that adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember, with peculiar veneration, the im-

mortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Usher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany, we find Pareus, Scultet, Fabricius Alting, Pelargus, and Bergius. In Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, and Turretin. In the churches and academies of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines:—Drusus, Amama, Gomer, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vosaius, Cocceius, Voetius, Des Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hoornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moynes, De Mastricht, and others. Among the French doctors, we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daille, Amyraut, the two Cappels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Alix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beaussobre, Lenfant, Martin, Des Vignoles, &c.

and genuine aspect, but in the motley and uncouth form in which he had been dressed up by the scholastic doctors. But when Gassendi and Des Cartes appeared, the Stagyrte began to decline, and his fame and authority diminished gradually from day to day. Among the French and Dutch, many adopted the Cartesian philosophy at its first dawn; and a considerable number of the English embraced the principles of Gassendi, and were singularly pleased with his prudent and candid manner of investigating truth. The Aristotelians every where, and more especially in Holland, were greatly alarmed at this revolution in the philosophical world, and set themselves, with all their vigour, to oppose its progress. They endeavoured to persuade the people, that the cause of truth and religion must suffer considerably by the efforts that were made to dethrone Aristotle, and bring into disrepute the doctrine of his interpreters; but the principal cause of their anxiety and zeal, was the apprehension of losing their places in the public schools; a thought which they could not bear with any degree of patience.¹ However, the powerful lustre of truth, which unfolded daily more and more its engaging charms, and the love of liberty, which had been held in chains by Peripatetic tyranny, obliged this obstinate sect to yield, and reduced them to silence; and hence it is that the doctors of the Reformed church carry on, at this day, their philosophical inquiries with the same freedom that is observable among the Lutherans. It may, indeed, be a question with some, whether Aristotle be not even yet secretly revered in some of the English universities. It is at least certain, that, although under the government of Charles II. and the two succeeding reigns, the mathematical philosophy had made a most extensive progress in Great Britain, there were, nevertheless, both at Oxford and Cambridge, some doctors, who preferred the ancient system of the schools before the new discoveries now under consideration.

The interpreters and expositors of Scripture. VII. All the interpreters and expositors of Scripture that made a figure in the Reformed church about the commencement of this century, followed scrupulously the method of Calvin in their illustrations of the sacred writings, and unfolded the true and natural signification of the words of scripture, without perplexing their brains to find out deep mysteries in plain expressions, or to force, by the inventive efforts of fancy, a variety of singular notions from the metaphorical language that is frequently used by the inspired writers. This universal attachment to the method of Calvin was indeed considerably diminished in process of time by the credit and influence of two celebrated commentators, who struck out new paths in the sphere of sacred criticism. These were Hugo Grotius and John Cocceius. The former departed less from the manner of interpretation generally received than the latter. Like Calvin, he followed in his commentaries, both in the Old and New Testaments, the literal and obvious significations of the words employed by the sacred writers; but he differed considerably from that great man in his manner of explaining the predictions of the prophets. The hypothesis of Grotius relating to that important subject amounts to this: "That the predictions of the ancient prophets were all accomplished in the events to which they directly pointed before the coming of Christ; and that therefore the natural and obvious sense of the words and phrases in which they were delivered, does not terminate in our blessed Lord; but that in certain of these predictions, and more especially in those which the writers of the New Testament apply to Christ, there is, besides the literal and obvious

¹ See Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, passim.

signification, a hidden and mysterious sense, that lies concealed under the external mask of certain persons, certain events, and certain actions, which are representative of the person, ministry, sufferings, and merits of the Son of God."

The method of Cocceius was entirely different from this. He looked upon the whole history of the Old Testament as a perpetual and uninterrupted representation or mirror of the history of the divine Saviour, and of the Christian church; he maintained, moreover, that all the prophecies have a literal and direct relation to Christ; and he finished his romantic system by laying it down as a certain maxim, that all the events and revolutions that shall happen in the church, until the end of time, are prefigured and pointed out, though not all with the same degree of evidence and perspicuity, in different places of the Old Testament.^k These two eminent commentators had each his zealous disciples and followers. The Armenians in general, many of the English and French divines, together with these warm votaries of ancient Calvinism who are called Voetsians (from their chief Gisbert Voet, the great adversary of Cocceius), all adopted the method of interpreting Scripture introduced by Grotius. On the other hand, many of the Dutch, Swiss, and Germans, were singularly delighted with the learned fancies of Cocceius. There are, however, still greater numbers of prudent and impartial divines, who, considering the extremes into which these two eminent critics have run, and disposed to profit by what is really solid in both their systems, neither reject nor embrace their opinions in the lump, but agree with them both in some things, and differ from them both in others. It is further to be observed, that neither the followers of Grotius nor of Cocceius are agreed among themselves, and that these two general classes of expositors may be divided into many subordinate ones. A considerable number of English divines of the Episcopal church refused to adopt the opinions, or to respect the authority of these modern expositors; they appealed to the decisions of the primitive fathers; and maintained that the sacred writings ought always to be understood in that sense only, which has been attributed to them, by these ancient doctors of the rising church.^l

^k It is become almost a proverbial saying, that in the Books of the Old Testament Cocceius finds Christ every where, while Grotius meets him nowhere. The first part of this saying is certainly true; the latter much less so; for it appears, with sufficient evidence, from the Commentaries of Grotius, that he finds Christ prefigured in many places of the Old Testament, not, indeed, directly in the letter of the prophecies, where Cocceius discovers him, but mysteriously, under the appearance of certain persons, and in the secret sense of certain transactions.

^l These have been confuted by the learned Dr. Whitby, in his important work Concerning the Interpretation of Scripture, after the Manner of the Fathers, which was published at London in 8vo, in the year 1714, under the following title: "*Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios*," &c. In this dissertation, which was the forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterwards made to deliver the right of private judgment in matters of religion, from the restraints of

human authority, the judicious author has shown, first, that the Holy Scripture is the only rule of faith, and that by it alone we are to judge of the doctrines that are necessary to salvation; secondly, that the fathers, both of the primitive times and also of succeeding ages, are extremely deficient and unsuccessful in their explications of the sacred writings: and, thirdly, that it is impossible to terminate the debates that have been raised concerning the Holy Trinity, by the opinions of the Fathers, the decisions of councils, or by any tradition that is really universal. The contradictions, the absurdities, romantic conceits, and extravagant fancies, that are to be found in the commentaries of the fathers, were never represented in such a ridiculous point of view as they are in this performance. The worst part of the matter is, that such a production as Dr. Whitby's, in which all the mistakes of these ancient expositors are culled out and compiled with such care, is too much adapted to prejudice young students even against what may be good in their writings, and thus disgust them against a kind of study, which,

State of didactic
theology in the
reformed church.

VIII. The doctrines of Christianity, which had been so sadly disfigured among the Lutherans by the obscure jargon and the intricate tenets of the scholastic philosophy, met with the same fate in the Reformed churches. The first successful effort, that prevented these churches from falling entirely under the Aristotelian yoke, was made by the Arminians, who were remarkable for expounding, with simplicity and perspicuity, the truths and precepts of religion, and who censured, with great plainness and severity, those ostentatious doctors, who affected to render them obscure and unintelligible, by expressing them in terms, and reducing them under the classes and divisions used, in the schools. The Cartesians and Cocceians contributed also to deliver theology from the chains of the Peripatetics; though it must be allowed, that it had not, in some respects, a much better fate in the hands of these its deliverers. The Cartesians applied the principles and tenets of their philosophy in illustrating the doctrines of the Gospel; the Cocceians imagined that they could not give a more sublime and engaging aspect to the Christian religion, than by representing it under the notion of a covenant entered into between God and man; and both these manners of proceeding were disliked by the wisest and most learned divines of the Reformed church. They complained with reason, that the tenets and distinctions of the Cartesian philosophy had as evident a tendency to render the doctrines of Christianity obscure and intricate, as the abstruse terms, and the endless divisions and subdivisions of the Peripatetics. They observed also, that the metaphor of a covenant, applied to the Christian religion, must be attended with many inconveniences, by leading uninstructed minds to form a variety of ill-grounded notions, which is the ordinary consequence of straining metaphors; and that it must contribute to introduce into the colleges of divinity the captious terms, distinctions, and quibbles, that are employed in the ordinary courts of justice, and thus give rise to the most trifling and ill-judged discussions and debates about religious matters. Accordingly, the greatest part, both of the British and French doctors, refusing to admit the intricacies of Cartesianism, and the imagery of Cocceius, into their theological system, followed the free, easy, and unaffected method of the Arminian divines, in illustrating the truths and enforcing the duties of Christianity.

The state of practical religion and morality.

IX. We have had formerly occasion to observe, that Dr. William Ames, a Scottish divine, was one of the first among the reformed who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new

when conducted with impartiality and prudence, has its uses. It is the infirmity of our nature to be fond of extremes.

It is somewhat surprising that Dr. Moesheim should mention this circumstance as an invention of Cocceius, or as a manner of speaking peculiar to him. The representation of the Gospel-dispensation under the idea of a covenant, whether this representation be literal or metaphorical, is to be found, almost everywhere, in the Epistles of St. Paul and the other Apostles, though very rarely (scarcely more than twice) in the Gospels. This phraseology has also been adopted by Christians of almost all denominations. It is, indeed, a manner of speaking that has been grossly abused by

those divines, who, urging the metaphor too closely, exhibit the sublime transactions of the divine wisdom under the narrow and imperfect forms of human tribunals; and thus lead to false notions of the springs of action, as well as of the dispensations and attributes of the Supreme Being. We have remarkable instances in this abuse, in a book lately translated into English, I mean the Economy of the Covenants, by Witsius, in which that learned and pious man, who has deservedly gained an eminent reputation by other valuable productions, has inconsiderately introduced the captious, formal, and trivial terms employed in human courts, into his descriptions of the stupendous scheme of redemption.

degree of accuracy and precision, into this master science of life and manners. The attempt was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtle, and was thus much more adapted to the instruction of the studious than to the practical direction of the Christian. The Arminians, who are known to be much more zealous in enforcing the duties of Christianity than in illustrating its truths, and who generally employ more pains in directing the will than in enlightening the understanding, engaged several authors of note to exhibit the precepts and obligations of morality, in a more useful, practical, and popular manner; but the English and French surpassed all the moral writers of the reformed church in penetration, solidity, and in the ease, freedom, and perspicuity, of their method and compositions. Moses Amyraut, a man of a sound understanding and subtle genius, was the first of the French divines who distinguished himself in this kind of writing. He composed an accurate and elaborate system of morality, in a style, indeed, that is now become obsolete; and those more moderate French writers, such as La Placette and Pictet, who acquired such a high and eminent reputation on account of their moral writings, owe to the excellent work now mentioned a considerable part of their glory. While England groaned under the horrors and tumults of a civil war, it was chiefly the Presbyterians and Independents that employed their talents and their pens in promoting the cause of practical religion. During this unhappy period, indeed, these doctors were remarkable for the austere gravity of their manners, and for a melancholy complexion and turn of mind; and these appeared abundantly in their compositions. Some of them were penned with such rigour and severity, as discovered either a total ignorance of the present imperfect state of humanity, or an entire want of all sort of indulgence for its unavoidable infirmities. Others were composed with a spirit of enthusiasm, that betrayed an evident propensity to the doctrine of the Mystics. But when Hobbes appeared, the scene changed. A new set of illustrious and excellent writers arose to defend the truths of religion, and the obligations of morality, against this author, who aimed at the destruction of both, since he subjected the unchangeable nature of religion to the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and endeavoured to efface the eternal distinction that there is between moral good and evil. Cudworth, Cumberland, Sharrock, and others,^a alarmed at the view of a system so false in its principles, and so pernicious in its effects, rendered eminent service to the cause of religion and morals by their immortal labours, in which, arising to the first principles of things, and opening the primitive and eternal fountains of truth and good, they illustrated clearly the doctrines of the one with the fairest evidence, and established the obligations of the other on the firmest foundations.

The controversies concerning predestination and grace.

X. About the commencement of this century, the academy of Geneva was in such high repute among the Reformed churches, that it was resorted to from all quarters by such as were desirous of a learned education; and more especially by those students of theology whose circumstances in life permitted them to frequent this famous seminary.^c Hence it very naturally happened, that the opinions of Calvin, concerning the decrees of God and divine grace, became daily more universal, and were gradually introduced every

^a See Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. p. 48.

^c The lustre and authority of the academy of Geneva began gradually to decline, from

the time that the United Provinces being formed into a free and independent republic, universities were founded at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht.

where into the schools of learning. There was not, however, any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the Reformed churches, in any part of the world, to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were adopted and taught at Geneva.^p And accordingly there were many, who either rejected entirely the doctrine of that academy on these intricate points, or received it with certain restrictions and modifications. Nay, even those who were in general attached to the theological system of Geneva were not perfectly agreed about the manner of explaining the doctrines relating to the divine decrees. The greatest part were of opinion, that God had only permitted the first man to fall into transgression, without positively predetermining his fall. But others went much farther, and presumptuously forgetting their own ignorance on the one hand, and the wisdom and equity of the divine counsels on the other, maintained, that God, in order to exercise and display his awful justice and his free mercy, had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, and so ordered the course of events, that our first parents could not possibly avoid their unhappy fall. Those that held this latter sentiment were denominated Supralapsarians, to distinguish them from the Sublapsarian doctors, who maintained the doctrine of permission already mentioned.

The Arminian
schism.

XI. It is remarkable enough, that the Supralapsarian and Sublapsarian divines forgot their debates and differences, as matters of little consequence; and united their force against those who thought it their duty to represent the Deity as extending his goodness and mercy to all mankind. This gave rise, soon after the commencement of this century, to a deplorable schism, which all the efforts of human wisdom have since been unable to heal. James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to the deep and intricate points of predestination and grace; and maintained with the Lutherans, that God has excluded none from salvation by an absolute and eternal decree. He was joined in these sentiments by several persons in Holland, that were eminently distinguished by the extent of their learning and the dignity of their stations; but he met with the warmest opposition from Francis Gomar, his colleague, and from the principal professors in the Dutch universities. The magistrates exhorted the contending parties to moderation and charity; and observed, that in a free state, their respective opinions might be treated with toleration, without any detriment to the essential interests of true religion. After long and tedious debates, which were frequently attended with popular tumults and civil broils, this intricate controversy was, by the councils and authority^q of Maurice, prince of Orange, referred to the decision of the church, assembled in a general synod at Dort, in the year 1618. The most eminent divines of the United Provinces, and not only so, but learned deputies from the churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hessia, and the Palatinate, were present at this numerous and solemn assembly. It was by the sentence of these judges that the Arminians lost their cause, and were declared corrupters of the true religion. It must be observed, at the same time, that the doctors of Geneva, who embraced the Sublapsarian system,

^p See, for a full demonstration of this assertion, Grotius's *Apologeticus*, &c.; as also several treatises, written in Dutch by Theod. Volk. Coornkerk, of whom Arnold makes particular mention in his *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* t. ii.

^q It was not by the authority of Prince

Maurice, but by that of the States-general, that the national synod was assembled at Dort. The states were not indeed unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding of this synod, viz. Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel.

triumphed over their adversaries in this synod. For though the patrons of the Supralapsarian cause were far from being contemptible either in point of number or of abilities, yet the moderation and equity of the British divines prevented the synod from giving its sanction to the opinions of that presumptuous sect. Nor indeed would even the Sublapsarians have gained their point, or obtained to the full the accomplishment of their desires, had the doctors of Bremen, who for weighty reasons were attached to the Lutherans, been able to execute their purposes.*

The effects of this
schism.

XII. It is greatly to be doubted, whether this victory gained over the Arminians, was, upon the whole, advantageous or detrimental to the church of Geneva in particular, and to the Reformed church in general. It is at least certain, that after the synod of Dort, the doctrine of absolute decrees lost ground from day to day; and its patrons were put to the hard necessity of holding fraternal communion with those whose doctrine was either professedly Arminian, or at least nearly resembled it. The leaders of the vanquished Arminians were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning; and being highly exasperated by the injurious and oppressive treatment they met with, in consequence of their condemnation, they defended themselves, and attacked their adversaries with such spirit and vigour, and also with such dexterity and eloquence, that multitudes were persuaded of the justice of their cause. It is particularly to be observed, that the authority of the synod of Dort was far from being universally acknowledged among the Dutch; the provinces of Friesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Groningen, could not be persuaded to adopt its decisions; and though, in the year 1651, they were at length gained over so far as to intimate, that they would see with pleasure the Reformed religion maintained upon the footing on which it had been placed and confirmed by the synod of Dort, yet the most eminent adepts in Belgic jurisprudence deny that this intimation has the force or character of a law.†

In England, the face of religion changed considerably, in a very little time after the famous synod now mentioned; and this change, which was entirely in favour of Arminianism, was principally effected by the counsels and influence of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. This revolution gave new courage to the Arminians; and, from that period to the present time, they have had the pleasure of seeing the decisions and doctrines of the synod of Dort, relating to the points in debate between them and the Calvinists, treated, in England, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by some with aversion, and by others with contempt.‡ And, indeed, if we consider the genius and spirit of the church of England during this period, we shall plainly see, that the doctrine of the Gomarists, concerning predestination and grace, could not meet there with a favourable reception, since the leading doctors of that church were zealous in modelling its doctrine and discipline after the sentiments and institutions that were received in the primitive times, and since those early fathers, whom they followed with a profound submission, had never presumed, before Augustin, to set limits to the extent of the divine grace and mercy.

The Reformed churches in France seemed, at first, disposed to give a favourable reception to the decisions of this famous synod; but as these

* We shall give, in the History of the Arminians, a list of the writers that appeared in this controversy: as also a more particular account of the transactions of the synod of Dort.

† See the very learned and illustrious Pre-

sident Bynkershoek's *Questiones Juris publici*, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

‡ See Lintropii *Dissertatio de Contemptu Concilii Dordrecht. in Anglia, in Disert. Theologicis* Hect. Godofr. Massii, tom. i. n. xix.

decisions were highly displeasing to the votaries of Rome, among whom they lived, and kindled anew their rage against the Protestants, the latter thought it their duty to be circumspect in this matter, and, in process of time, their real sentiments, and the doctrines they taught, began to differ extremely from those of the Gomarists. The churches of Brandenburg and Bremen, which made a considerable figure among the reformed in Germany, would never suffer their doctors to be tied down to the opinions and tenets of the Dutch divines. And thus it happened, that the liberty of private judgment (with respect to the doctrines of predestination and grace), which the spirit that prevailed among the divines of Dort seemed so much adapted to suppress or discourage, acquired rather new vigour, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of that assembly; and the Reformed church was immediately divided into Universalists, Semi-universalists, Supralapsarians, and Sublapsarians, who, indeed, notwithstanding their dissensions, which sometimes become violent and tumultuous, live generally in the exercise of mutual toleration, and are reciprocally restrained by many reasons from indulging a spirit of hostility and persecution. What is still more remarkable, and therefore ought not to be passed over in silence, we see the city of Geneva, which was the parent, the nurse, and the guardian of the doctrine of absolute predestination, and particular grace, not only put on sentiments of charity, forbearance, and esteem for the Arminians, but become itself almost so far Arminian, as to deserve a place among the churches of that communion.

The particular tenets of the Reformed churches in France.

XIII. While the Reformed churches in France yet subsisted, its doctors departed, in several points, from the common rule of faith that was received in the other churches of their communion. This, as appears from several circumstances, was, in a great measure, owing to their desire of diminishing the prejudices of the Roman catholics against them, and of getting rid of a part of the odious conclusions which were drawn by their adversaries from the doctrines of Dort, and laid to their charge with that malignity which popish bigotry so naturally inspires. Hence we find in the books that were composed by the doctors of Saumur and Sedan, after the synod of Dort, many things which seem conformable, not only to the sentiments of the Lutherans, concerning grace, predestination, the person of Christ, and the efficacy of the sacraments, but also to certain peculiar opinions of the Romish church. This moderation may be dated from the year 1615, when the opinion of John Piscator, pastor at Herborn, concerning the obedience of Christ, was tacitly adopted, or at least pronounced free from error, by the synod of the Isle of France; "though it had been formerly condemned and rejected in several preceding assemblies of the same nature." Piscator maintained, that it was not by his obedience to the divine law that Christ made a satisfaction to that law in our stead, since this obedience was his duty considered as a man; and therefore, being obliged to obey this law himself, his observance of it could not merit any

* Aymond, *Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. ii. p. 275, 276.

† See Aymond, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 301, 400, 401, 457, tom. ii. p. 13; Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, livr. xii. tom. ii. p. 268, where this prelate, with his usual malignity and bitterness, reproaches the Protestants with their inconsistency. The learned Basnage has endeavoured to defend the Reformed churches against this charge in the second volume of his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, p. 1533. But this defence is not satisfactory. ‡ To Dr. Mosheim, who speaks more than once of the Reformed church and its doctors with partiality and prejudice, this defence may not appear satisfactory; it has, nevertheless, been judged so by many persons of uncommon discernment; and we invite the reader to judge for himself.

thing for others from the Supreme Being. This opinion, as every one may see, tended to confirm the doctrine of the Romish church, concerning the merits of good works, the natural power of man to obey the commands of God, and other points of a like nature.* These less important concessions were followed by others of a much more weighty and momentous kind, of which some were so erroneous that they were highly disliked and rejected, even by those of the French Protestants themselves, who were the most remarkable for their moderation, charity, and love of peace.†

The controversy
excited by the
Hypothetical
Universalists.

XIV. The doctors of Saumur revived a controversy that had for some time been suspended, by their attempts to reconcile the doctrine of predestination as it had been taught at Geneva, and confirmed at Dort, with the sentiments of those who represent the Deity as offering the displays of his goodness and mercy to all mankind. The first person who made this fruitless attempt was John Cameron, whose sentiments were supported and further illustrated by Moses Amyraut, a man of uncommon sagacity and erudition. The latter applied himself, from the year 1634, with unparalleled zeal, to this arduous work, and displayed it in extraordinary exertions of capacity and genius; and so ardently was he bent on bringing it into execution, that he made, for this purpose, no small changes in the doctrine commonly received among the Reformed in France. The form of doctrine he had struck out, in

* & It does not appear to me that any one, who looks with an unprejudiced eye, can see the least connexion between the opinion of Piscator (which I shall not here either refute or defend) and the popish doctrine which maintains the merit of good works; for though we are not justified (i. e. pardoned or treated as if we had not offended) in consequence of Christ's active obedience to the divine law, yet we may be so by his death and sufferings; and it is really to these that the Scriptures in many places ascribe our acceptance. Now a person who ascribes his acceptance and salvation to the death and mediation of Christ, does not surely give any countenance to the doctrine of the strict and rigorous merit of works, although he should not be so sharp-sighted as to perceive the influence which certain doctors attribute to what is called Christ's active obedience. But let it be observed here, in a particular manner, that the opinion of Piscator is much more unfavourable to popery than our author imagined, since it overturns totally, by a direct and most natural consequence, the popish doctrine concerning works of Supererogation, which is as monstrous an absurdity in morals, as Transubstantiation is in the estimation of common sense. For if Christ, in his universal and perfect obedience to the divine laws, did no more than he was morally obliged to do by his character as a man, is it not absurd, if not impious, to seek in the virtue of the Romish saints, all of whom were very imperfect, and some of them very worthless mortals, an exuberance of obedience, a superabundant quantity of virtue, to which they were not obliged, and which they are supposed to deposit in the hands of the popes, who are empowered to distribute it for love of money, among such as have need of it to make up their accounts?

* & This affirmative is groundless, and I wish it were not liable to the charge of malignity. The accusation that Dr. Mosheim brings here against the Reformed churches in France, is of too serious a nature not to require the most evident and circumstantial proofs. He has, however, alleged none, nor has he given any one instance of these weighty and momentous concessions that were made to popery. It was not, indeed, in his power either to give arguments or examples of a satisfactory kind; and it is highly probable, that the unguarded words of Elias Saurin, minister of Utrecht, in relation to the learned Lewis Le Blanc, professor of Sedan, which dropped from the pen of the former, in his Examen de la Théologie de M. Jurieu, are the only testimony Dr. Mosheim had to allege, in support of an accusation, which he has not limited to any one person, but inconsiderately thrown out upon the French churches in general. Those who are desirous of a full illustration of this matter, and yet have not an opportunity of consulting the original sources of information, may satisfy their curiosity by perusing the articles Beaulieu and Amyraut, in Bayle's Dictionary; and the articles Pajon and Papin in M. de Chauffepied's Supplément to that work. Any concessions that seem to have been made by the Protestant doctors in France to their adversaries, consisted in giving an Arminian turn to some of the more rigid tenets of Calvin, relating to original sin, predestination, and grace; and this turn would undoubtedly have been given to those doctrines, had popery been out of the question. But those concessions are not certainly what our historian had in view; nor would he, in effect, have treated such concessions as erroneous.

order to accomplish this important reconciliation, may be briefly summed up in the following propositions :

"That God desires the happiness of all men, and that no mortal is excluded, by any divine decree, from the benefits that are procured by the death, sufferings, and gospel of Christ :

"That, however, none can be made a partaker of the blessings of the gospel, and of eternal salvation, unless he believe in Jesus Christ :

"That, such, indeed, is the immense and universal goodness of the Supreme Being, that he refuses to none the power of believing ; though he does not grant unto all his assistance and succour, that they may wisely improve this power to the attainment of everlasting salvation :

"And, that, in consequence of this, multitudes perish through their own fault, and not from any want of goodness in God."

Those who embraced this doctrine were called Universalists, because they represented God as willing to show mercy to all mankind ; and Hypothetical Universalists, because the condition of faith in Christ was necessary to render them the objects of this mercy. It is the opinion of many, that this doctrine differs but little from that which was established by the synod of Dort ; but such do not seem to have attentively considered either the principles from whence it is derived, or the consequences to which it leads. The more I examine this reconciling system, the more I am persuaded, that it is no more than Arminianism or Pelagianism, artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half-transparent veil of specious, but ambiguous expressions ; and this judgment is confirmed by the language that is used in treating this subject by the modern followers of Amyraut, who express their sentiments with more courage, plainness, and perspicuity, than the spirit of the times permitted their master to do. A cry was raised in several French synods, against the doctrine of Amyraut ; but after it had been carefully examined by them, and defended by him at their public meetings with his usual eloquence and erudition, he was honourably acquitted.* The opposition he met with from Holland was still more formidable, as it came from the learned and celebrated pens of Rivet, Spanheim, Des Marets, and other adversaries of note : he nevertheless answered them with great spirit and vigour, and his cause was powerfully supported afterwards by Daille, Blondel, Mestrezat, and Claude.† This controversy was carried on for a long time, with great animosity, and

* See Jo. Wolsf. Jaegeri *Historia Eccles. et Politica Seculi xvii.* Decenn. iv. p. 522. † This mitigated view of the doctrine of predestination has only one defect ; but it is a capital one. It represents God as desiring a thing, i. e. salvation and happiness, for all, which, in order to its attainment, requires a degree of his assistance and succour which he refuseth to many. This rendered grace and redemption universal only in words, but partial in reality ; and therefore did not at all mend the matter. The Supralapsarians were consistent with themselves, but their doctrine was harsh and terrible, and was founded on the most unworthy notions of the Supreme Being ; and, on the other hand, the system of Amyraut was full of inconsistencies : nay, even the Sublapsarian doctrine has its difficulties, and rather palliates than removes the horrors of Supralapsarianism. What then is to be done ? from what quarter shall the candid and well-disposed Christian receive that solid satisfac-

tion and wise direction which neither of these systems is adapted to administer ? These he will receive by turning his dazzled and feeble eye from the secret decrees of God, which were neither designed to be rules of action nor sources of comfort to mortals here below ; and by fixing his view upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ, the pure laws and sublime promises of his gospel, and the respectable equity of his present government and his future tribunal.

* See Aymond, *Actes, des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées en France*, tom. ii. p. 571, p. 604 : Blondel, *Actes Authentiques des Eglises Reformées touchant la paix et la charité fraternelle*, p. 19—82, edit. of Amsterdam published in 4to, in the year 1655.

† Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. at the articles Amyraut and Blondel ; and vol. ii. at the article Daille.—See Christ. Pfaffius, *De formula consensus*, cap. i. p. 4.

little fruit to those who opposed the opinions of the French innovator. For the sentiments of Amyraut were not only received in all the universities of the Hugonots in France, and adopted by divines of the highest note in that nation, but also spread themselves as far as Geneva, and were afterwards disseminated by the French Protestants, who fled from the rage of persecution, through all the Reformed churches of Europe. And they now are so generally received, that few have the courage to oppose or decry them.

XV. The desire of mitigating certain doctrines of the Reformed church, that drew upon it the heaviest censures from both the Roman catholics and some protestant communions, was the true origin of the opinion propagated, in the year 1640, by De la Place, concerning the imputation of original sin. This divine, who was the intimate friend of Amyraut, and his colleague at Saumur, rejected the opinion generally received in the schools of the Reformed, that the personal and actual transgression of the first man is imputed to his posterity. He maintained, on the contrary, that God imputes to every man his natural corruption, his personal guilt, and his propensity to sin; or, to speak in the theological style, he affirmed, that original sin is indirectly and not directly imputed to mankind. This opinion was condemned as erroneous, in the year 1642, by the synod of Charenton, and many Dutch and Helvetic doctors of great name set themselves to refute it,^b while the love of peace and union prevented its author from defending it in a public and open manner.^c But neither the sentence of the synod, nor the silence of De la Place, could hinder this sentiment from making a deep impression on the minds of many who looked upon it as conformable to the plainest dictates of justice and equity; nor could they prevent its being transmitted, with the French exiles, into other countries.

In the class of those who, to diminish or avoid the resentment of the papists, made concessions inconsistent with truth, and detrimental to the purity of the protestant religion, many place Lewis Cappel, professor at Saumur, who, in a voluminous and elaborate work,^d undertook to prove that the Hebrew points were not used by the sacred writers, and were a modern invention added to the text by the Masorethes.^e It is at least certain, that this hypothesis was highly agreeable to the votaries of Rome, and seemed manifestly adapted to diminish the authority of the holy Scriptures, and to put them upon a level with oral tradition, if not to render their decisions still less respectable and certain.^f On these accounts, the system of this famous professor was opposed, with the most ardent efforts of erudition and zeal, by several doctors both of the Reformed and Lutheran

^b Aymond, *Synodes des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. ii. p. 680.

^c Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Hist. Eccles. Sec. xvii.* p. 817.

^d This work, which is entitled, *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, is still extant with its *Vindiciæ*, in the works of Cappel, printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1689, in folio, and in the *Crit. Sacra V. T.* published in fol. at Paris 1650.

^e It was also Cappel who affirmed, that the characters which compose the Hebrew text, were those that the Chaldeans used after the Babylonish captivity, the Jews having always made use of the Samaritan characters before that period.

^f This absurd notion of the tendency of Cappel's hypothesis is now hissed almost entirely out of the learned world. Be that as it may, the hypothesis in question is by no means peculiar to Cappel: it was adopted by Luther, Zuingle, and Calvin, the three great pillars of the Reformation; as also by Munster, Olivetan, Masius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Drusius, De Dieu, Walton, and Bochart, those eminent men, who have cast such light on sacred philology; so that Cappel had only the merit of supporting it by new arguments, and placing it in a striking and luminous point of view.

churches, who were eminent for their knowledge of the Hebrew language, and their acquaintance with Oriental learning in general.*

XVI. Though these great men gave offence to many

Lewis le Blanc. by the freedom and novelty of their sentiments, yet they had the approbation and esteem of the greatest part of the Reformed churches; and the equity of succeeding generations removed the aspersions that envy had thrown upon them during their lives, and made ample amends for the injuries they had received from several of their contemporaries. This was far from being the case of those doctors, who either openly attempted to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between the Reformed and Romish churches, or explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner as lessened the difference between the two communions, and thereby rendered the passage from the former to the latter less disgusting and painful. The attempts of these peace-makers were looked upon as odious, and in the issue they proved utterly unsuccessful. The most eminent of these reconciling doctors were, Lewis le Blanc, professor at Sedan, and Claude Pajon, minister of Orleans,¹ who were both remarkable for the persuasive power of their eloquence, and discovered an uncommon degree of penetration and sagacity in their writings and negotiations. The former passed in review many of the controversies that divide the two churches, and seemed to prove with the utmost perspicuity, that some of them were merely disputes about words, and that the others were of much less consequence than was generally imagined.¹ This manner of stating the differences between the two churches drew upon Le Blanc the indignation of those who looked upon all attempts to soften and modify controverted doctrines as dangerous and detrimental to the cause of truth. On the other hand, the acuteness and dexterity with which he treated this nice matter, made a considerable impression upon several persons, and procured him disciples, who still entertain his reconciling sentiments, but either conceal them entirely, or discover them with caution, as they are known to be displeasing to the greatest part of the members of both communions.

Claude Pajon.

XVII. The modifications under which Pajon exhibited some of the doctrines of the Reformed church, were also extremely offensive and unpopular. This ecclesiastic applied the principles and tenets of the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a warm and able defender, in explaining the opinions of that church relating to the corruption of human nature, the state of its moral faculties and powers, the grace of God, and the conversion of sinners; and, in the judgment of many, he gave an erroneous interpretation of these opinions. It is, indeed, very difficult to determine what were the real sentiments of this man; nor is it easy to say, whether this difficulty be most owing to the affected obscurity and ambiguity under which he disguised them, or to the inaccuracy

* See B. Jo. Christ. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebraica, part. ii. p. 27.

¹ It is difficult to conceive, what could engage Dr. Mosheim to place Pajon in the class of those who explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner, as to diminish the difference between the doctrine of the Reformed and Romish churches. Pajon was, indeed, a moderate divine, and leaned somewhat towards the Arminian system: and this propensity was not uncommon among the French Protestants. But few doctors of this

time wrote with more learning, zeal, and judgment, against popery than Claude Pajon, as appears from his excellent treatise against Nicole, entitled, *Examen du Livre qui porte pour titre, Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*.

¹ In his *Theses Theologicae*, which have passed through several editions, and are highly worthy of an attentive perusal. They were twice printed at London.

² See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Beaulieu.

with which his adversaries, through negligence or malignity, have represented them. If we may give credit to the latter, his doctrine amounts to the following propositions: "That the corruption of man is less, and his natural power to amend his ways greater, than is generally imagined:—That original sin lies in the understanding alone; and consists principally in the obscurity and imperfection of our ideas of divine things:—That this imperfection of the human understanding has a pernicious influence upon the will, excites in it vicious propensities, and thus leads it to sinful actions:—That this internal disorder is healed, not by the mere efforts of our natural faculties and powers, but by the assistance and energy of the Holy Spirit, operating upon the mind by the divine word as its mean or instrument:—That, however, this word is not endowed with any divine intrinsic energy, either natural or supernatural, but only with a moral influence, i. e. that it corrects and improves the understanding, in the same manner as human truth does, even by imparting clear and distinct notions of spiritual and divine things, and furnishing solid arguments for the truth and divinity of the Christian religion, and its perfect conformity with the dictates of right reason:—And that, of consequence, every man, if no internal or external impediments destroy or suspend the exertion of his natural powers and faculties, may, by the use of his own reason, and a careful and assiduous study of the revealed will of God, be enabled to correct what is amiss in his sentiments, affections, and actions, without any extraordinary assistance from the Holy Ghost."^k

Such is the account of the opinions of Pajon that is given by his adversaries. On the other hand, if we take our ideas of his doctrine from himself, we shall find this account disingenuous and erroneous. Pajon intimates plainly his assent to the doctrines that were confirmed by the synod of Dort, and that are contained in the catechisms and confessions of faith of the Reformed churches; he complains that his doctrine had been ill understood or wilfully perverted; and he observes, that he did not deny entirely an immediate operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of those that are really converted to God, but only such an immediate operation as was not accompanied with the ministry and efficacy of the divine word; or, to express the matter in other terms, he declared that he could not adopt the sentiments of those who represent that word as no more than an instrument void of intrinsic efficacy, a mere external sign of an immediate operation of the Spirit of God.^l This last declaration is, however, both obscure and captious. Be that as it may, Pajon concludes by observing, that we ought not to dispute about the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of men, but content ourselves with acknowledging, that he is the true and original Author of all that is good in the affections of our heart, and the actions that proceed from them. Notwithstanding these declarations the doctrine of this learned and ingenious ecclesiastic was not only looked upon as heterodox by some of the most eminent divines of the Reformed church, but was also condemned in the year 1677, by several synods in France, and in 1686 by a synod assembled in Rotterdam.

XVIII. This controversy, which seemed to be brought
 Papin. to a conclusion by the death of Pajon, was revived, or

^k Fred. Spanheim, *append. ad Elenchum Contraversiarum*, tom. iii. *Opp.* p. 882; Jurieu, *Traité de la Nature et de la Grace*, p. 35; Val. Ern. Lecheri *Exercit. de Claud. Pajonii ejusque sectator. doctrina et fatis*. Lips. 1692.

^l All these declarations made by Pajon may

be seen in a confession of his faith, supposed to have been drawn up by himself, and published by the learned M. de Chauffepied, in his *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 164, in note (c) of the article *Le Cene*.

rather continued, by Isaac Papin, his nephew, a native of Blois, who, by his writings and travels, was highly instrumental in communicating to England, Holland, and Germany, the contagion of these unhappy debates. This ecclesiastic expressed his sentiments without ambiguity or reserve, and propagated every where the doctrine of his uncle, which, according to his crude and harsh manner of representing it, he reduced to the two following propositions :—

“That the natural powers and faculties of man are more than sufficient to lead him to the knowledge of divine truth.

“That, in order to produce that amendment of the heart which is called regeneration, nothing more is requisite than to put the body, if its habit is bad, into a sound state by the power of physic, and then to set truth and falsehood before the understanding, and virtue and vice before the will, in their genuine colours, clearly and distinctly, so as that their nature and properties may be fully apprehended.”

This and the other opinions of Papin were refuted, with a considerable degree of acrimony, in the year 1686, by the famous Jurieu, professor of divinity, and pastor of the French church at Rotterdam, and they were condemned in the year following by the synod of Boisleduc. In the year 1688, they were condemned, with still greater marks of severity, by the French synod at the Hague, where a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against their author. Exasperated at these proceedings, Papin returned into France in the year 1690, where he abjured publicly the protestant religion, and embraced the communion of the church of Rome, in which he died in the year 1709.^m It has been affirmed by some that this ingenious man was treated with great rigour and injustice, and that his theological opinions were unfaithfully represented by his violent and unrelenting adversary, Jurieu, whose warmth and impetuosity in religious controversy are well known. How far this affirmation can be supported by evidence we cannot pretend to determine. A doctrine something like that of Pajon was maintained in several treatises in the year 1684, by Charles le Cene, a French divine of uncommon learning and sagacity, who gave a new and very singular translation of the Bible.ⁿ But he entirely rejected the doctrine of original sin, and of the impotence of human nature; and asserted, that it was in every man's power to amend his ways, and arrive at a state of obedience and virtue, by the mere use of his natural faculties, and an attentive study of the divine word; more especially if these were seconded by the advantage of a good education and the influence of virtuous examples. Hence several divines pretend that his doctrine is, in many respects, different from that of Pajon.^o

The state of the
church of
England under
James I.

XIX. The church of England had for a long time resembled a ship tossed on a boisterous and tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the papists on the one hand, and the discontents and remonstrances of the puritans on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment. When, on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, these latter conceived the warmest hopes of seeing more serene and prosperous days, and of being delivered from the vexations and oppressions they were constantly exposed to on account of their attachment to the discipline and worship of the church of Geneva. These

^m See Jurieu *De la Nature et de la Grace*; Moller *Cimbria Literat.* tom. ii. p. 608.

ⁿ This translation was published at Amsterdam in the year 1741, and was con-

demned by the French synod in Holland.

^o See the learned and laborious M. Chaufepied's *Nouv. Diction. Hist. et Critiq.* tom. ii. p. 160, at the article *Le Cene*.

hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received his education in Scotland, where the puritans prevailed, and had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution.^p And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage these hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character and office of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the Puritans.^q But these expectations soon vanished, and, under the government of James, things put on a new face. As the desire of unlimited power and authority was the reigning passion in the heart of this monarch, so all his measures, whether of a civil or religious nature, were calculated to answer the purposes of his ambition. The presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government seemed less favourable to his views than the episcopal hierarchy, as the former exhibits a kind of republic, which is administered by various rulers of equal authority: while the latter approaches much nearer to the spirit and genius of monarchy. The very name of a republic, synod, or council, was odious to James, who dreaded every thing that had a popular aspect; hence he distinguished the bishops with peculiar marks of his favour, extended their authority, increased their prerogatives, and publicly adopted and inculcated the following maxim, No bishop, no king. At the same time, as the church of England had not yet abandoned the Calvinistical doctrines of predestination and grace, he also adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives, in the synod of Dort, an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius in relation to these deep and intricate points. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of remarkable gravity,^r

^p In a General Assembly held at Edinburgh, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be the king of the sincerest (*i. e.* purest) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule (*i. e.* Easter and Christmas). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-smell mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings (*i. e.* the elevation of the host.) I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 256.

^q The religious disputes between the church and the Puritans induced James to appoint a conference between the two parties at Hampton Court; at which nine bishops and as many dignitaries of the church appeared on the one side, and four puritan ministers on the other. The king himself took a considerable part in the controversy against the latter; and this was an occupation well adapted to his taste; for nothing could be more pleasing to this royal pedant, than to dictate magisterially to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and to receive the applauses of these holy men for his superior zeal and learning. The conference continued three

days. The first day it was held between the king and the bishops and deans, to whom James proposed some objections against certain expressions in the liturgy, and a few alterations in the ritual of the church; in consequence of which some slight alterations were made. The two following days the Puritans were admitted, whose proposals and remonstrances may be seen in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 15. Dr. Warner, in his Ecclesiastical History of England, observes, that this author must be read with caution, on account of his unfairness and partiality; why therefore did he not take his account of the Hampton Court conference from a better source? The different accounts of the opposite parties, and more particularly those published by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, on the one hand, and Patrick Galloway, a Scottish writer, on the other, (both of whom were present at the conference,) must be carefully consulted, in order to our forming a proper idea of these theological transactions. James at least obtained, on this occasion, the applause he had in view. The archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) said, "That undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's Spirit;" and Bancroft falling on his knees, with his eyes raised to ——— James, expressed himself thus: "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time has not been."

^r Lord Clarendon says, in his History of the Rebellion, that "Abbot was a man of

and eminent zeal, both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity towards their ancestors the Puritans still celebrate in the highest strains,* used his utmost endeavours to confirm the king in the principles of Calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But, scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of Dort, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted and the doctrines that had been established by that

very morose manners, and of a very sour aspect, which at that time was called gravity." If, in general, we strike a medium between what Clarendon and Neal say of this prelate, we shall probably arrive at the true knowledge of his character. See the *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 83; and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 243. It is certain, that nothing can be more unjust and partial than Clarendon's account of this eminent prelate, particularly when he says, that he neither understood nor regarded the constitution of the church. But it is too much the custom of this writer, and others of his stamp, to give the denomination of latitudinarian indifference to that charity, prudence, and moderation, by which alone the best interests of the church (though not the personal views of many of its ambitious members) can be established upon firm and permanent foundations. Abbot would have been reckoned a good churchman by some, if he had breathed that spirit of despotism and violence, which, being essentially incompatible with the spirit and character of a people, not only free, but jealous of their liberty, has often endangered the church by exciting that resentment which always renders opposition excessive. Abbot was so far from being indifferent about the constitution of the church, or inclined to the presbyterian discipline (as this noble author affirms in his *History of the Rebellion*), that it was by his zeal and dexterity that the clergy of Scotland, who had refused to admit the bishops as moderators in their church-synods, were brought to a more tractable temper, and things put into such a situation as afterwards produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It is true, that Abbot's zeal in this affair was conducted with great prudence and moderation, and it was by these that his zeal was rendered successful. Nor have these his transactions in Scotland, where he went as chaplain to the Lord High Treasurer Dunbar, been sufficiently attended to by historians; nay, they seem to have been entirely unknown to some, who have pretended to depreciate the conduct and principles of this virtuous and excellent prelate. King James, who had been so zealous a presbyterian in appearance before his accession to the crown of England, had scarcely set his foot out of Scotland, when he conceived the design of restoring the ancient form of episcopal government in that kingdom; and it was Abbot's transactions there that brought him to that high favour with the king, which, in the space of little more than three years, raised him from the deanery of Winchester to

the see of Canterbury. For it was by Abbot's mild and prudent counsels, that Dunbar procured that famous act of the General Assembly of Scotland, by which it was provided, "that the king should have the calling of all general assemblies—that the bishops, or their deputies, should be perpetual moderators of the Diocesan synods—that no excommunication should be pronounced without their approbation—that all presentations of benefices should be made by them—that the deprivation or suspension of ministers should belong to them—that the visitation of the diocese should be performed by the bishop or his deputy only—and that the bishop should be moderator of all conventions for exercisings or prophesyings, i. e. preachings, within their bounds." See Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 1680, 588, 589; Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 381, 382; and above all, Speed's *History of Great Britain*, book x. fol. 1227. The writers who seem the least disposed to speak favourably of this wise and good prelate, bear testimony, nevertheless, to his eminent piety, his exemplary conversation, and his inflexible probity and integrity: and it may be said with truth, that if his moderate measures had been pursued, the liberties of England would have been secured, popery discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses which afterwards proved so fatal to it. If Abbot's candour failed him on any occasion, it was in the representations, which his rigid attachment, not to the discipline, but to the doctrinal tenets of Calvinism, led him to give of the Arminian doctors. There is a remarkable instance of this in a letter of his to Sir Ralph Linwood, dated at Lambeth, the 1st of June, 1613, and occasioned by the arrival of Grotius in England, who had been expressly sent from Holland, by the Remonstrants, or Arminians, to mitigate the king's displeasure and antipathy against that party.

In this letter, the archbishop represents Grotius, with whom he certainly was not worthy to be named, either in point of learning, sagacity, or judgment, as a pedant; and mentions, with a high degree of complacence and approbation, the absurd and impertinent judgment of some civilians and divines, who called this immortal ornament of the republic of letters, a smatterer and a simple fellow. See Linwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459.

* See Anton. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 583; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i.

famous assembly, than the king, together with the greatest part of the episcopal clergy, discovered in the strongest terms their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Gomar and Calvin.¹ This sudden and unexpected change in the theological opinion of the court and the clergy was certainly owing to a variety of reasons, as will appear evident to those who have any acquaintance with the spirit and transactions of these times. The principal one, if we are not deceived, must be sought in the plans of a further reformation of the church of England, that were proposed by several eminent ecclesiastics, whose intention was to bring it to as near a resemblance as was possible of the primitive church. And every one knows, that the peculiar doctrines to which the victory was assigned by the synod of Dort were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian church.² Be that as it may, this change was fatal to the

¹ See Heylin's History of the five Articles; Neal, ib. vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 117. This latter author tells us, that the following verses were made in England, with a design to pour contempt on the synod of Dort, and to turn its proceedings into ridicule:

“Dordrecht Synodus, Nodus; Chorus
Integer, Eger;
Conventus, Ventus: Sessio, Stramen.
Amen!”*

With respect to James, those who are desirous of forming a just idea of the character, proceedings, and theological fickleness and inconstancy of that monarch, must peruse the writers of English history, more especially Larrey and Rapin Thoyras. The greatest part of these writers tell us, that towards the latter end of his days, James, after having deserted from the Calvinists to the Arminians, began to discover a singular propensity towards Popery; and they affirm positively, that he entertained the most ardent desire of bringing about a union between the church of England and the church of Rome. In this, however, these writers seem to have gone too far; for though many of the proceedings of this injudicious prince deserve justly the sharpest censure, yet it is both rash and unjust to accuse him of a design to introduce Popery into England. It is not to be believed, that a prince who aspired after arbitrary power and uncontrolled dominion, could ever have entertained a thought of submitting to the yoke of the Roman pontiff.† The truth of the matter seems to be this, that towards the latter end of his reign, James began to have less

aversion to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, and permitted certain religious observances, that were conformable to the spirit of that church, to be used in England. This conduct was founded upon a manner of reasoning, which he had learned from several bishops of his time, viz.—That the primitive church is the model which all Christian churches ought to imitate in doctrine and worship; that in proportion as any church approaches to this primitive standard of truth and purity, it must become proportionably pure and perfect; and that the Romish church retained more of the spirit and manner of the primitive church than the Puritan or Calvinist churches. ¶ Of these three propositions, the two first are undoubtedly true, and the last is evidently and demonstrably false. Besides, this makes nothing to the argument; for, as James had a manifest aversion to the Puritans, it could, in his eyes, be no very great recommendation of the Romish church, that it surpassed that of the Puritans in doctrine and discipline.

¶ Dr. Mosheim has annexed the following note to this passage: “Perhaps the king entered into these ecclesiastical proceedings with the more readiness, when he reflected on the civil commotions and tumults that an attachment to the presbyterian religion had occasioned in Scotland. There are also some circumstances that intimate, plainly enough, that James, before his accession to the crown of England, was very far from having an aversion to Popery.” Thus far the note of our author; and whoever looks into the Historical View of the Negotiations between the

* ¶ It would be a difficult, nay, an insurmountable task, to justify all the proceedings of the synod of Dort; and it were much to be wished, that they had been more conformable to the spirit of Christian charity, than the representations of history, impartially weighed, shew them to have been. We are not, however, to conclude from the insipid monkish lines here quoted by Dr. Mosheim, that the transactions and decisions of that synod were universally condemned or despised in Eng-

land. It had its partisans in the established church, as well as among the Puritans; and its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the book of Articles established by law in the Church of England.

† ¶ This remark is confuted by fact, observation, and the perpetual contradictions that are observable in the conduct of men; besides, see note *.

interests of the Puritans; for the king being indisposed to the opinions and institutions of Calvinism, the Puritans were left without defence, and exposed anew to the animosity and hatred of their adversaries, which had been for some time suspended, but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression. In the year 1625, died James I., the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached: the most inflexible and ardent patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds.

The state of the
church of
England under
Charles I.

XX. His son and successor, Charles I., who had imbibed his political and religious principles, had nothing so much at heart as to bring to perfection what his father had left unfinished. All the exertions of his zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed towards the three following objects:—"The extending the royal prerogative, and raising the power of the crown above the authority of the law; the reduction of all the churches in Great Britain and Ireland under the jurisdiction of bishops, whose government he looked upon as of divine institution, and also as the most adapted to guard the privileges and majesty of the throne; and, lastly, the suppression of the opinions and institutions that were peculiar to Calvinism, and the modelling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and polity of the church of England, after the spirit and constitution of the primitive church." The person whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud, bishop of London, who was afterwards raised, in the year 1633, to the see of Canterbury, and exhibited in these high stations a mixed character, composed of great qualities and great defects. The voice of justice must celebrate his erudition, his fortitude, his ingenuity, his zeal for the sciences, and his munificence and liberality to men of letters; and, at the same time, even charity must acknowledge with regret his inexcusable imprudence, his excessive superstition, his rigid attachment to the sentiments, rites, and institutions of the ancient church, which made him behold the Puritans and Calvinists with horror,* and that violent spirit of animosity and persecution that discovered itself in the whole course of his ecclesiastical administration.† This haughty

courts of England, France and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617, extracted from the MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq., and published in the year 1749, by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded, that towards the year 1595, this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed a design to embrace the faith of Rome. See in the curious collection now mentioned, the postscript of a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Lord High Treasurer, dated the 20th of December, 1595. We learn also, from the Memoirs of Sir Ralph Linwood, that in the year 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scottish baron, into Spain, to assure his Catholic Majesty, that he was then ready and resolved to embrace Popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the

Pope against the queen of England. See State Tracts, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D.D., dean of Durham, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris's Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I., p. 29, note (N.) This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin, who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self-sufficient monarch.

* See Ant. Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniens.* tom. ii. p. 55; Heylin's *Cyrianus*, or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud, published at London, in 1668; Clarendon's History, vol. i.

† "Sincere he undoubtedly was (says Mr.

prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand. When he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation; he loaded the Puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction; he rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination publicly, in the year 1625; and, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of Abbot, substituted the Armenian system in its place;*

Hume), and however misguided, actuated by religious principles in all his pursuits: and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprises with such warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of human society."

* See Mich. le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* tom. v. p. 262.

☞ This expression may lead the uninformed reader into a mistake, and make him imagine that Laud had caused the Calvinistical doctrine of the xxxix Articles to be abrogated, and the tenets of Arminius to be substituted in their place. It may therefore be proper to set this matter in a clearer light. In the year 1625, Laud wrote a small treatise to prove the orthodoxy of the Arminian doctrines; and, by his credit with the Duke of Buckingham, had Arminian and Anti-puritanical chaplains placed about the king. This step increased the debates between the Calvinistical and Arminian doctors, and produced the warmest animosities and dissensions. To calm these, the king issued out a proclamation, dated the 14th of January, 1626, the literal tenor of which was, in truth, more favourable to the Calvinists than to the Arminians, though, by the manner in which it was interpreted and executed by Laud, it was turned to the advantage of the latter. In this proclamation it was said expressly, "that his majesty would admit of no innovations in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the church;" (N.B. The doctrine of the church previously to this, was Calvinistical;) "and therefore charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain, in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions contrary to the said doctrine and discipline established by law," &c. It was certainly a very singular instance of Laud's indecent partiality, that this proclamation was employed to suppress the books that were expressly written in the defence of the xxxix Articles, while the writings of the Arminians, who certainly opposed these articles, were publicly licensed. I do not here enter into the merits of the cause; I only speak of the tenor of the proclamation, and the manner of its execution.

This manner of proceeding showed how difficult and arduous a thing it is to change systems of doctrine established by law, since

neither Charles, who was by no means different of his authority, nor Laud, who was far from being timorous in the use and abuse of it, attempted to reform articles of faith, that stood in direct opposition to the Arminian doctrines, which they were now promoting by the warmest encouragements, and which were daily gaining ground under their protection. Instead of reforming the xxxix Articles, which step would have met with great opposition from the House of Commons, and from a considerable part of the clergy and laity who were still warmly attached to Calvinism, Laud advised the king to have these articles reprinted, with an ambiguous declaration prefixed to them, which might tend to silence or discourage the reigning controversies between the Calvinists and Arminians, and thus secure to the latter an unmolested state, in which they would daily find their power growing under the countenance and protection of the court. This declaration, which, in most editions of the Common Prayer is still to be found at the head of the Articles, is a most curious piece of political theology; and had it not borne hard upon the right of private judgment, and been evidently designed to favour one party, though it carried the aspect of a perfect neutrality, it might have been looked upon as a wise and provident measure to secure the tranquillity of the church. For, in the tenor of this declaration, precision was sacrificed to prudence and ambiguity, nay, even contradictions were preferred before consistent, clear, and positive decisions, that might have fomented dissensions and discord. The declaration seemed to favour the Calvinists, since it prohibited the affixing any new sense to any article; it also favoured in effect the Arminians, as it ordered all curious search about the contested points to be laid aside, and these disputes to be shut up in God's promises, as they are generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles of the church of England according to them. But what was singularly preposterous in this declaration, was, its being designed to favour the Arminians, and yet prohibiting expressly any person, either in his sermons or writings, to put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, and ordering them, on the contrary, to take each article in its literal and grammatical sense, and to submit to it in the full and plain meaning thereof; for certainly, if the 17th article has

he revived many religious rites and ceremonies, which, though stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were nevertheless marked with the turpitude of superstition, and had been justly abrogated on that account; he forced bishops upon the Scottish nation, which was zealously attached to the discipline and ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, and had shown, on all occasions, the greatest reluctance against an episcopal government; and, lastly, he gave many, and very plain intimations, that he looked upon the Romish church, with all its errors, as more pure, more holy, and preferable, upon the whole, to those protestant churches that were not subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. By these his unpopular sentiments and violent measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in the year 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head on a scaffold; which sentence was accordingly executed.

After the death of Laud, the dissensions that had reigned for a long time between the king and parliament, grew still more violent, and arose at length to so great a height, that they could not be extinguished but by the blood of that excellent prince. The great council of the nation, heated by the violent suggestions of the Puritans and Independents, abolished episcopal government; condemned and abrogated every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment that was contrary to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Geneva; turned the vehemence of their opposition against the king himself, and having brought him into their power by the fate of arms, accused him of treason against the majesty of the nation; and in the year 1648, while the eyes of Europe were fixed with astonishment on this strange spectacle, caused his head to be struck off on a public scaffold. Such are the calamities that flow from religious zeal without knowledge, from that enthusiasm and bigotry that inspire a blind and immoderate attachment to the external and unessential parts of religion, and to certain doctrines ill understood! These broils and tumults served also, unhappily, to confirm the truth of an observation often made, that all religious sects, while they are kept under and oppressed, are remarkable for inculcating the duties of moderation, forbearance, and charity towards those

a plain, literal, and grammatical meaning, it is a meaning unfavourable to Arminianism; and bishop Burnet was obliged afterwards to acknowledge, that without enlarging the sense of the articles, the Arminians could not subscribe them consistently with their opinions, nor without violating the demands of common ingenuousness. See Burnet's remarks on the examination of his Exposition, &c. p. 3.

This renders it probable, that the declaration now mentioned (in which we see no royal signature, no attestation of any officer of the crown, no date, in short no mark to show where, when, or by what authority it was issued out) was not composed in the reign of king Charles. Bishop Burnet, indeed, was of opinion, that it was composed in that reign to support the Arminians, who, when they were charged with departing from the true sense of the articles, answered, "That they took the articles in their literal and grammatical sense, and therefore did not prevaricate." But this reasoning does not appear conclusive to the

acute and learned author of the Confessional. He thinks it more probable that the declaration was composed, and first published, in the latter part of king James's reign; for though, says he, there be no evidence that James ever turned Arminian in principle, yet that was the party that stuck to him in his measures, and which it became necessary for him on that account to humour, and to render respectable in the eyes of the people by every expedient that might not bring any reflection on his own consistency. "And whoever," continues this author, "considers the quibbling and equivocal terms in which this instrument is drawn, will, I am persuaded, observe the distress of a man divided between his principles and his interests, that is, of a man exactly in the situation of king James I. in the three last years of his reign." It is likely, then, that this declaration was only republished at the head of the articles, which were reprinted by the order of Charles I.

The origin of this sect has been already mentioned.

who dissent from them; but, as soon as the scenes of persecution are removed, and they, in their turn, arrive at power and pre-eminence, they forget their own precepts and maxims, and leave both the recommendation and practice of charity to those that groan under their yoke. Such, in reality, was the conduct and behaviour of the Puritans during their transitory exaltation; they showed as little clemency and equity to the bishops and other patrons of episcopacy, as they had received from them when the reins of government were in their hands.*

XXI. The Independents, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord in England, are generally represented by the British writers in a much worse light than the Presbyterians or Calvinists. They are commonly accused of various enormities, and are even charged with the crime of parricide, as having borne a principal part in the death of the king. But whoever will be at the pains of examining, with impartiality and attention, the writings of that sect, and their confession of faith, must soon perceive, that many crimes have been imputed to them without foundation, and will probably be induced to think, that the bold attempts of the civil Independents, *i. e.* of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wanted to extend the liberty of the people beyond all bounds of wisdom and prudence, have been unjustly laid to the charge of those Independents, whose principles were merely of a religious kind.* The religious Indepen-

* Besides Clarendon and the other writers of English history already mentioned, see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. and iii.

* The sect of the Independents is of recent date, and still subsists in England; there is, nevertheless, not one, either of the ancient or modern sects of Christians, that is less known, or has been more loaded with groundless aspersions and reproaches. The most eminent English writers, not only among the patrons of episcopacy, but even among those very presbyterians with whom they are now united, have thrown out against them the bitterest accusations and the severest invectives that the warmest indignation could invent. They have not only been represented as delirious, mad, fanatical, illiterate, factious, and ignorant both of natural and revealed religion, but also as abandoned to all kinds of wickedness and sedition, and as the only authors of the odious parricide committed on the person of Charles I.* And as the authors who have given these representations, are considered by foreigners as the best and most authentic relaters of the transactions that have passed in their own country, and are therefore followed as the surest guides, the Independents appear almost every where under the most unfavourable aspect. It must indeed be candidly acknowledged, that as every class and order of men consists of persons of very different charac-

ters and qualities, so also the sect of Independents has been dishonoured by several turbulent, factious, profligate, and flagitious members. But if it is a constant maxim with the wise and prudent, not to judge of the spirit and principles of a sect from the actions or expressions of a handful of its members, but from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of those who compose it, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public and avowed forms of doctrine, and confessions of faith—then, I make no doubt, but that, by this rule of estimating matters, the Independents will appear to have been unjustly loaded with so many accusations and reproaches.

We shall take no notice of the invidious and severe animadversions that have been made upon this religious community by Clarendon, Echard, Parker, and so many other writers. To set this whole matter in the clearest and most impartial light, we shall confine ourselves to the account of the Independents given by a writer, justly celebrated by the English themselves, and who, though a foreigner, is generally supposed to have had an accurate knowledge of the British nation, its history, its parties, its sects, and revolutions. This writer is Rapin Thoyras, who, in the twenty-first book of his History of England, vol. ii. p. 514, edit. folio, represents the Independents under such horrid colours, that, were his

* Durell, whom nevertheless Lewis de Moulin, the most zealous defender of the Independents, commends on account of his ingenuity and candour, in his *Historia Rituum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. i. p. 4, expresses himself thus: "Fateor, et atrocis

illius Tragœdiæ tot actus fuerint, quot ludicrarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium fuisse. Adeo, ut non acute magis quam vere, dixerit L'Estrangius, Noster Regem primo a Presbyterianis interemtum, Carolum deinde ad Independentibus interfectum.

dents derive their denomination from the following principle, which they held in common with the Brownists, that every Christian congregation

portrait just, they would not deserve to enjoy the light of the sun, or to breathe the free air of Britain, much less to be treated with indulgence and esteem by those who have the cause of virtue at heart. Let us now examine the account which this illustrious historian gives of this sect. He declares, in the first place, that notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to trace out the true origin of it, his inquiries had been entirely fruitless; his words are, as translated by Mr. Tindal, "After all my pains I have not been able to discover, precisely, the first rise of the Independent sect or faction." It is very surprising to hear a man of learning, who had employed seventeen years in composing the History of England, and had admittance to so many rich and famous libraries, express his ignorance of a matter, about which it was so easy to acquire ample information. Had he only looked into the work of the learned Hornbeck, entitled, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 775, he would have found, in a moment, what he had been so long and so laboriously seeking in vain. Rapin proceeds to the doctrines and opinions of the Independents, and begins here, by a general declaration of their tendency to throw the nation into disorder and combustion; his words are, "Thus much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the kingdom in a flame, and this they did effectually." What truth there is in this assertion, will be seen by what follows. Their sentiments concerning government were, if we are to believe this writer, of the most pernicious kind; since, according to him, they wanted to overturn the monarchy, and to establish a democracy in its place; his words are, "with regard to the state, they abhorred monarchy, and approved only a republican government." I will not pretend to deny, that there were among the Independents several persons that were no friends to a kingly government: persons of this kind were to be found among the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and all the other religious sects and communities that flourished in England during this tumultuous period; but I want to see it proved, in an evident and satisfactory manner, that these republican principles were embraced by all the Independents, and formed one of the distinguishing characteristics of that sect. There is, at least, no such thing to be found in their public writings. They declared, on the contrary, in a public memorial drawn up by them in the year 1647, that, as magistracy in general is the ordinance of God, "they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge, that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and also a good accommodation unto men." I omit the mention of several other circumstances, which unite to

prove, that the Independents were far from looking with abhorrence on a monarchical government.

Their sentiments of religion, according to Rapin's account, were highly absurd, since he represents their principles as entirely opposite to those of all other religious communities: "As to religion," says he, "their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world." With respect to this accusation, it may be proper to observe, that there are extant two Confessions of Faith, one of the English Independents in Holland, and another drawn up by the principal members of that community in England. The former was composed by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at Leyden, in 4to, in the year 1619, under the following title: "*Apologia pro exulibus Anglia, qui Brownistæ vulgò appellantur*;" the latter appeared at London, for the first time, in the year 1658, and was thus entitled: "A Declaration of the Faith and Order opened and practised in the Congregational Churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto, by their Elders and Messengers, in their Meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658." Hornbeck gave, in the year 1659, a Latin translation of this declaration, and subjoined it to his *Epistolæ ad Duræum de Independentismo*. It appears evidently from these two public and authentic pieces, not to mention other writings of the Independents, that they differed from the Presbyterians or Calvinists in no single point of any consequence, except that of ecclesiastical government. To put this matter beyond all doubt, we have only to attend to the following passage in Robinson's *Apology for the English Exiles*, p. 7, 11, where that founder of the sect of the Independents expresses his own private sentiments, and those of his community, in the plainest manner: "*Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis Reformatis Belgicis in re religionis; ut omnibus et singulis earundem Ecclesiarum fidei articulis prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati simus subscribere.—Ecclesias Reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum illadem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et, quantum in nobis est, colimus.*" It appears evident from this declaration, that, instead of differing totally from all other Christian societies, it may rather be said of the Independents, that they were perfectly agreed with by far the greatest part of the reformed churches. To show, as he imagines by a striking example, the absurdity of their religion and worship, our eminent historian tells us, that they not only reject all kind of ecclesiastical government, but, moreover, allow all their members promiscuously, and without exception, to perform in public the pastoral functions, i. e. to preach, pray, and expound

ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries,

the Scriptures; his words are, "They were not only averse to episcopacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy" (this charge is true, but it may equally be brought against the Presbyterians, Brownists, Anabaptists, and all the various sects of nonconformists), "but they would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, and interpret the Scriptures according to the talents God has endowed him with.

—So with them every one preached, prayed, admonished, interpreted the Holy Scriptures without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors." This whole charge is evidently false and groundless. The Independents have, and always have had, fixed and regular ministers approved of by their people: nor do they allow to teach in public every person who thinks himself qualified for that important office. The celebrated historian has here confounded the Independents with the Brownists, who, as is well known, permitted all to pray and preach in public without distinction. We shall not enlarge upon the other mistakes he has fallen into on this subject; but only observe, that if so eminent a writer, and one so well acquainted with the English nation, has pronounced such an unjust sentence against this sect, we may the more easily excuse an inferior set of authors, who have loaded them with groundless accusations.

It will, however, be alleged, that whatever may have been the religious sentiments and discipline of the Independents, innumerable testimonies concur in proving, that they were chargeable with the death of Charles I., and many will consider this single circumstance as a sufficient demonstration of the impiety and depravity of the whole sect. I am well aware, indeed, that many of the most eminent and respectable English writers have given the

Independents the denomination of Regicides; and if, by the term Independents, they mean those licentious republicans, whose dislike of a monarchical form of government carried them to the most pernicious and extravagant lengths, I grant that this denomination is well applied. But if, by the term Independents, we are to understand a religious sect, the ancestors of those who still bear the same title in England, it appears very questionable to me, whether the unhappy fate of the worthy prince above mentioned ought to be imputed entirely to that set of men. They who affirm that the Independents were the only authors of the death of king Charles, must mean one of these two things, either that the Regicides were animated and set on by the seditious doctrines of that sect, and the violent suggestions of its members, or that all who were concerned in this atrocious deed were themselves Independents, zealously attached to the religious community now under consideration. Now it may be proved with the clearest evidence that neither of these was the case. There is nothing in the doctrines of this sect, so far as they are known to me, that seems in the least adapted to excite men to such a horrid deed; nor does it appear from the history of those times, that the Independents were a whit more exasperated against Charles, than were the Presbyterians. And as to the latter supposition, it is far from being true, that all those who were concerned in bringing this unfortunate prince to the scaffold were Independents; since we learn from the best English writers, and from the public declarations of Charles II., that this violent faction was composed of persons of different sects. That there were Independents among them may be easily conceived. After all, this matter will be best unravelled by the English writers, who know best in what sense the term Independents is used, when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block.*

* *67* Dr. Mosheim's defence of the Independents is certainly specious; but he has not sufficiently distinguished the times; and he has, perhaps, in defending them, strained too far that equitable principle, that we must not impute to a sect any principles that are not contained in or deducible from their religious system. This maxim does not entirely answer here the purpose for which it is applied. The religious system of a sect may be in itself pacific and innocent, while, at the same time, certain incidental circumstances, or certain associations of ideas, may render that sect more turbulent and restless than others, or at least involve it in political factions and broils. Such perhaps was the case of the Independents at certain periods of time, and more especially at the period now under consideration. When we consider their religious

form of government, we shall see evidently, that a principle of analogy (which influences the sentiments and imaginations of men much more than is generally supposed) must naturally have led the greatest part of them to republican notions of civil government; and it is further to be observed, that from a republican government, they must have expected much more protection and favour than from a kingly one. When these two things are considered, together with their situation under the reign of Charles I., when the government was unbinged, when all things were in confusion, when the minds of men were suspended upon the issue of the national troubles, and when the eager spirit of party, nourished by hope, made each faction expect that the chaos would end in some settled system, favourable to its respective views, sentiments, and passions;

or any ecclesiastical assembly composed of the deputies from different churches.^b It is in this their notion of ecclesiastical government, that the

On inquiring with particular attention into the causes of that odium that has been cast upon the Independents, and of the heavy accusations and severe invectives with which they have been loaded, I was more peculiarly struck with the three following considerations, which will perhaps furnish a satisfactory account of this matter. In the first place, the denomination of Independents is ambiguous, and is not peculiar to any one distinct order of men. For, not to enumerate the other notions that have been annexed to this term, it is sufficient to observe, that it is used sometimes by the English writers to denote those who aim at the establishment of a purely democratical or popular government, in which the body of the people is clothed with the supreme dominion. Such a faction there was in England, composed, in a great measure, of persons of an enthusiastical character and complexion; and to it, no doubt, we are to ascribe those scenes of sedition and misery, whose effects are still lamented with justice. The violence and folly that dishonoured the proceedings of this tumultuous faction have been, if I am not mistaken, too really imputed to the religious Independents now under consideration, who, with all their defects, were a much better set of men than the persons now mentioned. It may be observed further, secondly, that almost all the religious sects which divided the English nation in the reign of Charles I., and more especially under the administration of Cromwell, assumed the denomination of Independents, in order to screen themselves from the reproaches of the public, and to share a part of that popular esteem that the true and genuine Independents had acquired, on account of the regularity of their lives, and the sanctity of their manners. This is confirmed, among other testimonies, by the following passage of a letter from Toland to Le Clerc: "Au commencement tous les sectaires se disoient Indépendans, parce que ces derniers étoient fort honorés du peuple à cause de leur piété." See Le Clerc's *Biblioth. Univers. et Histor.* tom. xxiii. p. ii. p. 506. As this title was of a very extensive signification, and of great latitude, it might thus easily happen, that all the enormities of the various sects who sheltered themselves under it, and several of whom were of but short duration, might unluckily be laid to the charge of the true Independents. But it must be particularly remarked, in the third place, that the usurper Cromwell preferred the Independents before all other religious communities.

this will engage us to think, that the Independents at that time may have been much more tumultuous and republican than the sect that bears that denomination in our times. The reader that would form just ideas of the matter of fact, must examine the relations given

He looked with an equal eye of suspicion and fear upon the Presbyterian synods and the Episcopal visitations; every thing that looked like an extensive authority, whether it was of a civil or religious nature, excited uneasy apprehensions in the breast of the tyrant; but in the limited and simple form of ecclesiastical discipline that was adopted by the Independents, he saw nothing that was adapted to alarm his fears. This circumstance was sufficient to render the Independents odious in the eyes of many, who would be naturally disposed to extend their abhorrence of Cromwell to those who were the objects of his favour and protection.

^b The Independents were undoubtedly so called from their maintaining that all Christian congregations were so many Independent religious societies, that had a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any further or foreign jurisdiction. Robinson, the founder of the sect, makes express use of this term in explaining his doctrine relating to ecclesiastical government: "*Cetum quemlibet particularem* (says he, in his *Apologia*, cap. v. p. 22) *casu totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et independentem* (quoad alias ecclesias) *sub ipso Christo.*" It may possibly have been from this very passage that the title of Independents was originally derived. The disciples of Robinson did not reject it; nor indeed is there any thing shocking in the title, when it is understood in a manner conformable to the sentiments of those to whom it is applied. It was certainly utterly unknown in England before the year 1640; at least it is not once mentioned in the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions that were drawn up during that year, in the synods, or visitations held by the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and other prelates, in which canons all the various sects that then subsisted in England are particularly mentioned. See Wilkins' *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. iv. cap. v. p. 548, where are the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy in their several synods."—*An. MDCXL.* It is true that, not long after this period, and more particularly from the year 1642, we find this denomination very frequently in the English annals. The English Independents were so far from being displeased with it, that they assumed it publicly in a piece they published in their own defence at London, in the year 1644, under the follow-

by the writers of both parties. See particularly Clarendon's *History of his own Life*; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 547, &c.; Hume's *History of England*, vol. v. Edit. in Quarto; Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 46, 47.

difference between them and the presbyterians principally consists; for their religious doctrines, except in some points of very little moment, are almost entirely the same with those that are adopted by the church of Geneva. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was minister of a congregation of Brownists that had settled at Leyden. This well-meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and modelling anew the society in such a manner as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those true Christians who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The Independents, accordingly, were much more commendable than the Brownists in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules entirely different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy of the Christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, and as originally introduced by the authority of the apostles, nay, by the apostles themselves, yet they had candour and charity enough to acknowledge, that true religion and solid piety might flourish in those communities which were under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyteries. They were also much more attentive than the Brownists in keeping on foot a regular ministry in their communities; for while the latter allowed promiscuously all ranks and orders of men to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions, the Independents had, and still have, a certain number of ministers, chosen respectively by the congregations where they are fixed; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his capacity and talents, and been approved of by the heads of the congregation. This community, which was originally formed in Holland, in the year 1610, made at first but a very small progress in England;^c it worked its way slowly, and in a clandestine manner; and its members concealed their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against Nonconformists. But during the reign of Charles I., when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops and the cause of episcopacy began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the Independents grew more courageous, and came forth, with an air of resolution and confidence, to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers, and by the reputation they acquired, that they vied in point of pre-eminence and credit, not only with the bishops, but also with the Presbyterians, though at this time in the very zenith of their power. This rapid progress of the Independents was, no doubt, owing to a variety of causes; among which justice obliges us to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and

ing title: Apologetical Narration of the Independents. But when, in process of time, a great variety of sects, as has been already observed, sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious subjects, that aimed at nothing less than the death of their sovereign, and the destruction of the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the true and

genuine Independents renounced this title, and substituted another less odious in its place, calling themselves Congregational Brethren, and their religious assemblies Congregational Churches.

^c In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first Independent or Congregational Church in England.

sanctity of their manners.^d During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar protection and patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit arose to the greatest height, and their influence and reputation were universal; but after the restoration of Charles II. their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into their primitive obscurity. The sect, indeed, still subsisted; but in such a state of dejection and weakness, as engaged them in the year 1691, under the reign of King William, to enter into an association with the Presbyterians residing in and about London, under certain heads of agreement, that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions.*

The state of the
church of
England under
Cromwell.

XXII. While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government in Great Britain, all sects, even those that dishonoured true religion in the most shocking manner by their fanati-

^d Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 107, 293; vol. iii. p. 141, 145, 276, 303, 437, 549. See also a German work, entitled, *Englische Reformations Historie*, by Anthony William Bohm, p. 794.

* From this time they were called United Brethren. The heads of agreement that formed and cemented this union are to be found in the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, and they consist in nine articles. The first relates to "Churches and Church Members," in which the United Ministers, Presbyterians and Independents, declare, among other things: "That each particular church had a right to choose its own officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the Gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself. That in the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the Gospel." In this both Presbyterians and Independents depart from the primitive principles of their respective institutions. Article II. relates to "the ministry," which they grant to have been instituted by Jesus Christ, "for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church;" in this article it is further observed, "that ministers ought to be endued with competent learning, sound judgment, and solid piety; that none are to be ordained to the work of the ministry, but such as are chosen and called thereunto by a particular church;" that, in such a weighty matter, "it is ordinarily requisite that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations; and that, after such advice, the person thus consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them." Article III. relates to "Censures," and prescribes, first, the admonishing, and if this prove ineffectual, the excommunication of offending and scandalous members to be performed by the pastors, with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. concerning the "Communion of churches,"

lays it down as a principle, that there is no subordination between particular churches; that they are all equal, and consequently independent; that the pastors, however, of those churches "ought to have frequent meetings together, that, by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord." In Article V. which relates to "Deacons and Ruling Elders," the United Brethren acknowledge that "the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to their office to receive, lay out, and distribute the stock of the church to its proper uses;" and as there are different sentiments about the office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, they agree that this difference makes no breach among them. In Article VI. concerning "Occasional Meetings of Ministers," &c. the brethren agree, that it is needful in weighty and difficult cases, that the ministers of several churches meet together, "in order to be consulted and advised with about such matters; and that particular churches "ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not to dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God."—Article VII. which relates to "the Demeanour of the Brethren towards the civil magistrate," prescribes obedience to and prayers for God's protection and blessing upon their rulers. In Article VIII., which relates to a "Confession of Faith," the brethren esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, "and own either the doctrinal part of the articles of the Church of England," or the Westminster Confession and Catechisms drawn up by the Presbyterians, or the Confession of the Congregational Brethren (i. e. the Independents), to be agreeable to the said rule. Article IX., which concerns the "duty and deportment of the Brethren towards those that are not in communion with them," inculcates charity and moderation. It appears from these articles, that the Independents were led by a kind of necessity to adopt, in many things, the sentiments of the Presbyterians, and to depart thus far from the original principles of their sect.

cism and ignorance, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The Episcopalians alone were excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt the heavy hand of oppression in a particular manner. But though the toleration extended to all other sects and religious communities, yet the Presbyterians and Independents were treated with peculiar marks of distinction and favour. Cromwell, though attached to no one particular sect, gave the latter extraordinary proofs of his good-will, and augmented their credit and authority, as this seemed the easiest and least exasperating method of setting bounds to the ambition of the Presbyterians, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical power.¹ It was during this period of religious anarchy, that the Fifth-monarchy-men arose, a set of wrong-headed and turbulent enthusiasts, who expected Christ's sudden appearance upon earth to establish a new kingdom; and, acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government, and were for turning all things into the most deplorable confusion.² It was at this time also that the Quakers, of whom we propose to give a more particular account,³ and the hot-headed Anabaptists,⁴ propagated without restraint their visionary doctrines. It must likewise be observed, that the Deists, headed by Sidney, Neville, Martin, and Harrington, appeared with impunity, and promoted a kind of religion, which consisted in a few plain precepts, drawn from the dictates of natural reason.⁵

The English Anti-nomians.

XXIII. Among the various religious factions that sprang up in England during this period of confusion and anarchy, we may reckon a certain sect of Presbyterians, who were called by their adversaries Antinomians, or enemies of the law, and still subsist even in our times. The Antinomians are a more rigid kind of Calvinists, who pervert Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to the worst purposes, by drawing from it conclusions highly detrimental to the true interests of religion and virtue. Such is the judgment that the other Presbyterian communities form of this perverse and extravagant sect.⁶ Several of the Antinomians (for they are not precisely of the same mind) look upon it as unnecessary for Christian ministers to exhort their flock to a virtuous practice, and a

¹ A little after Cromwell's elevation, it was resolved by the parliament, at the conclusion of the debate concerning public worship and church-government, that the Presbyterian government should be the established government. The Independents were not, as yet, agreed upon any standard of faith and discipline; and it was only a little before Cromwell's death that they held a synod, by his permission, in order to publish to the world a uniform account of their doctrine and principles.

² See Burnet's History of his Own Times, tom. i. p. 67.

³ See the History of the Quakers, below.

⁴ We are not to imagine, by the term hot-headed (*furiosi*), that the Anabaptists resembled the furious fanatics of that name that formerly excited such dreadful tumults in Germany, and more especially at Munster. This was by no means the case; the English Anabaptists differed from their Protestant brethren about the subject and mode of baptism alone; confining the former to grown Christians, and the latter to immersion or dipping. They were divided into Generals

and Particulars, from their different sentiments upon the Arminian controversy. The latter, who were so called from their belief of the doctrines of Particular Election, Redemption, &c., were strict Calvinists, who separated from the Independent congregation at Leyden, in the year 1638. Their confession was composed with a remarkable spirit of modesty and charity. Their preachers were generally illiterate, and were eager in making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their religious principles, or their moral characters. The writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them. There were, nevertheless, among them some learned and pious persons, who disapproved highly of all violent and uncharitable proceedings.

⁵ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 87.

⁶ See Toland's Letters to Le Clerc, in the periodical work of the latter, entitled, *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxiii. p. 505; as also Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 800, 812.

pious obedience to the divine law, "since they whom God has elected to salvation, by an eternal and immutable decree, will, by the irresistible impulse of divine grace, be led to the practice of piety and virtue; while those who are doomed by a divine decree to eternal punishments, will never be engaged, by any exhortations or admonitions, how affecting soever they may be, to a virtuous course; nor have they it in their power to obey the divine law, when the succours of divine grace are withheld from them." From these principles they concluded that the ministers of the Gospel discharged sufficiently their pastoral functions, when they inculcated the necessity of faith in Christ, and proclaimed the blessings of the new covenant to their people. Another, and a still more hideous form of Antinomianism, is that which is exhibited in the opinions of other doctors of that sect,¹ who maintain, "That as the elect cannot fall from grace, nor forfeit the divine favour, so it follows, that the wicked actions they commit, and the violations of the divine law with which they are chargeable, are not really sinful, nor are to be considered as instances of their departing from the law of God; and that consequently they have no occasion either to confess their sins, or to break them off by repentance. Thus adultery, for example, in one of the elect, though it appear sinful in the sight of men, and be considered universally as an enormous violation of the divine law, yet it is not a sin in the sight of God, because it is one of the essential and distinctive characters of the elect, that they cannot do any thing which is either displeasing to God, or prohibited by the law."^m

Latitudinarians.

XXIV. The public calamities that flowed from these vehement and uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good men, and engaged several, who were not less eminent for their piety than for their moderation and wisdom, to seek after some method of uniting such of the contending parties as were capable of listening to the dictates of charity and reason, or at least of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These pacific doctors offered themselves as mediators between the more violent Episcopalians on the one hand, and the more rigid Presbyterians and Independents on the other; and hoped that when their differences were accommodated, the lesser factions would fall of themselves. The contests that reigned between the former turned partly on the forms of church government and public worship, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those that were debated between the Arminians and Calvinists. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators, already mentioned, endeavoured to draw them out of their narrow enclosures, to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party rage had been labouring to render inaccessible to many good Christians. This noble and truly evangelical method of proceeding procured to its authors the denomination of Latitudinarians.ⁿ Their views, indeed, were generous and exten-

¹ & This second Antinomian hypothesis has certainly a still more odious aspect than the first; and it is therefore surprising that our author should use, in the original, these terms: *Hi tantum statuunt, Electas, &c.*

^m There is an account of the other tenets of the Antinomians, and of the modern disputes that were occasioned by the publication of the Posthumous Works of Crisp, a flaming doctor of that extravagant and pernicious sect, given by Pierre François le Courayer, in his *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, t. ii. p. 198.

Baxter and Tillotson distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Antinomians; and they were also completely refuted by Dr. Williams, in his famous book, entitled, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, 8vo. & I have been informed, since the first edition of this history was published, that the book entitled, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, which our author supposes to have been written by Dr. Courayer, is the production of another pen.

ⁿ See Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. book ii. p. 188.

sive. They were zealously attached to the forms of ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of England, and they recommended Episcopacy with all the strength and power of their eloquence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of divine institution, or as absolutely and indispensably necessary to the constitution of a Christian church; and hence they maintained, that those who followed other forms of government and worship, were not, on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of brethren. As to the doctrinal part of religion, they took the system of the famous Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, *i. e.* those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, to a few points. By this manner of proceeding they showed, that neither the Episcopalians, who, generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the Presbyterians and Independents, who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such animosity and bitterness, since the subjects of their debates were matters of an indifferent nature, with respect to salvation, and might be variously explained and understood, without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these Latitudinarians were Hales and Chillingworth, whose names are still pronounced in England with that veneration that is due to distinguished wisdom and rational piety.* The respectable names of More, Cudworth, Gale, Whichcote, and Tillotson, add a high degree of lustre to this eminent list. The undertaking of these great men was indeed bold and perilous; and it drew upon them much opposition, and many bitter reproaches. They received, as the first fruits of their charitable zeal, the odious appellations of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, both from the Roman Catholics and the more rigid of the contending Protestant parties; but upon the restoration of Charles II. they were raised to the first dignities of the church, and were deservedly held in universal esteem. It is also well known, that even at this present time, the church of England is chiefly governed by latitudinarians of this kind, though there be among both bishops and clergy, from time to time, ecclesiastics who breathe the narrow and despotic spirit of Laud, and who, in the language of faction, are called High-Churchmen, or Church-Tories.†

XXV. No sooner was Charles II. re-established on the throne of his ancestors, than the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship were restored with him, and the bishops reinstated in their dignities and honours. The nonconformists hoped, that they should be allowed to

* The life of the ingenious and worthy Mr. Hales was composed in English by M. Des Maizeaux, and published in 8vo at London in the year 1719; it was considerably augmented in the Latin translation of it, which I prefixed to the account of the synod of Dort, drawn from the letters of that great man, and published at Hamburgh, 1724. A Life of Mr. Hales, written in French, is to be found in the first volume of the French translation of Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, &c. The life of Chillingworth also was drawn up by Des Maizeaux in English; and a French translation of it appeared in the year 1730, at the head of the excellent book now mentioned, which was translated into that language, and published at Amsterdam, in three vols. 8vo,

in the year 1730. Those who are desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the doctrines, government, laws, and present state of the church of England, will do well to read the history of these two men; and more especially to peruse Chillingworth's admirable book already mentioned, I mean, The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.

† See Rapin's Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories. ‡ See an admirable defence of the Latitudinarian divines, in a book entitled, The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England (greatly misunderstood) truly represented and defended, London, 1670, in 8vo. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of Gloucester. N.

share some part of the honours and revenues of the church; but their expectations were totally disappointed, and the face of affairs changed very suddenly with respect to them. For Charles subjected to the government of bishops the churches of Scotland and Ireland, the former of which was peculiarly attached to the ecclesiastical discipline and polity of Geneva: and in the year 1662, a public law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe the doctrines of the church of England, were entirely excluded from its communion.^a From this period until the reign of King William III. the Nonconformists were in a precarious and changing situation, sometimes involved in calamity and trouble, at others enjoying some intervals of tranquillity and certain gleams of hope, according to the varying spirit of the court and ministry, but never entirely free from perplexities and fears.^b But, in the year 1689, their affairs took a favourable turn, when a bill for the toleration of all Protestant dissenters from the church of England, except the Socinians, passed in parliament almost without opposition, and delivered them from the penal laws to which they had been subjected by the Act of Uniformity, and other acts passed under the house of Stuart.^c Nor did the Protestant dissenters in England enjoy alone the benefits of this act; for it extended also to the Scottish church, which was permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, and was delivered from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the forms of worship that were annexed to episcopacy. It is from this period that the Nonconformists date the liberty and tranquillity they have long been blessed with, and still enjoy; but it is also observable, that it is to the transactions that were carried on during this period, in favour of religious liberty, that we must chiefly impute the multitude of religious sects and factions that start up from time to time in that free and happy island, and involve its inhabitants in the perplexities of religious division and controversy.^d

The High Church
and the Non-
Jurors.

XXVI. In the reign of King William, and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism in the church of England, which has never hitherto been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the other bishops,^e all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning and their virtue,

^a & This was the famous Act of Uniformity, in consequence of which the validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced; the ministrations of the foreign churches disowned; the terms of conformity rendered more difficult, and raised higher than before the civil wars; and by which, contrary to the manner of proceeding in the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell, who both reserved for the subsistence of each ejected clergyman a fifth part of his benefice, no provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings. See Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britannię et Hibernię*, t. iv. p. 573; Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 190, &c.; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, t. iv. p. 358.

^b See the whole fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

^c This was called the Toleration Act, and it may be seen at length in the Appendix, subjoined to the fourth volume of Neal's *History of the Puritans*. & It is entitled, An

Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the Penalties of certain laws. In this bill the Corporation and Test Acts are omitted, and consequently still remain in force. The Socinians are also excepted; but provision is made for Quakers, upon their making a solemn declaration, instead of taking the oaths to the government. This act excuses Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, provided they take the oaths to the government, and subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the church of England.

^d Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 23.

^e The other Non-juring bishops were, Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucester; Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester: and Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough.

looked upon it as unlawful to take the oaths of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James II., though banished from his dominions, remained, nevertheless, their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments nor exhortations could engage these prelates to acknowledge the title of William III. to the crown of Great Britain, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit.* The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new episcopal church, which differed, in certain points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the established church of England. This new religious community were denominated Non-jurors, on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and were also called the High-church, on account of the high notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved of this schism, who distinguished themselves by their charity and moderation towards Dissenters, and were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority, were denominated Low-churchmen.† The bishops who were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and those who embarked in their cause, maintained openly, that the church was independent on the jurisdiction of king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that, of consequence, the sentence pronounced against these prelates by the great council of the nation was destitute both of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. This high notion of the authority and prerogatives of the church was maintained and propagated, with peculiar zeal, by the famous Henry Dodwell, who led the way in this important cause, and who, by his example and abilities, formed a considerable number of champions for its defence; hence arose a very nice and intricate controversy, concerning the nature, privileges, and authority of the church, which has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.‡

* & These were, Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, names that will be ever pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming solid, well-employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England.

† The denomination of High-church is given certainly with great propriety to the Non-jurors, who have very proud notions of church power; but it is commonly used in a more extensive signification, and is applied to all those who, though far from being Non-jurors, or otherwise disaffected to the present happy establishment, yet form pompous and ambitious conceptions of the authority and jurisdiction of the church, and would raise it to an absolute independence on all human power. Many such are to be found even among those who go under the general denomination of the Low-church party.

‡ Dodwell himself was deprived of his professorship of history, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to king William and queen Mary; and this circumstance, no doubt, augmented the zeal with which he interested himself in the defence of the bishops, who

were suspended for the same reason. It was on this occasion that he published his "Cautionary Discourse of Schism, with a particular regard to the Case of the Bishops who were suspended for refusing to take the new oath." This book was fully refuted by the learned Dr. Hody, in the year 1691, in a work entitled, "The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the new Bishops; or, a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, showing, that although a bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the church ever made a separation if the successor was not a heretic;" translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript, viz. among the Broccian MSS., in the public library at Oxford. The learned author translated this work afterwards into Latin, and prefixed to it some pieces out of ecclesiastical antiquity, relative to the same subject. Dodwell published in 1692 an answer to it, which he called, "A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops," &c. To which Dr. Hody replied, in a treatise entitled, "The Case of the Sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation stated, in reply to the Vindication," &c. The controversy did not end here; and it was the hardest thing in the world to reduce Mr. Dodwell

High Church principles.

XXVII. The Non-jurors, or High-churchmen, who boast with peculiar ostentation of their orthodoxy, and treat the Low-church as unsound and schismatical, differ in several things from the members of the episcopal church, in its present establishment; but they are more particularly distinguished by the following principles: 1. "That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist the sovereign." This is called in England passive obedience, and is a doctrine warmly opposed by many, who think it both lawful and necessary, in certain circumstances, and in cases of an urgent and momentous nature, to resist the prince for the happiness of the people. They maintain further, 2. "That the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine institution, and therefore can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext. 3. That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature. 4. That, consequently, Sancroft, and the other bishops, deposed by king William III. remained, notwithstanding their deposition, true bishops to the day of their death: and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property. 5. That these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the state, as well as schismatics in the church: and that all, therefore, who held communion with them, were also chargeable with rebellion and schism. 6. That this schism, which rends the church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, whose punishment must fall heavy upon all those who do not return sincerely to the true church, from which they have departed."

Theological contests among the Dutch.

XXVIII. It will now be proper to change the scene, and to consider a little the state of the reformed church in Holland. The Dutch Calvinists thought themselves happy after the defeat of the Arminians, and were flattering themselves with the agreeable prospect of enjoying long, in tranquillity and repose, the fruits of their victory, when new scenes of tumult arose from another quarter. Scarcely had they triumphed over the enemies of absolute predestination, when, by an ill hap, they became the prey of intestine disputes, and were divided among themselves in such a deplorable manner, that during the whole of this century, the United Provinces were a scene of contention, animosity, and strife. It is not necessary to mention all the subjects of these religious quarrels; nor indeed would this be an easy task. We shall therefore pass over in silence the debates of certain divines, who disputed about some particular, though not very momentous, points of doctrine and discipline; such as those of the famous Voet and the learned Des Marets; as also the disputes of Salmasius, Boxhorn, Voet, and others, concerning usury, ornaments in dress, stage-plays, and other minute points of morality, and the contests of Apollonius, Trigland, and Videlius, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, which produced such a flaming division between Frederic Spanheim and

to silence. Accordingly he came forth a third time with his stiff and rigid polemics, and published, in 1695, his *Defence of the Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*. The preface which he designed to prefix to this work was at first suppressed, but appeared afterwards under the following title: *The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the independency of the clergy on the lay-power, as to those rights of theirs which are purely spiritual, reconciled with our oath of supremacy*

and the lay-deprivation of the popish bishops in the beginning of the Reformation." Several other pamphlets were published on the subject of this controversy.

See Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 30; Hicke's *Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell*, printed at London in 1718; *Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critiq.*, at the article *Collier*; Ph. Masson, *Histor. Critique de la Repub. des Lettres*, tom. xiii. p. 298.

John Vander Wayen. These and other debates of like nature and importance rather discover the sentiments of certain learned men, concerning some particular points of religion and morality, than exhibit a view of the true internal state of the Belgic church. The knowledge of this must be derived from those controversies alone, in which the whole church, or at least the greatest part of its doctors, have been directly concerned.

XXIX. Such were the controversies occasioned in Holland by the philosophy of Des Cartes, and the theological novelties of Cocceius. Hence arose the two powerful and numerous factions, distinguished by the denominations of Cocceians and Voetians, which still subsist, though their debates are now less violent, and their champions somewhat more moderate, than they were in former times. The Cocceian theology and the Cartesian philosophy have, indeed, no common features, nor any thing in their respective tenets and principles, that was in the least adapted to form a connexion between them; and, of consequence, the debates they excited, and the factions they produced, had no natural relation to, or dependence on, each other. It nevertheless so happened, that the respective votaries of these very different sciences formed themselves into one sect; so far at least, that those who chose Cocceius for their guide in theology, took Des Cartes for their master in philosophy.* This will appear less surprising when we consider, that the very same persons who opposed the progress of Cartesianism in Holland were the warm adversaries of the Cocceian theology; for this opposition, equally levelled at these two great men and their respective systems, laid the Cartesians and Cocceians under a kind of necessity of uniting their force, in order to defend their cause in a more effectual manner against the formidable attacks of their numerous adversaries. The Voetians were so called, from Gisbert Voet, a learned and eminent professor of divinity in the university of Utrecht, who first sounded the alarm of this theologico-philosophical war, and led on with zeal the polemic legions against those who followed the standard of Des Cartes and Cocceius.

The Cartesian controversy.

XXX. The Cartesian philosophy, at its first appearance, attracted the attention and esteem of many, and seemed more conformable to truth and nature, as well as more elegant and pleasing in its aspect, than the intricate labyrinths of Peripatetic wisdom. It was considered in this light in Holland; it, however, met there with a formidable adversary, in the year 1639, in the famous Voet, who taught theology at Utrecht with the greatest reputation, and gave plain intimations of his looking upon Cartesianism as a system of impiety. Voet was a man of uncommon application and immense learning; he had made an extraordinary progress in all the various branches of erudition and philology; but he was not endowed with a large portion of that philosophical spirit, that judges with acuteness and precision of natural science and abstract truths. While Des Cartes resided at Utrecht, Voet found fault with many things in his philosophy; but what induced him to cast upon it the aspersions of impiety, was its being introduced by the following principles: "That the person who aspires after the character of a true philosopher must begin by doubting of all things, even of the existence of a Supreme Being; that the nature or essence of spirit, and even of God himself, consists in thought; that space has no real existence, is no more than the creature of fancy, and that, consequently, matter is without bounds."

Des Cartes defended his principles with his usual acuteness against the

* See Frid. Spanhemii *Epistola de novissimis in Belgio dissidiis*, tom. ii. Opp. p. 973.

professor of Utrecht : his disciples and followers thought themselves obliged, on this occasion, to assist their master ; and thus war was formally declared. On the other hand, Voet was not only seconded by those Belgic divines that were the most eminent at this time for the extent of their learning and the soundness of their theology, such as Rivet, Des Marets, and Maastricht, but also was followed and applauded by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy.^a While the flame of controversy burned with sufficient ardour, it was considerably augmented by the proceedings of certain doctors, who applied the principles and tenets of Des Cartes to the illustration of theological truth. Hence, in the year 1656, an alarm was raised in the Dutch churches and schools of learning, and a resolution was taken in several of their ecclesiastical assemblies, commonly called classes, to make head against Cartesianism, and not to permit that imperious philosophy to make such encroachments upon the domain of theology. The States of Holland not only approved of this resolution, but also gave it new force and efficacy by a public edict, issued out the very same year, by which both the professors of philosophy and theology were forbidden either to explain the writings of Des Cartes to the youth under their care, or to illustrate the doctrines of the gospel by the principles of philosophy. It was farther resolved, in an assembly of the clergy, held at Delft the year following, that no candidate for holy orders should be received into the ministry before he made a solemn declaration, that he would neither promote the Cartesian philosophy, nor disfigure the divine simplicity of religion, by loading it with foreign ornaments. Laws of a like tenor were afterwards passed in the United Provinces and in other countries.^b But as there is in human nature a strange propensity to struggle against authority, and to pursue, with a peculiar degree of ardour, things that are forbidden, so it happened, that all these edicts proved insufficient to stop the progress of Cartesianism, which at length obtained a solid and permanent footing in the seminaries of learning, and was applied, both in the academies and pulpits, and sometimes indeed very preposterously, to explain the truths and precepts of Christianity. Hence it was, that the United Provinces were divided into the two great factions already mentioned ; and that the whole remainder of this century was spent amidst their contentions and debates.

The sentiments of
Cocceius concern-
ing the Holy
Scriptures.

XXXI. John Cocceius, a native of Bremen, and professor of divinity in the University of Leyden, might certainly have passed for a great man, had his vast erudition, his exuberant fancy, his ardent piety, and his uncommon application to the study of the Scriptures, been under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This singular man introduced into theology a multitude of new tenets and strange notions, which had never before entered into the brain of any other mortal, or at least had never been heard of before his time : for, in the first place, as has been already hinted, his manner of explaining the Holy Scriptures was totally different from that of Calvin and his followers. Departing entirely from the admirable simplicity that reigns in the commentaries of that great man, Cocceius represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, that held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the dis-

^a See Baillet's *Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tom. ii. chap. v. p. 33 ; Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes*, tom. i. de ses *Œuvres*, p. 84.

^b Frid. Spanheim, *De novissimis in Belgio*

dissidiis, tom. ii. Opp. p. 959.—The reader may also consult the historians of this century, such as Arnold, Weismann, Jager, Caroli, and also Walechius, *Histor. Controvers. Germanic.* tom. iii.

pensation of the New Testament, and unto the end of the world. He even went so far as to maintain, that the miracles, actions, and sufferings of Christ and of his apostles, during the course of their ministry, were types and images of future events. He affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the words used in these predictions. And he completed the extravagance of this chimerical system by turning, with wonderful art and dexterity, into holy riddles and typical predictions, even those passages of the Old Testament that seemed designed for no other purpose than to celebrate the praises of the Deity, or to convey some religious truth, or to inculcate some rule of practice. In order to give an air of solidity and plausibility to these odd notions, he first laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, "That the words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in every sense of which they are susceptible;" or, in other words, that they signify, in effect, every thing that they can possibly signify; a rule this, which, when followed by a man who had more imagination than judgment, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings. After having laid down this singular rule of interpretation, he divided the whole history of the church into seven periods, conformable to the seven trumpets and seals mentioned in the Revelation.

Concerning the doctrinal parts of theology.

XXXII. One of the great designs formed by Cocceius, was that of separating theology from philosophy, and of confining the Christian doctors, in their explications of the former, to the words and phrases of the Holy Scriptures. Hence it was, that, finding in the language of the sacred writers, the gospel dispensation represented under the image of a covenant made between God and man, he looked upon the use of this image as admirably adapted to exhibit a complete and well-connected system of religious truth. But while he was labouring this point, and endeavouring to accommodate the circumstances and characters of human contracts to the dispensations of divine wisdom, which they represent in such an inaccurate and imperfect manner, he fell imprudently into some erroneous notions. Such was his opinion concerning the covenant made between God and the Jewish nation by the ministry and the mediation of Moses, "which he affirmed to be of the same nature with the new covenant obtained by the mediation of Jesus Christ." In consequence of this general principle, he maintained, "That the Ten Commandments were promulgated by Moses, not as a rule of obedience, but as a representation of the covenant of grace—that when the Jews had provoked the Deity, by their various transgressions, particularly by the worship of the golden calf, the severe and servile yoke of the ceremonial law was added to the decalogue, as a punishment inflicted on them by the Supreme Being in his righteous displeasure—that this yoke, which was painful in itself, became doubly so on account of its typical signification; since it admonished the Israelites, from day to day, of the imperfection and uncertainty of their state, filled them with anxiety, and was a standing and perpetual proof that they had merited the displeasure of God, and could not expect, before the coming of the Messiah, the entire remission of their transgressions and iniquities—that, indeed, good men, even under the Mosaic dispensation, were immediately after death made partakers of everlasting happiness and glory; but that they were, nevertheless, during the whole course of their lives, far removed from that firm hope and assurance of salvation, which rejoices the faithful under the dis-

pensation of the gospel—and that their anxiety flowed naturally from this consideration, that their sins, though they remained unpunished, were not pardoned, because Christ had not, as yet, offered himself up a sacrifice to the Father to make an entire atonement for them." These are the principal lines that distinguish the Cocceian from other systems of theology; it is attended, indeed, with other peculiarities; but we shall pass them over in silence, as of little moment, and unworthy of notice. These notions were warmly opposed by the same persons that declared war against the Cartesian philosophy; and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. But, in the issue, the doctrines of Cocceius, like those of Des Cartes, stood their ground; and neither the dexterity nor vehemence of his adversaries could exclude his disciples from the public seminaries of learning, or hinder them from propagating, with surprising success and rapidity, the tenets of their master in Germany and Switzerland.*

The controversy set on foot by Roell, concerning the use of reason in religion.

XXXIII. The other controversies that divided the Belgic church during this century, all arose from the immoderate propensity that certain doctors discovered towards an alliance between the Cartesian philosophy and their theological system. This will appear, with the utmost evidence, from the debates excited by Roell and Becker, which surpassed all the others, both by the importance of their subjects, and by the noise they made in the world. About the year 1686, certain Cartesian doctors of divinity, headed by the ingenious Herman Alexander Roell, professor of theology in the university of Franeker, seemed to attribute to the dictates of reason a more extensive authority in religious matters than they had hitherto been possessed of. The controversy occasioned by this innovation was reducible to the two following questions: 1. "Whether the divine origin and authority of the Holy Scriptures can be demonstrated by reason alone, or whether an inward testimony of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians be necessary in order to the firm belief of this fundamental point? 2. Whether the sacred writings propose to us, as an object of faith, any thing that is repugnant to the dictates of right reason?" These questions were answered, the former in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, not only by Roell, but also by Vander Wayen, Wasselius, Duker Ruardus ab Andala, and other doctors, who were opposed in this by Ulric Nuber, an eminent lawyer, Gerard de Vries, and others of inferior note.⁴ The flame excited by this controversy spread itself far and wide through the United Provinces; and its progress was increasing from day to day, when the states of Friesland prudently interposed to restore the peace of the church, by imposing silence on the contending parties. Those whose curiosity may engage them to examine with attention and accuracy the points debated in this controversy, will find, that a very considerable part of it was merely a dispute about words; and that the real difference of sentiment that there was between these learned disputants might have been easily accommodated, by proper explications on both sides.

Sentiments of Roell concerning the generation of the Son of God.

XXXIV. Not long after this controversy had been hushed, Roell alarmed the orthodoxy of his colleagues, and more particularly of the learned Vitringa, by some other new tenets, that rendered the soundness of his religious principles extremely doubtful, not only in their opinion, but also in the

* See Baillet's *Vie de M. des Cartes*, tom. ii. p. 33; Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes*; Val. Alberti *Διαλογον κατακα*, Carte-

sianismus et Cocceianismus descripti et refutati. Lipsæ 1678, in 4to.

⁴ See Le Clerc, *Bib. Universæ et Hist. t. vi. p. 368.*

judgment of many Dutch divines;* for he maintained, "That the account we have of the *generation* of the Son in the sacred writings is not to be understood in a literal sense, or as a real generation of a natural kind;" he also affirmed, "That the afflictions and death of the righteous are as truly the *penal* effects of original sin, as the afflictions and death of the wicked and impenitent;" and he entertained notions concerning the divine decrees, original sin, the satisfaction of Christ, and other points of less moment, which differed in reality, or by the manner of expressing them seemed to differ greatly, from the doctrines received and established in the Dutch church.^f The magistrates of Friesland used all the precautions that prudence could suggest, to prevent these controversies from being propagated in their province; and enacted several laws for this purpose, all tending towards peace and silence. This conduct, however, was not imitated by the other provinces, where Roell and his disciples were condemned, both in private and in public, as heretics and corrupters of divine truth.^g Nor did the death of this eminent man extinguish the animosity and resentment of his adversaries; for his disciples are still treated with severity; and, notwithstanding the solemn protestations they have given of the soundness and purity of their religious sentiments, labour under the imputation of many concealed errors.

The contest occasioned by the peculiar sentiments of Becker. XXXV. The controversy set on foot by the ingenious Balthazar Becker, minister at Amsterdam, must not be omitted here. This learned ecclesiastic took occasion, from the Cartesian definition of spirit, of the truth and precision of which he was intimately persuaded, to deny boldly all the accounts we have in the Holy Scriptures of the seduction, influences, and operations of the devil and his infernal emissaries; as also all that has been said in favour of the existence of ghosts, spectres, sorcerers, and magicians. The long and laboured work he published, in the year 1691, upon this interesting subject, is still extant. In this singular production, which bears the title of *The World Bewitched*, he modifies and perverts, with the greatest ingenuity, but also with equal temerity and presumption, the accounts given by the sacred writers of the power of Satan and wicked angels, and of persons possessed by evil spirits; he affirms, moreover, that the unhappy and malignant being,

* For an account of Roell, see the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philolog.* tom. ii. p. vi. p. 707; Casp. Burmanni *Trajectum Eruditum*, p. 306.

^f Those who are desirous of the most accurate account of the errors of Roell, will find them enumerated in a public piece composed by the Faculty of Theology at Leyden, in order to confirm the sentence of condemnation that had been pronounced against them by the Dutch synods; this piece is entitled, *Judicium Ecclesiasticum quo opiniones quædam Cl. H. A. Roellii Synodice damnatæ sunt, landatum a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academia Lugduno-Batavis.* Lugd. Batav. 1713, in 4to.

^g This affirmation is somewhat exaggerated, at least we must not conclude from it, that Roell was either deposed or persecuted; for he exercised the functions of his professorship for several years after this at Franeker, and was afterwards called to the chair of divinity at Utrecht, and that upon the most honourable and advantageous terms. The

states of Friesland published an edict, enjoining silence, and forbidding all professors, pastors, &c. in their province, to teach the particular opinions of Roell; and this pacific divine sacrificed the propagation of his opinions to the love of peace and concord. His notion concerning the Trinity did not essentially differ from the doctrine generally received upon that mysterious and unintelligible subject; and his design seemed to be no more than to prevent Christians from humanizing the relation between the Father and the Son. But this was wounding his brethren, the rigorous systematic divines, in a tender point; for if Anthropomorphism, or the custom of attributing to the Deity the kind of procedure in acting and judging that is usual among men (who resemble him only as imperfection resembles perfection), were banished from theology, orthodoxy would be deprived of some of its most precious phrases, and our confession of faith and systems of doctrine would be reduced within much narrower bounds.

who is called in Scripture Satan, or the Devil, is chained down with his infernal ministers in hell; so that he can never come forth from this eternal prison to terrify mortals, or to seduce the righteous from the paths of virtue. According to the Cartesian definition above mentioned, the essence of spirit consists in thought, and from this definition, Becker drew his doctrine; since none of that influence, or of those operations that are attributed to evil spirits, can be effected by mere thinking.¹ Rather, therefore, than call into question the accuracy or authority of Des Cartes, Becker thought proper to force the narrations and doctrines of Scripture into a conformity with the principles and definitions of this philosopher. These errors, nevertheless, excited great tumults and divisions, not only in all the United Provinces, but also in some parts of Germany, where several doctors of the Lutheran church were alarmed at its progress, and arose to oppose it.¹ Their inventor and promoter, though refuted victoriously by a multitude of adversaries, and publicly deposed from his pastoral charge, died in the year 1718, in the full persuasion of the truth of these opinions, that had drawn upon him so much opposition, and professed, with his last breath, his sincere adherence to every thing he had written on that subject. Nor can it be said, that this his doctrine died with him; since it is abundantly known, that it has still many votaries and patrons, who either held it in secret, or profess it publicly.

Dutch sects—the
Verschorists and
Hattemists.

XXXVI. The curious reader can be no stranger to the multitude of sects, some Christian, some half-Christian, some totally delirious, that have started up, at different times, both in England and Holland. It is difficult indeed for those who live in other countries, to give accurate accounts of these separatists, as the books that contain their doctrines and views are seldom dispersed in foreign nations. We have, however, been lately favoured with some relations, that give a clearer idea of the Dutch sects, called Verschorists and Hattemists, than we had before entertained; and it will not therefore be improper to give here some account of these remarkable communities. The former derives its denomination from Jacob Verschoor, a native of Flushing, who, in the year 1680, out of a perverse and heterogeneous mixture of the tenets of Cocceius and Spinoza, produced a new form of religion equally remarkable for its extravagance and impiety. His disciples and followers were called Hebrews, on account of the zeal and assiduity with which they all, without distinction of age or sex, applied themselves to the study of the Hebrew language.

¹ § 7. Our historian relates here somewhat obscurely the reasoning which Becker founded upon the Cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The tenor and amount of his argument is as follows: "The essence of mind is thought, and the essence of matter is extension.—Now, since there is no sort of conformity or connexion between a thought and extension, mind cannot act upon matter, unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man:—therefore no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is miraculous, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows of consequence that the Scripture-accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits must be understood in an allegorical sense." This is Becker's argument; and it does, in truth, little honour to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves

nothing at all; for if the want of a connexion or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity, since the want of conformity and connexion remains, notwithstanding this union. Besides, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative, by having recourse to a miracle; for this would imply, that the whole course of nature was a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all.

¹ See Lillienthalii Selectæ Historiæ Literar. p. i. observat. li. p. 17; Miscellan. Lipsienæ. tom. i. p. 361, 364, where there is an explication of a satirical medal, struck to expose the sentiments of Becker. See also Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Critique, tom. i. p. 193.

The Hattemists were so called from Pontian Van Hattem, a minister in the province of Zealand, who was also addicted to the sentiments of Spinoza, and was on that account degraded from his pastoral office. The Verschorists and Hattemists resemble each other in their religious systems, though there must also be some points in which they differ; since it is well known that Van Hattem could never persuade the former to unite their sect with his, and thus to form one communion. Neither of the two has abandoned the profession of the Reformed religion; they affect, on the contrary, an apparent attachment to it; and Hattem, in particular, published a treatise upon the Catechism of Heidelberg. If I understand aright the imperfect relations that have been given of the sentiments and principles of these two communities, both their founders began by perverting the doctrine of the Reformed church concerning absolute decrees, so as to deduce from it the impious system of a fatal and uncontrollable necessity. Having laid down this principle to account for the origin of all events, they went a step further into the domain of atheism, and denied "the difference between moral good and evil, and the corruption of human nature." From hence they concluded, "That mankind were under no sort of obligation to correct their manners, to improve their minds, or to endeavour after a regular obedience to the divine laws—that the whole of religion consisted, not in acting, but in suffering—and that all the precepts of Jesus Christ are reducible to this single one, that we bear with cheerfulness and patience the events that happen to us through the divine will, and make it our constant and only study to maintain a permanent tranquillity of mind."

This, if we are not mistaken, was the common doctrine of the two sects under consideration. There were, however, certain opinions or fancies that were peculiar to Hattem and his followers, who affirmed, "That Christ had not satisfied the divine justice, nor made an expiation for the sins of men by his death and sufferings, but had only signified to us, by his mediation, that there was nothing in us that could offend the Deity." Hattem maintained, "That this was Christ's manner of justifying his servants, and presenting them blameless before the tribunal of God." These opinions seem perverse and pestilential in the highest degree; and they evidently tend to extinguish all virtuous sentiments, and to dissolve all moral obligation. It does not, however, appear that either of these innovators directly recommended immorality and vice, or thought that men might safely follow, without any restraint, the impulse of their irregular appetites and passions. It is at least certain that the following maxim is placed among their tenets, that God does not punish men for their sins, but by their sins; and this maxim seems to signify, that, if a man does not restrain his irregular appetites, he must suffer the painful fruits of his licentiousness, both in a present and future life, not in consequence of any judicial sentence pronounced by the will or executed by the immediate hand of God, but according to some fixed law or constitution of nature.¹ The two sects still subsist, though they bear no longer the names of their founders.

XXXVII. The churches of Switzerland, so early as the year 1669, were alarmed at the progress which the opinions of Amyraut, De La Place, and Capell, were making in different countries; and they were apprehensive that the doctrine they had received from Calvin, and which had been so solemnly

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the Consensus or form of concord.

¹ See Theod. Hassé Dissert. in Musco Bremensi Theol. Philolog. vol. ii. p. 144; Bibliothèque Beligique, tom. ii. p. 203.

confirmed by the synod of Dort, might be altered and corrupted by these new improvements in theology. This apprehension was so much the less chimerical, as at that very time there were among the clergy of Geneva certain doctors eminent for their learning and eloquence, who not only adopted these new opinions, but were also desirous, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of their colleagues, of propagating them among the people.* To set bounds to the zeal of these innovators, and to stop the progress of the new doctrines, the learned John Henry Heidegger, professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed, in the year 1675, by an assembly composed of the most eminent Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine in direct opposition to the tenets and principles of the celebrated French writers mentioned above. The magistrates were engaged, without much difficulty, to give this production the stamp of their authority, and to add it to the other confessions of faith received in the Helvetic church under the peculiar denomination of the Form of Concord. This step, which seemed to be taken with pacific views, proved an abundant source of division and discord. Many declared that they could not conscientiously subscribe this new form; and thus unhappy tumults and contests arose in several places. Hence it happened, that the canton of Basil and the republic of Geneva, perceiving the inconveniences that proceeded from this new article of church-communion, and strongly solicited in the year 1686 by Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, to ease the burdened consciences of their clergy, abrogated this form.¹ It is nevertheless certain, that in other cantons it maintained its authority for some time after this period; but in our time, the discords it has excited in many places, and more particularly in the university of Lausanne, have contributed to deprive it of all its authority, and to sink it into utter oblivion.²

* See Leti *Istoria Genevrina*, part iv. book v. p. 448, 488, 497, &c.

† It must not be imagined, from this expression of our historian, that this Form, entitled the *Consensus*, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus: Mr. Peter Werenfels, who was at the head of the ecclesiastical consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the elector, as to avoid requiring a subscription to this Form from the candidates for the ministry; and his conduct in this respect was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those that governed the church of Geneva; for the *Consensus*, or Form of Agreement, maintained its credit and authority there till the year 1706, when, without being

abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of Switzerland, it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears by the letters addressed by George I. king of England, as also by the king of Prussia, in the year 1723, to the Swiss cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this Form, or *Consensus*, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. See the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus*, published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the year 1726.

² See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Schediasma de Formula Consensus Helvetica*, published in 4to at Tubingen, in the year 1723; *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus*.

The Seventeenth Century.

SECTION II.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARMINIAN CHURCH.

The denomination
of Arminians,
whence.

I. THERE sprang forth from the bosom of the Reformed church, during this century, two new sects, whose birth and progress were for a long time painful and perplexing to the parent that bore them. These sects were the Arminians and Quakers, whose origin was owing to very different principles, since the former derived its existence from an excessive propensity to improve the faculty of reason, and to follow its dictates and discoveries; while the latter sprang up, like a rank weed, from the neglect and contempt of human reason. The Arminians derive their name and their origin from James Arminius, or Harmensen, who was first pastor at Amsterdam, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, and who attracted the esteem and applause of his very enemies by his acknowledged candour, penetration, and piety.^a They received also the denomination of Remonstrants, from an humble petition, entitled their Remonstrances, which they addressed, in the year 1610, to the states of Holland; and, as the patrons of Calvinism presented an address in opposition to this, which they called their Counter-remonstrances, so did they, in consequence thereof, receive the name of Counter-remonstrants.

Commencement of
Arminianism.

II. Arminius, though he had imbibed in his tender years the doctrines of Geneva, and had even received his theological education in the university of that city, yet rejected, when he arrived at the age of manhood, the sentiments concerning predestination and the Divine decrees, that are adopted by the greatest part of the Reformed churches, and embraced the principles and communion of those whose religious system extends the love of the Supreme Being and the merits of Jesus Christ to all mankind.^b As time and deep meditation

^a The most ample account we have of this eminent man is given by Brandt, in his *Historia Vitæ Jac. Armini*, published at Leyden in 8vo, in 1724; and the year after by me at Brunswick, with an additional Preface and some Annotations. See also *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tom. i. p. 471. All the works of Arminius are comprised in one moderate 4to volume. The edition I have now before me was printed at Frankfurt, in the year 1634. They who would form a just and accurate notion of the temper, genius, and doctrine of this divine, will do well to peruse, with particular attention, that part of his works that is known under the title of his *Disputationes publicæ et privatæ*. There is in his manner of reasoning, and also in his phraseo-

logy, some little remains of the scholastic jargon of that age; but we find, nevertheless, in his writings, upon the whole, much of that simplicity and perspicuity which his followers have always looked upon and still consider as among the principal qualities of a Christian minister. For an account of the Arminian Confessions of Faith, and the Historical writers who have treated of this sect, see Jo. Christ. Coccherus, *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 481.

^b Bertius, in his *Funeral Oration on Arminius*, Brandt, in his *History of his Life*, p. 22, and almost all the ecclesiastical historians of this period, mention the occasion of this change in the sentiments of Arminius. It happened in the year 1591, as appears from the ro-

had only served to confirm him in these principles, he thought himself obliged, by the dictates both of candour and conscience, to profess them publicly, when he had obtained the chair of divinity in the university of Leyden, and to oppose the doctrine and sentiments of Calvin on these heads, which had been followed by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. Two considerations encouraged him, in a particular manner, to venture upon this open declaration of his sentiments; for he was persuaded, on the one hand, that there were many persons besides himself, and among these some of the first rank and dignity, who were highly disgusted at the doctrine of absolute decrees; and, on the other, he knew that the Belgic doctors were neither obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt and propagate the principles of Calvin. Thus animated and encouraged, Arminius taught his sentiments publicly, with great freedom and equal success, and persuaded many of the truth of his doctrine: but as Calvinism was at this time in a flourishing state in Holland, this freedom procured him a multitude of enemies, and drew upon him the severest marks of disapprobation and resentment from those that adhered to the theological system of Geneva, and more especially from Francis Gomar, his colleague. Thus commenced that long, tedious, and intricate controversy, that afterwards made such a noise in Europe. Arminius died in the year 1609, when it was just beginning to involve his country in dissension and discord.^a

The progress of
Arminianism.

III. After the death of Arminius, the combat seemed to be carried on, during some years, between the contending parties with equal success; so that it was not easy to foresee which side would gain the ascendant. The demands of the Arminians were moderate; they required no more than a bare toleration for their religious sentiments;^a and some of the first men in the republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several others, looked upon these demands as reasonable and just. It was the opinion of these great men, that as the points in debate had not been determined by the Belgic confession of faith, every individual had an unquestionable right to judge for himself; and that more especially in a free state, which had thrown off the yoke of spiritual despotism and civil tyranny. In consequence of this persuasion, they used their utmost efforts to accommodate matters, and left no methods unemploy'd to engage the Calvinists to treat with Christian moderation and forbearance their dissenting brethren. These efforts were at first attended with some prospect of success. Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Prin-

markable letter of Arminius to Gryneus, which bears date that same year, and in which the former proposes to the latter some of his theological doubts. This letter is published in the Biblioth. Brem. Theol. Philolog. tom. iii. p. 384.

^c The history of this controversy, and of the public discords and tumults it occasioned, is more circumstantially related by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his History of the Reformation, than by any other writer. This excellent history is written in Dutch; but there is an abridgment of it in French, in three volumes 8vo, which has been translated into English. Add to this, Uytenboudard's Ecclesiastical History, written also in the Dutch; Limborch's Historia vitæ Episcopii; The Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum, published by Limborch. Those who desire a more con-

cise view of this contest, will find it in Limborch's Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Federato Belgio de Predestinatione et capitibus annexis, which is subjoined to the latter editions of his Theologia Christiana, or Body of Divinity. It is true, all these are Arminians, and, as impartiality requires our hearing both sides, the reader may consult Trigland's Ecclesiastical History, composed likewise in Dutch, and a prodigious number of polemical writings published against the Arminians.

^d ¶ This toleration was offered them in the conference held at the Hague, in the year 1611, provided they would renounce the errors of Socinianism. See Trigland, loc. cit. See also Henry Brandt's Collatio scripturum habita Haga-comitum, printed at Zerizée, in 1715.

cess Dowager, his mother, countenanced those pacific measures, though the former became afterwards one of the warmest adversaries of the Arminians. Hence a conference was held in the year 1611, at the Hague, between the contending parties; another at Delft, in the year 1613; and hence also that pacific edict issued out, in 1614, by the states of Holland, to exhort them to charity and mutual forbearance; not to mention a number of expedients applied in vain to prevent the schism that threatened the church.* But these measures confirmed, instead of removing, the apprehensions of the Calvinists; from day to day they were still more firmly persuaded, that the Arminians aimed at nothing less than the ruin of all religion; and hence they censured their magistrates with great warmth and freedom, for interposing their authority to promote peace and union with such adversaries.† And those who are well informed and impartial, must candidly acknowledge that the Arminians were far from being sufficiently cautious in avoiding connexions with persons of loose principles, and that by frequenting the company of those whose sentiments were entirely different from the received doctrines of the Reformed church, they furnished their enemies with a pretext for suspecting their own principles, and presenting their theological system in the worst colours.

The five articles of
Arminianism.

IV. It is worthy of observation, that this unhappy controversy, which assumed another form, and was rendered more comprehensive by new subjects of contention, after the synod of Dort, was, at this time, confined to the doctrines relating to Predestination and Grace. The sentiments of the Arminians concerning these intricate points were comprehended in five articles. They held,

1. "That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those who he foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours.

2. "That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular;—that, however, none but those who believe in him can be partakers of their divine benefit.

3. "That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free will; since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and that, therefore, it is necessary to his conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ.

4. "That this divine grace, or energy of the Holy Ghost, which heals the disorder of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection every thing that can be called good in man; and that, consequently, all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone, and to the operation of his grace; that, nevertheless, this grace does not force the

* The writers who have given accounts of these transactions are well known: we shall only mention the first and second volumes of the *Histoire de Louis XIII.* by Le Vassor, who treats largely and accurately of these religious commotions, and of the civil transactions that were connected with them.

† The conduct of the States of Holland, who employed not only the language of persuasion, but also the voice of authority, in order to calm these commotions, and restore peace in

the church, was defended, with his usual learning and eloquence, by Grotius, in two treatises. The one, which contains the general principles on which this defence is founded, is entitled, *De jure summarum potestatum circa sacra*; the other, in which these principles are peculiarly applied in justifying the conduct of the States, was published in the year 1613, under the following title: *Ordinum Hollandiæ ac Westfrisiæ Pietas a multorum calumniis vindicata.*

man to act against his inclination, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

5. "That they who are united to Christ by faith are thereby furnished with abundant strength, and with succours sufficient to enable them to triumph over the seduction of Satan, and the allurements of sin and temptation; but that the question, Whether such may fall from their faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace? has not been yet resolved with sufficient perspicuity; and must, therefore, be yet more carefully examined by an attentive study of what the holy Scriptures have declared in relation to this important point."

It is to be observed, that this last article was afterwards changed by the Arminians, who, in process of time, declared their sentiments with less caution, and positively affirmed, that the saints might fall from a state of grace.^s

If we are to judge of men's sentiments by their words and declarations, the tenets of the Arminians, at the period of time now under consideration, bear a manifest resemblance of the Lutheran system. But the Calvinists did not judge in this manner; on the contrary, they explained the words and declarations of the Arminians according to the notions they had formed of their hidden sentiments; and instead of judging of their opinions by their expressions, they judged of their expressions by their opinions. They maintained that the Arminians designed, under these specious and artful declarations, to insinuate the poison of Socinianism and Pelagianism into unwary and uninstructed minds. The secret thoughts of men are only known to him who is the Searcher of hearts; and it is his privilege alone to pronounce judgment upon those intentions and designs that are concealed from public view. But if we were allowed to interpret the five articles now mentioned, in a sense conformable to what the leading doctors among the Arminians have taught in later times concerning these points, it would be difficult to show that these suspicions of the Calvinists were entirely groundless. For it is certain, whatever the Arminians may allege to the contrary, that the sentiments of their most eminent theological writers after the synod of Dort, concerning Divine Grace, and the other doctrines that are connected with it, approached much nearer to the opinions of the Pelagians and Semi-pelagians, than to those of the Lutheran church.^a

Prince Maurice
declares against
the Arminians.

V. The mild and favourable treatment the Arminians received from the magistrates of Holland, and from several persons of merit and distinction, encouraged them to hope, that their affairs would take a prosperous turn, or at least that their cause was not desperate, when an unexpected and sudden storm arose against them, and blasted their expectations. This change was owing to causes entirely foreign to religion; and its origin must be sought for in those connexions which can scarcely be admitted as possible by the philosopher, but are perpetually presented to the view of the historian. A secret misunderstanding had for some time subsisted between the Stadt-

^s The history of these five articles, and more particularly of their reception and progress in England, has been written by Dr. Heylin, whose book was translated into Dutch by the learned and eloquent Brandt, and published at Rotterdam in the year 1687.

^a ¶ This is a curious remark. It would seem as if the Lutherans were not Semi-pelagians; as if they considered man as absolutely

passive in the work of his conversion and sanctification; but such an opinion surely has never been the general doctrine of the Lutheran church, however rigorously Luther may have expressed himself on that head, in some unguarded moments; more especially it may be affirmed, that in latter times the Lutherans are, to a man, Semi-pelagians; and let it not be thought that this is imputed to them as a reproach.

holder Maurice, prince of Orange, and some of the principal magistrates and ministers of the new republic, such as Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets; and this misunderstanding had at length broken out into an open enmity and discord. The views of this great prince are differently represented by different historians. Some allege that he had formed the design of getting himself declared Count of Holland, a dignity which William I., the glorious founder of Belgic liberty, is also said to have had in view.¹ Others affirm that he only aspired after a greater degree of authority and influence than seemed consistent with the liberties of the republic; it is at least certain, that some of the principle persons in the government suspected him of aiming at supreme dominion. The leading men above mentioned opposed these designs; and these leading men were the patrons of the Arminians. The Arminians adhered to these their patrons and defenders, without whose aid they could have no prospect of security or protection. Their adversaries the Gomarists, on the contrary, seconded the views and espoused the interests of the prince, and inflamed his resentment, which had been already more or less kindled by various suggestions, to the disadvantage of the Arminians, and of those who protected them. Thus, after mutual suspicions and discontents, the flame broke out with violence; and Maurice resolved the downfall of those who ruled the republic, without showing a proper regard to his counsels; and also of the Arminians, who espoused their cause. The leading men, that sat at the helm of government, were cast into prison. Oldenbarneveldt, a man of gravity and wisdom, whose hairs were grown grey in the service of his country, lost his life on a public scaffold: while Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to a perpetual prison,¹ under what pretext,

¹ That Maurice aimed at the dignity of Count of Holland, we learn from Aubrey's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies*, sect. ii. p. 216, Ed. Paris. If we are to believe Aubrey (informed by his father, who was at that time ambassador of France at the Hague), Oldenbarneveldt disapproved of this design, prevented its execution, and lost his life by his bold opposition to the views of the prince. This account is looked upon as erroneous by Le Vassor, who takes much pains to refute it, and indeed with success, in his *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. ii. p. 2, 123. Le Clerc, in his *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134, and in his *History of the United Provinces*, endeavours to confirm what is related by Aubrey; and also affirms that the project formed by Maurice had been formed before by his father. The determination of this debated point is not necessary to our present purpose. It is sufficient to observe, what is acknowledged on all sides, that Oldenbarneveldt and his associates suspected Prince Maurice of a design to encroach upon the liberties of the republic, and to arrogate to himself the supreme dominion. Hence the zeal of Barneveldt to weaken his influence, and to set bounds to his authority; hence the indignation and resentment of Maurice; and hence the downfall of the Arminian sect, which enjoyed the patronage and adhered to the interest of Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius.

¹ The truth of this general account of these

unhappy divisions will undoubtedly be acknowledged by all parties, particularly at this period of time, when these tumults and commotions have subsided, and the spirit of party is less blind, partial, and violent. And the candid and ingenious Calvinists, who acknowledge this, will not thereby do the smallest prejudice to their cause. For should they even grant (what I neither pretend to affirm nor deny) that their ancestors, carried away by the impetuous spirit of the times, defended their religious opinions in a manner that was far from being consistent with the dictates of moderation and prudence, no rational conclusion can be drawn from this, either against them or the goodness of their cause. For it is well known, both by observation and experience, that unjustifiable things have often been done by men, whose characters and intentions, in the general, were good and upright; and that a good cause has frequently been maintained by methods that would not bear a rigorous examination. What I have said with brevity on this subject is confirmed and amplified by Le Clerc, in his *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, and the *Biblioth. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 134; and also by Grotius, in his *Apologeticus eorum, qui Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ, et vicinis quibusdam nationibus præfuerant ante mutationem quæ evenit*, An. 1618. The life of Oldenbarneveldt, written in Dutch, was published at the Hague, in 4to, in the year 1648. The history of his trial, and of the judgment pronounced on the fa-

or in consequence of what accusations or crimes, is unknown to us.^k As the Arminians were not charged with any violation of the laws, but merely with departing from the established religion, their cause was not of such a nature as rendered it cognizable by a civil tribunal. That, however, this cause might be regularly condemned, it was judged proper to bring it before an ecclesiastical assembly, or national synod. This method of proceeding was agreeable to the sentiments and principles of the Calvinists, who are of opinion, that all spiritual concerns and religious controversies ought to be judged and decided by an ecclesiastical assembly or council.^l

VI. Accordingly a synod was convoked at Dort, in the year 1618, by the counsels and influence of prince Maurice,^m at which were present ecclesiastical deputies from the United Provinces, as also from the churches of England, Hessa, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. The leading men among the Arminians appeared before this famous assembly to defend their cause; and they had at their head, Simon Episcopius, who was at that time professor of divinity at Leyden, had formerly been the disciple of Arminius, and was admired, even by his enemies,

mous triumvirate, mentioned above, was drawn by Gerard Brandt from authentic records, and published under the following title: *Historie van de Rechtspleginge gehouden in den jaaren 1618 en 1619, omtrent de drie gevangene Heeren Johan Van Oldenbarneveldt, Rombout Hoogerbeets, en Hugo de Groot: a third edition of this book augmented with Annotations, was published in 4to, at Rotterdam, in the year 1723. The history of the Life and Actions of Grotius, composed in Dutch by Casper Brandt and Adrian Van Cattenburg, and drawn mostly from original papers, casts a considerable degree of light on the history of the transactions now before us. This famous work was published in the year 1727, in two volumes in folio, at Dort and Amsterdam, under the following title: *Historie van het leven des Heeren Huig de Groot, beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandtschap wegens de Koninginne en Kroone van Zweden aan't Hof van Vrankryck door Caspar Brandt, en vervolgt tot zyn dood door Adrian Van Cattenburg.* Those who desire to form a true and accurate notion of the character and conduct of Grotius, and to see him as it were near hand, must have recourse to this excellent work; since all the other accounts of this great man are insipid, lifeless, and exhibit little else than a poor shadow, instead of a real and animated substance. The life of Grotius, composed by Burigni in French, and published successively at Paris and Amsterdam, in two volumes 8vo, deserves perhaps to be included in this general censure; it is at least a very indifferent and superficial performance. ⁿ There appeared in Holland a warm vindication of the memory of this great man, in a work published at Delft in 1727, and entitled *Grotii Manes ab iniquis obtreccionibus vindicati; accedit scriptorum ejus, tum editorum tum ineditorum, Conspectus Triplex.* See the following note.*

^k ^o Dr. Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of

one side than the other; probably because they are more numerous, and more universally known. When he published this history, the world was not favoured with the Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of Sir Dudley Carleton; which Lord Royston (now Earl of Hardwicke) drew forth some years ago from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these Negotiations, printed at his own expense. They were soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed, that the spirit of party is no where discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes both with respect to Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, that the Arminians and the other patrons of these two great men have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be at all sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would however have prevented Dr. Mosheim from saying that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested.

^l ^p The Calvinists are not particular in this; and indeed it is natural that debates, purely theological, should be discussed in an assembly of divines.

^m ^q Our author always forgets to mention the order, issued out by the States-general, for the convocation of this famous synod; and by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by the phrase (*Mauritio autore*), would seem to insinuate, that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together. The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarneveldt, who maintained that the States-general had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod; affirming that this was an act of sovereignty, that belonged to each province separately and respectively. See Carleton's Letters, &c.

on account of the depth of his judgment, the extent of his learning, and the force of his eloquence. This eminent man addressed a discourse, full of moderation, gravity, and elocution, to the assembled divines; but this was no sooner finished than difficulties arose which prevented the conference the Arminians had demanded, in order to show the grounds, in reason and scripture, on which their opinions were founded. The Arminian deputies proposed to begin the defence of their cause by refuting the opinions of the Calvinists, their adversaries. This proposal was rejected by the synod, which looked upon the Arminians as a set of men that lay under the charge of heresy; and therefore thought it incumbent upon them first to declare and prove their own opinions, before they could be allowed to combat the sentiments of others. The design of the Arminians in the proposal they made, was probably to get the people on their side, by such an unfavourable representation of the Calvinistical system, and of the harsh consequences that seem deducible from it, as might excite a disgust in the minds of those that were present, against its patrons and abettors. And it is more than probable, that one of the principal reasons that engaged the members of the synod to reject this proposal was a consideration of the genius and eloquence of Episcopius, and an apprehension of the effects they might produce upon the multitude. When all the methods employed to persuade the Arminians to submit to the manner of proceeding proposed by the synod proved ineffectual, they were excluded from that assembly, and returned home, complaining bitterly of the rigour and partiality with which they had been treated. Their cause was nevertheless tried in their absence, and in consequence of a strict examination of their writings they were pronounced guilty of pestilential errors, and condemned as corrupters of the true religion. This sentence was followed by its natural effects, which were the excommunication of the Arminians, the suppression of their religious assemblies, and the deprivation of their ministers. In this unhappy contest the candid and impartial observer will easily perceive that there were faults committed on both sides. Which of the contending parties is most worthy of censure is a point whose discussion is foreign to our present purpose.^a

The judgment that
is to be formed
of this synod.

VII. We shall not here appreciate either the merit or demerit of the divines that were assembled in this famous synod; but we cannot help observing that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue, have been exalted beyond all measure by the Calvinists; while their partiality, violence, and their other defects, have been exaggerated with a certain degree of malignity by the Arminians.^b There is no

^a The writers who have given accounts of the synod of Dort are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation in the United Provinces*; but, as this author is an Arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in two volumes in 4to, at Amsterdam, in the years 1705 and 1707, under the following title: *Eere van de Nationale Synode, van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen beschuldigingen van G. Brandt.*

After comparing diligently these two productions, I could see no enormous error in Brandt; for, in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes from whence they proceeded. The reader will do well to consult the *Letters of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hales of Eton*, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of this famous synod, and who relates with candour and simplicity what he saw and heard.

^b All that appeared unfair to the Arminians in the proceedings of this synod, has been collected together in a Dutch book, entitled, *Nulietgeen, Mishandeligen, ende ambyllike Procedurin, des Nationalen Synodi gehouden binen Dordrecht, &c.*

sort of doubt, but that among the members of this assembly, who sat in judgment upon the Arminians, there were several persons equally distinguished by their learning, piety, and integrity, who acted with upright intentions, and had not the least notion that the steps they were taking, or encouraging, were at all inconsistent with equity and wisdom. On the other hand, it appears with the utmost evidence, that the Arminians had reason to complain of several circumstances that strike us in the history of this remarkable period. It is plain, in the first place, that the ruin of the community was a point not only premeditated, but determined even before the meeting of the national synod;^p and that this synod was not so much assembled to examine the doctrine of the Arminians, in order to see whether it was worthy of toleration and indulgence, as to publish and execute with a certain solemnity, with an air of justice, and with the suffrage and consent of foreign divines, whose authority was respectable, a sentence already drawn up and agreed upon by those who had the principal direction in these affairs. It is further to be observed, that the accusers and adversaries of the Arminians were their judges, and that Bogerman, who presided in this famous synod, was distinguished by his peculiar hatred of that sect; that neither the Dutch nor foreign divines had the liberty of giving their suffrage according to their own private sentiments, but were obliged to deliver the opinions of the princes and magistrates of whose orders they were the depositaries;^q that the influence of the lay deputies, who appeared in the synod with commissions from the States-general and the prince of Orange, was still superior to that of the ecclesiastical members, who sat as judges; and lastly, that the solemn promise, made to the Arminians, when they were summoned before the synod, that they should be allowed the freedom of explaining and defending their opinions, as far as they thought proper or necessary to their justification, was manifestly violated.^r

The fate of the
Arminians after
the synod of
Dort.

VIII. The Arminians, in consequence of the decision of the synod, were considered as enemies of their country and of its established religion; and they were accordingly treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their posts and employments, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and, which they looked upon as a yet more intolerable instance of the rigour of their adversaries, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations were suppressed. They refused obedience to the order by which their pastors were prohibited from performing in public their ministerial functions; and thus drew upon themselves anew the resentment of their superiors, who punished them by fines, imprisonments, exile, and other marks of ignominy. To avoid these vexations, many of them retired to Antwerp, others fled to France; while a considerable number, accepting the invitation sent to them by Frederick, duke of Holstein, formed a colony, which settled in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called Frederickstadt, in the duchy of Sleswick, where they still live happy and unmolested, in the open pro-

^p &c. This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it.

^q &c. Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission but from their respective consistories, or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies: nor are they ever depositaries of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay-

deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other foreign doctors that appeared in the synod of Dort, the case perhaps may have been somewhat different.

^r See Le Vassor, *Hist. du Règne de Louis XIII.*, t. iii. livr. xii. p. 365, 366; and Mosheim's Preface to the Latin translation of Hales's account of the synod of Dort, p. 394—400.

fession and free exercise of their religion. The heads of this colony were persons of distinction, who had been obliged to leave their native country on account of these troubles, particularly Adrian Vander Wael, who was the first governor of the new city.* Among the persecuted ecclesiastics who followed this colony were, the famous Vorstius, who by his religious sentiments, which differed but little from the Socinian system, had rendered the Arminians particularly odious, Grevinkhovius, a man of resolute spirit, who had been pastor at Rotterdam, Goulart, Grevius, Walters, Narsias, and others.†

They are recalled
from exile.

IX. After the death of Prince Maurice, which happened in the year 1625, the Arminian exiles experienced the mildness and clemency of his brother and successor Frederick Henry, under whose administration they were recalled from banishment, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of France and in the Spanish Netherlands, were the first that embraced this occasion of returning to their native country, where they erected churches in several places, and more particularly in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, under the mild shade of a religious toleration. That they might also have a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles, they founded a college at Amsterdam, in which two professors were appointed to instruct the candidates for the ministry in the various branches of literature and science, sacred and profane. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of theology among the Arminians; and, since his time, the seminary now mentioned has been, generally speaking, furnished with professors eminent for their learning and genius, such as Courcelles, Poelenburg, Limborch, Le Clerc, Cattenburg,‡ and Wetstein.

The ancient and
modern system
of Arminianism.

X. We have already seen that the original difference between the Arminians and the Calvinists was entirely confined to the five points mentioned above, relative to the doctrines of predestination and grace; and it was the doctrine of the former concerning these points alone that occasioned their condemnation in the synod of Dort. It is further to be observed, that these five points, as explained at that time by the Arminians, seemed to differ very little from the Lutheran system. But after the synod of Dort, and more especially after the return of the Arminian exiles into their native country, the theological system of this community underwent a remarkable change, and assumed an aspect that distinguished it entirely from that of all other Christian churches. For they gave a new explication of these five articles, that made them almost coincide with the doctrine of those who deny the necessity of divine succours in the work of conversion, and in the paths of virtue. Nay, they went still further, and bringing the greatest part of the doctrines of Christianity before the tribunal of reason, they modified them considerably, and reduced them to an excessive degree of simplicity.

* The history of this colony is accurately related in the famous letters published by Philip Limborch and Christian Hartsoeker, entitled *Epistolæ præstantium et eruditorum Virorum Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*, of which the last edition was published in folio at Amsterdam in the year 1704. See also Jo. Mollerius *introductio in Hist. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 108; and Pontoppidan *Annales, Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomaticæ*, t. iii. p. 714.

† For an ample account of Vorstius, see Jo. Mollerius *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 931, as also p. 242, 247, 249, 255, 576, where we find a particular account of the other ecclesiastics above mentioned.

‡ There is an accurate account of these and the other Arminian writers given by Adrian Van Cattenburg, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, printed in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1728.

Arminius, the parent and founder of the community, was undoubtedly the inventor of this new form of doctrine, and taught it to his disciples; but it was first digested into a regular system, and embellished with the charms of a masculine eloquence, by Episcopius, whose learning and genius have given him a place among the Arminian doctors, next to their founder.*

The great end proposed by the Arminian system, and its principal leaders.

XI. The great and ultimate end the Arminians seemed to have in view is, that Christians, though divided in their opinions, may be united in fraternal charity and love, and thus be formed into one family or community, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological sentiments. In order to execute their benevolent purpose, they maintain that Christ demands from his servants more virtue than faith; that he has confined that belief which is essential to salvation to a few articles; that, on the other hand, the rules of practice he has prescribed are extremely large in their extent; and that charity and virtue ought to be the principal study of true Christians. Their definition of a true Christian is somewhat latitudinarian in point of belief. According to their account of things, every person is a genuine subject of the kingdom of Christ; "1. Who receives the Holy Scriptures, and more especially the New Testament, as the rule of his faith, however he may think proper to interpret and explain these sacred oracles; 2. Who abstains from idolatry and polytheism, with all their concomitant absurdities; 3. Who leads a decent, honest, and virtuous life, directed and regulated by the laws of God; and, 4. Who never discovers a spirit of persecution, discord, or ill-will, towards those who differ from him in their religious sentiments, or in their manner of interpreting the Holy Scriptures." Thus the wide bosom of the Arminian church is opened to all who profess themselves Christians, however essentially they may differ

* It is a common opinion that the ancient Arminians, who flourished before the synod of Dort, were much more sound in their opinions, and strict in their morals, than those who have lived after this period; that Arminius himself only rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of absolute decrees, and what he took to be its immediate consequences, adopting in all other points the doctrines received in the Reformed churches; but that his disciples, and more especially Episcopius, had boldly transgressed the bounds that had been wisely prescribed by their master, and had gone over to the Pelagians and even to the Socinians. Such, I say, is the opinion commonly entertained concerning this matter. But it appears, on the contrary, evident to me, that Arminius himself had laid the plan of that theological system, that was in after times embraced by his followers, and that he had instilled the main principles of it into the minds of his disciples; and that these latter, and particularly Episcopius, did really no more than bring this plan to a greater degree of perfection, and propagate, with more courage and perspicuity, the doctrines it contained. I have the testimony of Arminius to support this notion, besides many others that might be alleged in its behalf; for, in the last will made by this eminent man, a little before his death, he plainly and positively declares, that the great object

he had in view, in all his theological and ministerial labours, was to unite in one community, cemented by the bonds of fraternal charity, all sects and denominations of Christians, the papists excepted; his words, as they are recorded in the funeral oration, which was composed on occasion of his death by Bertius, are as follow: "Ea proposui et docui que ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis, religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem Christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem juxta verbum Dei posset conferre, excludens ex his papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest." These words, in their amount, coincide perfectly with the modern system of Arminianism, which extends the limits of the Christian church, and relaxes the bonds of fraternal communion in such a manner that Christians of all sects and of all denominations, whatever their sentiments and opinions may be (papists excepted), may be formed into one religious body, and live together in brotherly love and concord.

* The life of this eminent man was composed in Latin by the learned and judicious Limborch, and is singularly worthy of an attentive perusal. It was published at Amsterdam in 8vo, in the year 1701.

from each other in their theological opinions. The papists alone are excluded from their extensive communion, and this because they esteem it lawful^{*} to persecute those who will not submit to the yoke of the Roman pontiff. It is not our design here, either to justify or condemn these latitudinarian terms of communion; it is true, indeed, that if other Christian churches adopted them, diversity of sentiments would be no longer an obstacle to mutual love and concord.

Arminian confession of faith. XII. From all this it appears plain enough that the Arminian community was a kind of medley, composed of persons of different principles, and that, properly speaking, it could have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine. The Arminians, however, foreseeing that this circumstance might be objected to them as a matter of reproach, and unwilling to pass for a society connected by no common principles or bond of union, have adopted, as their Confession of Faith, a kind of theological system, drawn up by Episcopius, and expressed for the most part in words and phrases of the Holy Scripture.^{*} But as none of their pastors are obliged, either by oath, declaration, or tacit compact, to adhere strictly to this confession, and as, on the contrary, by the fundamental constitution of this community, every one is authorized to interpret its expressions (which are in effect susceptible of various significations) in a manner conformable to his peculiar sentiments; it evidently follows, that we cannot deduce from thence an accurate and consistent view of Arminianism, or know, with any degree of certainty, what doctrines are adopted or rejected by this sect. Hence it happens, that the Arminian doctors differ widely among themselves concerning some of the most important doctrines of Christianity;^{*} nor are they universally agreed or entirely uniform in their sentiments on almost any one point, if we except

^{*} It is not only on account of their persecuting spirit, but also on account of their idolatrous worship, that the Arminians excluded the Papists from their communion. See the following note.

[†] For a full and accurate representation of this matter, the reader need scarcely have recourse to any other treatise than that which is published in the first volume of the works of Episcopius (p. 508), under the following title: *Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de errantibus dilucida declaratio*. This treatise is written with precision and perspicuity. Le Clerc, in the Dedication prefixed to his Latin translation of Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, gives a brief account of the Arminian principles and terms of communion in the following words, addressed to the learned men of that sect; "You declare," says he, "that they only are excluded from your communion, who are chargeable with idolatry—who do not receive the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith—who trample upon the precepts of Christ by their licentious manners and actions—and who persecute those who differ from them in matters of religion."^{*} Many writers affirm, that the

Arminians acknowledge as their brethren all those who receive that form of doctrine that is known under the denomination of the Apostles' Creed. But that these writers are mistaken, appears sufficiently from what has been already said on this subject; and is further confirmed by the express testimony of Le Clerc, who (in his *Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod.* tom. xxv. p. 119) declares, that it is not true that the Arminians admit to their communion all those who receive the Apostles' Creed: his words are, "Ils se trompent; ils (the Arminians) offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'écriture sainte comme la seule règle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolâtres ni persécuteurs."

^{*} This Confession of Faith is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin edition of it is to be found in the works of Episcopius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 69. Where may be found also a Defence of this Confession against the objections of the professors of divinity at Leyden.

[†] They who will be at the pains of comparing together the theological writings of Episcopius, Courcelles, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Catteburg, will see clearly the diversity of sentiments that reigns among the Arminian doctors.

^{*} The original words of Le Clerc are, "Proferi solitis eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui (1.) idololatria sunt contaminati, (2.) qui minime habent scriptu-

ram pro fidei norma, (3.) qui impuris moribus sancta Christi precepta conculcant, (4.) aut qui denique alios religionis causæ vexant."

the doctrines of predestination and grace. They all, indeed, unanimously adhere to the doctrine that excluded their ancestors from the communion of the Reformed churches, even "that the love of God extends itself equally to all mankind; that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy by an eternal and invincible decree; and that the misery of those that perish comes from themselves;" but they explain this doctrine in a very different manner from that in which it was formerly understood. Be that as it may, this is the fundamental doctrine of the Arminians, and whoever opposes it becomes thereby an adversary to the whole community; whereas those whose objections are levelled at particular tenets which are found in the writings of the Arminian divines cannot be said, with any degree of propriety, to attack or censure the Arminian church, whose theological system, a few articles excepted, is vague and uncertain,^b and is not characterized by any fixed set of doctrines and principles. Such only attack certain doctors of that communion, who are divided among themselves, and do not agree, even in their explications of the doctrine relating to the extent of the divine love and mercy; though this be the fundamental point that occasioned their separation from the Reformed churches.

The present state
of the Armini-
nians.

XIII. The Arminian church makes at present but an inconsiderable figure, when compared with the Reformed; and, if credit may be given to public report, it declines from day to day. The Arminians have still in the United Provinces thirty-four congregations more or less numerous, which are furnished with eighty-four pastors; besides these, their church at Frederickstadt, in the duchy of Holstein, still subsists. It cannot, however, be said, that the credit and influence of their religious principles have declined with the external lustre of their community; since it is well known that their sentiments were early adopted in several countries, and were secretly received by many who had not the courage to profess them openly. Every one is acquainted with the change that has taken place in the established church of England, whose clergy, generally speaking, since the time of archbishop Laud, have embraced the Arminian doctrine concerning predestination and grace; and since the restoration of Charles II. have discovered a strong propensity to many other tenets of the Arminian church. Besides this, whoever has any acquaintance with the world must know, that, in many of the courts of Protestant princes, and generally speaking among those persons that pretend to be wiser than the multitude, the following fundamental principle of Arminianism is adopted: "that those doctrines, whose belief is necessary to salvation, are very few in number; and that every one is to be left at full liberty, with respect to his private sentiments of God and religion, provided his life and actions be conformable to the rules of piety and virtue." Even the United Provinces, which saw within their bosom the defeat of Arminianism, are at this time sensible of a considerable change in that respect; for, while the patrons of Calvinism in that republic acknowledge that the community which makes an external profession of Arminianism, declines gradually both in its numbers and influence, they, at the same time, complain that its doctrines and spirit gain ground from day to day; that they have even insinuated themselves more or less into the bosom of the established church, and infected the theological system

^b {1} What renders the Arminian Confession of Faith an uncertain representation of the sentiments of the community, is, the liberty in which every pastor is indulged of departing from it, when he finds any of its

doctrines in contradiction with his private opinions. See the introduction to the Arminian Confession of Faith, in the third volume of the French Abridgement of Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Netherlands.

of many of those very pastors who are appointed to maintain the doctrine and authority of the synod of Dort. The progress of Arminianism in other countries is abundantly known; and its votaries in France, Geneva, and many parts of Switzerland, are certainly very numerous.^c

The external forms of divine worship and ecclesiastical government in the Arminian church are almost the same with those that are in use among the Presbyterians. As, however, the leading men among the Arminians are peculiarly ambitious of maintaining their correspondence and fraternal intercourse with the church of England, and leave no circumstance unimproved that may tend to confirm this union; so they discover, upon all occasions, their approbation of the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government, and profess to regard it as most ancient, as truly sacred, and as superior to all other institutions of church polity.^d

^c It may not, however, be improper to observe here, that the progress of Arminianism has been greatly retarded, nay, that its cause daily declines in Germany and several parts of Switzerland, in consequence of the ascendancy which the Leibnitzian and Wolfian philosophy hath gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning. Leibnitz and Wolf, by attacking that liberty of indifference which is supposed to imply the power of acting, not only without, but against motives, struck at the very foundation of the Arminian system. But this was not all: for, by considering that multiplicity of worlds that compose the universe, as one system or whole, whose greatest possible perfection is the ultimate end of creating goodness, and the sovereign purpose of governing wisdom, they removed from the doctrine of predestination those arbitrary procedures and narrow views with which the Calvinists are supposed to have loaded it, and gave it a new, a more pleasing, and a more philosophical aspect. As the Leibnitzians laid down this great end as the supreme object of God's universal dominion, and the scope to which all his dispensations are directed, so they concluded, that if this end was proposed, it must be accomplished. Hence the doctrine of necessity to fulfil the purposes of a predestination founded in wisdom and goodness—a necessity, physical and mechanical, in the motions of material and inanimate things; but a necessity, moral and spiritual, in the voluntary determinations of intelligent beings, in consequence of prepollent motives, which produce their effects with certainty, though these effects be contingent, and by no means the offspring of an absolute and essentially immutable fatality. These principles are evidently applicable to the main doctrines of Calvinism; by them predestination is confirmed, though modified with respect to its reasons and its ends; by them irresistible grace (irresistible in a moral sense) is maintained, upon the hypothesis of prepollent motives and a moral necessity. The perseverance of the saints is also explicable upon the same system, by a series of moral causes producing a series of moral effects. In consequence of all this,

several divines of the German church have applied the Leibnitzian and Wolfian philosophy to the illustration of the doctrines of Christianity; and the learned Canzius has written a book expressly to show the eminent use that may be made of that philosophy in throwing light upon the chief articles of our faith. See his *Philosophiæ Leibnitianæ et Wolfianæ Usus in Theologia per præcipuæ fidei capita*, auctore Israel. Theoph. Canzio, and of which a second edition was published at Frankfort and Leipsic, in 1749. See also Wittenbach's *Tantamen Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Methodo Scientifica pertractatæ*, which was published in three vols. 8vo., at Frankfort, in 1747. See, above all, the famous work of Leibnitz, entitled, *Essais de Theodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme, et l'Origine du Mal*. It is remarkable enough, that the Leibnitzian system has been embraced by very few, scarcely by any, of the English Calvinists. Can this be owing to a want of inclination towards philosophical discussions? This cannot be said. The scheme of necessity, and of partial evils tending to universal good, has indeed been fostered in some parts of Great Britain, and even has turned some zealous Arminians into moderate and philosophical Calvinists. But the zealous Calvinists have, for the most part, held firm to their theology, and blended no philosophical principles with their system; and it is certain, that the most eminent philosophers have been found, generally speaking, among the Arminians. If both Calvinists and Arminians claim a King, it is certain that the latter alone can boast of a Newton, a Locke, a Clarke, and a Boyle.

^d Hence, to omit many other circumstances that show unquestionably the truth of this observation, the Arminians have been at great pains to represent Grotius, their hero and their oracle, as a particular admirer of the constitution and government of the church of England, which he preferred before all other forms of ecclesiastical polity. See what Le Clerc has published on this subject at the end of the edition of Grotius' book, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, which he gave at the Hague in the year 1724, p. 376.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE SECT CALLED QUAKERS.

The rise of the
Quakers.

THE sect of Quakers received this denomination in the year 1650, from Gervas Bennet, Esq., a justice of peace in Derbyshire,^a partly on account of the convulsive agitations and shakings of the body with which their discourses to the people were usually attended, and partly on account of the exhortation addressed to this magistrate by Fox and his companions, who, when they were called before him, desired him with a loud voice and a vehement emotion of body, to tremble at the word of the Lord. However sarcastical this appellation may be, when considered in its origin, the members of this sect are willing to adopt it, provided it be rightly understood; they prefer, nevertheless, to be called, in allusion to that doctrine that is the fundamental principle of their association, Children, or Confessors of light. In their conversation and intercourse with each other they use no other term of appellation than that of Friend.^b

This sect had its rise in England, in those unhappy times of confusion, anarchy, and civil discord, when every political or religious fanatic, that had formed new plans of government, or invented new systems of theology, came forth with his novelties to public view, and propagated them with impunity among a fickle and unthinking multitude. Its parent and founder was George Fox,^c a shoemaker, of a dark and melancholy complexion, and of a visionary and enthusiastic turn of mind. About the year 1647, which was the twenty-third year of his age, he began to stroll

^a See George Sewell's History of the Quakers, p. 23; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 32.

^b Sewel, History of the Quakers, p. 624.

^c The anonymous writer of a letter to Dr. Formey, F.R.S., published by Nicol, seems much offended at Mr. Formey, on account of his calling George Fox a man of a turbulent spirit, &c. He tells us, on the contrary, that from all the information worthy of credit which he was able to procure, it appears that Fox was "a man of so meek, contented, easy, steady, and tender a disposition, that it was a pleasure to be in his company, that he exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where, and in all, but with love, compassion, and long-suffering." This account he takes from Penn; and it is very probable that he has looked no farther, unless it be to the curious portrait which Thomas Ellwood, another Quaker, has given of Fox, a portrait in which there is such an affected jingle of words, as shows the author to have been more attentive to the arrangement of his sentences, than to a true exhibition of the character of his original; for we are told by Ellwood, that this same George Fox was deep in divine knowledge, powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer, quick in discerning, sound in judg-

ment, "risum tenestis, amici,"—manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, &c. &c. After having thus painted George, after the fancy of his two Brethren, for fancy is the Quaker's fountain of light and truth, the letter-writer observes, that Dr. Formey has taken his account of George's turbulence and fanaticism from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. As Mosheim then is dead, and cannot defend himself, may I be permitted to beg of this anonymous letter-writer, who appears to be a candid and rational man, to cast an eye upon Sewell's History of the Quakers, and to follow this meek, courteous, and modest George, running like a wild man through several counties, refusing homage to his sovereign, interrupting the ministers in the public celebration of divine service at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Market Bosworth? It is remarkable, that the very learned and worthy Dr. Henry More, who was not himself without a strong tincture of enthusiasm, and who looked upon Penn as a pious Christian, treated, nevertheless, George Fox as a melancholy fanatic, and as one possessed with the devil. See his Myst. of Godliness, b. x. ch. xiii. As also Schol. in Dialogue, v. sect. v.

through several counties in England, giving himself out for a person divinely inspired, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the divine word, that lies hid in the hearts of all men. After the execution of Charles I., when all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, seemed to be entirely suspended, if not extinct, Fox exerted his fanatical powers with new vigour, and formed more ambitious and extensive views. Having acquired a considerable number of disciples of both sexes, who were strongly infected with his wild enthusiasm, he excited great tumults in several parts of England: and in the year 1650, went so far as to disturb the devotion of those that were assembled in the churches for the purposes of public worship, declaring that all such assemblies were useless and unchristian. For these extravagances, both he and his companions were frequently cast into prison, and chastised, as disturbers of the peace, by the civil magistrate.⁴

The first attempts
of this sect un-
der Cromwell.

II. The first association of Quakers was composed mostly of visionary fanatics, and of persons that really seemed to be disordered in their brains, and hence they committed many enormities, which the modern Quakers endeavour to alleviate and diminish, but which they neither pretend to justify nor to approve; for the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree; and even their female disciples, forgetting the delicacy and decency peculiar to their sex, bore their part in these disorders. They ran like Bacchanals, through the towns and villages, declaiming against Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and every fixed form of religion; railed at public and stated worship; affronted and mocked the clergy, even in the very exercise of their

⁴ Besides the ordinary writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, the curious reader will do well to consult Crocius *Historia Quakeriana*, *Tribus Libris comprehensa*, the second edition of which was published in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1703. A physician named Kolhansius, who was born a Lutheran, but turned Quaker, published critical remarks upon this history, under the title of *Dilucidationes*, which were first printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1696. And it must be acknowledged, that there are many inaccuracies in the history of Crocius; it is, however, much less faulty than another history of this sect, which was published at Cologne in 12mo, in the year 1692, under the following title: "*Histoire abrégée de la naissance et du progrès du Kouakerisme avec celle de ses dogmes*;" for the anonymous author of this latter history, instead of relating well-attested facts, has compiled, without either discernment or choice, such an extravagant medley of truth and falsehood as is rather adapted to excite laughter than to administer instruction. See the second book of Crocius' *Historia Quakeriana*, p. 322 and 376; as also *Le Clerc*, *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, tom. xxii. p. 53.—The most ample and authentic account of this sect is that which was composed by George Sewel, from a great variety of genuine records, and partly from the papers of Fox, its founder, and published under the following title: "*The History of the Christian people called Quakers*." This work is remarkable both for the industry and accuracy which the author has discovered in compiling it. But as Sewel was himself a

Quaker, so he is sometimes chargeable with concealing, diminishing, or representing under artful colours, many things, which, if impartially related, must have appeared dishonourable, and might have proved detrimental, to his community. It must however be granted, that, notwithstanding these defects, Sewel's history is abundantly sufficient to enable an impartial and intelligent reader to form a just and satisfactory idea of this visionary sect. Voltaire has also entertained the public with *Four Letters concerning the Religion, Manners, and History of the Quakers*, in his *Mélanges de Littérature, d'Histoire, et de Philosophie*, which are written with his usual wit and elegance, but are rather adapted to amuse than instruct. The conversation between him and Andrew Pitt, an eminent Quaker in London, which is related in these Letters, may be true in general; but to render the account of it still more pleasing, the ingenious writer has embellished it with effusions of wit and fancy, and even added some particulars that are rather drawn from imagination than memory. It is from the books already mentioned that the French Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers, which is placed in the third volume of the splendid work entitled *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples*, is chiefly compiled, though with less attention and accuracy than might have been expected. A Lutheran writer, named Frederick Ernest Meis, has given an account of the English Quakers in a German work, entitled, *Entwurf der Kirchen-Ordnung und Gebrauche der Quaker in England*.

ministerial functions;* trampled upon the laws and upon the authority of the magistrates, under the pretext of being actuated by a divine impulse; and made use of their pretended inspiration to excite the most vehement commotions both in state and church. Hence it is not at all surprising, that the secular arm was at length raised against these pernicious fanatics, and that many of them were severely chastised for their extravagance and folly.[†] Cromwell himself, who was, generally speaking, an enemy to no sect, however enthusiastical it might be, entertained uneasy apprehensions from the frantic violence of the Quakers, and therefore, in his first thoughts, formed a resolution to suppress their rising community. But when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threatenings, and wore, in effect, too powerful or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from the use of force, and contented himself with employing wise measures and precautions to prevent their fomenting sedition among the people, or undermining the foundations of his new sovereignty.[‡]

The progress of
this sect under
Charles II. and
James II.

III. In process of time, the fumes of this excessive fanaticism began to evaporate, and the ardent impetuosity of the rising sect seemed gradually to subside; nor did the divine light, of which the Quakers boast, produce such tumults in church and state as at the first declaration of their celestial pretensions. Under the reign of Charles II. both their religious doctrine and discipline assumed a more regular and permanent form, by the care and industry of Fox, assisted in this very necessary undertaking by Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Samuel Fisher, men of learning and abilities, who became, notwithstanding, members of this strange community.

* & A female, contrary to the modesty of her sex, came into Whitehall Chapel stark naked, in the midst of public worship, when Cromwell was there present. Another came into the Parliament-house, with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, "Thus shall ye be broken in pieces." Thomas Adams, having complained to the Protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and not finding redress, he took off his cap, and tore it in pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." Several, pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets, denouncing the judgments of God against the Protector and his council; and one came to the door of the Parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying, He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house. The most extravagant Quaker that appeared in this time, was James Naylor, formerly an officer, a man of parts, and so much admired by these fanatics, that they blasphemously styled him, The everlasting son of righteousness; the prince of peace; the only begotten son of God; the fairest among ten thousand. See Neal's History of the Puritans; the Life and Trial of Naylor, p. 6, 7, &c. The anonymous author of the Letter to Dr. Formey, F.R.S., seems to have lost sight of the state of Quakerism in the time of Fox, when he denies that the charge of turbulence and fanaticism can be proved against

him or his friends, and gives the gentle denomination of imprudence to the extravagancies exhibited by the Quakers under Charles I. and the Commonwealth. The single story of Naylor, who was the convert and pupil of Fox, the letters full of blasphemous absurdity, written to this Rose of Sharon, this new Jesus, by Hannah Stranger, Richard Fairman, and others, show the horrid vein of fanaticism that ran through this visionary sect. See these letters, in the Life and Trial of Naylor, who, though cruelly scourged, was, however, whipped into his senses, or, at least, brought by his sufferings into a calmer state of mind. See also, Satan Enthroned, &c., p. 4 and 5. If Quakerism be now in England on a more rational footing, we may congratulate its members upon the happy change, but at the same time condole with them on the approaching annihilation of their sect; for if reason gets in among them, the spirit, I mean their spirit, will soon be quenched, and fancy being no more the only criterion of truth, the fundamental principle of their existence will be destroyed. In such a catastrophe, the abettors of ancient Quakerism will find some resource among the Methodists.

† Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 153; Sewel's History, &c. *passim*.

‡ Clarendon tells us, in his History of the Rebellion, that the Quakers always persevered in their bitter enmity against Cromwell.—See Sewel's History, book i. p. 91, 113, 148, 149.

Fox stood in urgent need of such able assistants; for his gross ignorance had rendered his religion hitherto a confused medley of incoherent tenets and visions. The new triumvirate, therefore, used their utmost endeavours to digest these under certain heads, and to reduce them to a sort of theological system.^b But such was the change of times, that the wiser and more moderate Quakers in England suffered more vexations, and were involved in greater calamities, than had fallen to the lot of their frantic and turbulent ancestors. These vexations, indeed, were not so much the consequence of their religious principles, as of their singular customs and manners in civil life; for they would never give to magistrates those titles of honour and pre-eminence that are designed to mark the respect due to their authority; they also refused obstinately to take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign,^c and to pay tithes to the clergy; hence they were looked upon as rebellious subjects, and, on that account, were frequently punished with great severity.^d Under the reign of James II., and more particularly about the year 1685, they began to see more prosperous days, and to enjoy the sweets of toleration and liberty, which they owed, not to the clemency of the government, but to the friendship of that monarch for the famous William Penn,^e who had been employed by him in matters of the utmost moment, and had rendered him signal and important services.^f What James had done, from motives of a personal or political nature, in favour of the Quakers, King William III. confirmed and continued, from a zeal for maintaining the rights of conscience, and advancing the cause of religious liberty. From these motives, he procured a full and ample toleration for dissenters of almost all denominations; and the Quakers, in consequence of this grant, enjoyed at length, upon a constitutional footing, tranquillity and freedom.^g

^b For an account of the life and writings of Barclay, see the General Dictionary; Sewel, in his History of the Quakers, gives an ample account of Keith. There is also particular mention made of Fisher, in a German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachricht*. 1750, p. 338.

^c This refusal to take the oath of allegiance did not proceed from any disaffection to the government, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful, and that swearing, even upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. They also sincerely believed, that they were as much obliged to obedience by an affirmation, which they were willing to make, as by an oath.

^d See a circumstantial account of their sufferings under Charles II., in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 313, 353, 396, 432, 510, 518, 552, 569; Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 271; Sewel, loc. cit. passim.

^e See Sewel's History of the Quakers.

^f The indulgence of James II. towards the Quakers, and other dissenters from the established church, was, at bottom, founded on a zeal for popery, and designed to favour the Roman Catholics: more particularly, the order he sent to the Lord Mayor of London, the 7th of November, 1687, to dispense with the Quakers' not swearing, was evidently de-

signed to open a door to the Roman Catholics to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. At the same time it was probable enough, that a personal attachment to the famous William Penn may have contributed to render this monarch more indulgent to this sect than he would otherwise have been. The reasons of this attachment are differently represented. Some suppose it to have been owing to the services of his father, in the fleet commanded against the Dutch, in the year 1665, by King James, when Duke of York. Others attribute this attachment to his personal services. From the high degree of favour he enjoyed at court, they concluded that he was a concealed papist, and assisted the king in the execution of his designs. That the imputation of popery was groundless appears from his correspondence with Dr. Tillotson, which is published in the Life of Penn, that is prefixed to the first volume of the works of the latter. It is nevertheless certain, that he was very intimate with Father Peters, the hot-headed Jesuit, whose bigotry formed the king's projects, and whose imprudence rendered them abortive. It is also certain that, in the year 1686, he went over to Holland, in order to persuade the Prince of Orange to come into King James's measures.

^g *Œuvres de M. de Voltaire*, tom. iv. p. 182.

The propagation
of Quakerism
out of England.

IV. Fatigued with the vexations and persecution which they suffered in their native country during the reign of Charles II., the Quakers looked about for some distant settlements, where they might shelter themselves from the storm; and with this view began to disseminate their religious principles in various countries. Attempts of this nature were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but with little success. The Dutch, however, were, after much importunity, persuaded to allow a certain number of these enthusiasts to settle in Holland, where they still continue to reside. Multitudes of them also went over to America, and formed settlements there, not long after the first rise of their sect; and it afterwards happened, by a singular concurrence of events, that this new world became the chief seat of their prosperity and freedom. William Penn, son of the famous vice-admiral of that name, who embraced Quakerism in the year 1668, received, in the year 1680, from Charles II., and from the English parliament, the grant of an ample, fertile, but uncultivated province in America, as a reward for the eminent services of his father. This illustrious Quaker, who was far from being destitute of parts, and whose activity and penetration were accompanied with an uncommon degree of eloquence,^a carried over with him, into his new dominions, a considerable colony of his Friends and Brethren; and he founded in those distant regions a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions, resembled no other known system of government, whose pacific principles and commercial spirit have long blessed it with tranquillity and opulence, and which still continues in a prosperous and flourishing state.^b The Quakers predominate in this colony, both by their influence and their numbers; but all those who acknowledge the existence and providence of one Supreme Being, and show their respect to that Being, either by external worship, or at least by the regularity of their lives and actions, are admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in this happy republic. The large province that constitutes its territory was called Pennsylvania, from the name of its proprietor; and its capital city was named Philadelphia, from the spirit of union and the fraternal love that reigned at first, and is still supposed to prevail, more or less, among its inhabitants.

The intestine disputes and contests of the Quakers.

V. Even during the life of their founder, the Quakers, notwithstanding their extraordinary pretensions to fraternal charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. These debates indeed, which were carried on in the years 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were not occasioned by any doctrines of a religious nature, but by a diversity of opinion about matters of discipline, about certain customs and manners, and other affairs of little moment; and they were generally terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty.^c But, after the death of Fox, which happened in the year 1691, some Friends, and more especially George Keith, who was by far the most learned member of the community, excited, by their doctrines and innovations, new discords of a much more

^a Bishop Burnet, who knew Penn personally, says, that "he was a talking, vain man, who had such a high opinion of his own eloquence, that he thought nothing could stand before it; and that he had a tedious, luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience."

^b The laws and charters of the colony of

Pennsylvania may be seen in Rapin's History, Penn's Works, and in other collections of public records; they are also inserted in the Bibliothèque Britannique, tom. xv. p. 310, tom. xvi. p. 127. Penn acquired a great reputation, both by his writings and the active figure he made in life. See the accounts given of him by Sewel and Burnet.

^c See Sewel's History of the Quakers.

serious and momentous kind than those which had before divided the brethren. This fountain of contention was opened in Pennsylvania, where Keith was charged with erroneous opinions concerning several points of theology, and more particularly concerning the human nature of Christ, which he supposed to be two-fold, the one spiritual and celestial, the other corporeal and terrestrial.^a This and other inventions of Keith would perhaps have passed without censure, among a people who reduce the whole of religion to fancy, and a kind of spiritual instinct, had not this learned man animadverted, with a certain degree of severity, upon some of the fantastic notions of the American brethren, and opposed, in a more particular manner, their method of converting the whole history of Christ's life and sufferings into a mere allegory, or symbolical representation of the duties of Christianity. The European Quakers dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as to deny openly the reality of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to express themselves without ambiguity on this subject, and to maintain publicly that Christ never existed but in the hearts of the faithful. This point was debated between Keith and his adversaries in several general assemblies of the sect held in England, and was at length brought before the parliament. The contest was terminated in the year 1695, by the excommunication of Keith and his adherents, which so exasperated this famous Quaker,^b that he returned, some years after this, into the bosom of the English church, and died in its communion.^c His friends and followers continued, for a long time, to hold their assemblies, and exercise their religion, in a state of separation from the rest of the sect; but now, if we may believe public fame, they are reconciled with their brethren.^d

The religion of the Quakers considered in a general point of view.

VI. The religion of the sect called Quakers has an air of novelty that strikes at first sight, but, when viewed closely, it will appear to be nothing more than a certain modification of that famous Mystic theology, which arose so early as the second century, was fostered and embellished by the luxuriant fancy of Origen, and passing through various hands assumed different aspects until it was adopted by the Quakers, who set off the motley form with new additions of their own invention. Fox, indeed, is not chargeable with these

^a Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 141; Croesii Historia Quakeriana, lib. iii. p. 446.

^b Bishop Burnet, who was certainly better acquainted with the history of Keith, with whom he had been educated, than Dr. Mosheim, attributes his return to the church of England to a much worthier motive than irritation and resentment. He tells us that Keith, after the American Quakers had appeared to him as little better than Deists, opposed them so warmly, that they sent him back to England. Here he opened a new meeting, and by a printed summons called together the whole party to convince them of these errors. "He continued these meetings," says the bishop, "being still, in outward appearance, a Quaker, for some years; till, having prevailed as far as he saw any appearance of success, he laid aside their exterior,

and was reconciled to the church." See Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 249.

^c See Burnet, *ibid.* Sewel's account of the troubles occasioned by Keith, in his History of the Quakers. But Sewel was either unacquainted with the true nature and state of this controversy, which, as he was an illiterate man, may well have been the case; or he has given decidedly a false and ambiguous representation of the matter. See the Life of Custor, in the Europa Erudita of Rahlfefus,* where this controversy is placed in its true light. Custor was a man of probity, who lived at that time in America, and was an eye-witness of these divisions.

^d See Roger's Christian Quaker, published in 4to, at London, in the year 1699; as also, The Quakers a Divided People, published in 1708; Unschuldig. Nachricht. 1744, p. 496.

inventions; his ignorant and inelegant simplicity places him beyond the reach of suspicion in this matter; but it is at the same time undoubtedly certain, that all his doctrine concerning the internal word, and the divine light within, its operations and effects, was either borrowed from the writings of the Mystics, which were, at that time, in the hands of many, or at least picked up from the conversation and expressions of some persons of the Mystic order. The tenets, however, which this blunt and illiterate man expressed in a rude, confused, and ambiguous manner, were dressed up and presented under a different form by the masterly hands of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, who digested them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system. The Quakers may therefore be deemed with reason the principal branch of the Mystics, as they not only embraced the precepts of the hidden wisdom, but even saw its whole tendency, and adopted, without hesitation, all its consequences."

The principal tenets of the Quakers.

VII. The fundamental doctrine of Quakerism, from whence all their other tenets are derived, is that famous and ancient opinion of the Mystic school, "That there lies concealed in the minds of all men a certain portion of divine reason, a

"Most people are of opinion, that we are to learn the true doctrine and sentiments of the Quakers from the Catechism of Robert Barclay, and more especially from his Apology for the true Christian Divinity, &c., which was published at London in 4to, in the year 1676, and was translated into several foreign languages. Nor do I deny, that the members of this sect are very desirous that we should judge of their religious sentiments by the doctrine that is exhibited in these books. But if those who are disposed to judge by this rule, go so far as to maintain, that these books contain all the religious tenets that have been formerly advanced, or are at present adopted by the people called Quakers, they may be refuted without difficulty, from a great variety of books and records, of unquestionable authenticity. It is necessary to enter into the true spirit of Barclay's writings. This ingenious man appeared as a patron and defender of Quakerism, and not as a professed teacher or expositor of its various doctrines; and he interpreted and modified the opinions of this sect after the manner of a champion or advocate, who undertakes the defence of an odious cause. How then does he go to work? In the first place, he observes an entire silence in relation to those fundamental principles of Christianity, concerning which it is of great consequence to know the real opinions of the Quakers; and thus he exhibits a system of theology that is evidently lame and imperfect. For it is the peculiar business of a prudent apologist to pass over in silence points that are scarcely susceptible of a plausible defence, and to enlarge upon those only which the powers of genius and eloquence may be able to embellish and exhibit in an advantageous point of view. It is observable, in the second place, that Barclay touches in a slight, superficial, and hasty manner, some tenets, which, when amply explained, had exposed

the Quakers to severe censure; and in this he discovers plainly the weakness of his cause. Lastly, to omit many other observations that might be made here, this writer employs the greatest dexterity and art in softening and modifying those invidious doctrines which he cannot conceal, and dare not disavow; for which purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases and terms that are made use of by the Quakers, and are peculiar to their sect, and expresses their tenets in ordinary language, in terms of a vague and indefinite nature, and in a style that casts a sort of mask over their natural aspect. At this rate the most enormous errors may be held with impunity; for there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which a plausible air may not be given by following the insidious method of Barclay; and it is well known that even the doctrine of Spinoza was, with a like artifice, dressed out and disguised by some of his disciples. The other writers of this sect have declared their sentiments with more freedom, perspicuity, and candour, particularly the famous William Penn and George Whitehead, whose writings deserve an attentive perusal preferably to all the other productions of that community. There is, among other writings of these eminent Quakers, one in whose composition they were both concerned, and which was published at London in the year 1674, under the following title: "The Christian Quaker and his divine testimony vindicated by Scripture, reason, and authorities, against the injurious attempts that have been lately made by several adversaries." The first part of this book was written by Penn, and the second by Whitehead. There is also Sewell's History of a Confession of Faith, that was published by the Quakers in the year 1693, during their controversy with Keith: but this confession is composed with great prudence, and is full of ambiguity.

spark of the same wisdom that exists in the Supreme Being. Therefore, those who are desirous of arriving at true felicity and eternal salvation, must, according to their system, by self-converse, contemplation, and perpetual efforts to subdue their sensual affections, endeavour to draw forth, kindle, and inflame that divine, hidden spark, which is overpowered by the darkness of the flesh, and suffocated, as it were, by that mass of matter with which it is surrounded. They who observe this rule will feel, say the Quakers, a divine glow of warmth and light, and hear a celestial and divine voice proceeding from the inward recesses of their souls; and by this light, and this voice, they will be led to all truth, and be perfectly assured of their union with the Supreme Being." This hidden treasure, which is possessed, though not improved, by all the human race, bears different denominations in the language of this fanatical sect. They frequently call it divine light, sometimes a ray of the eternal Wisdom, at others, the heavenly Sophia, whom they suppose married to a mortal, and whose wedding garments some of their writers describe with the most gaudy and pompous eloquence. But the most usual epithets given to this spiritual treasure are those of the internal Word and of Christ within; for as, on the one hand, they adopt that doctrine of Origen and the ancient mystics which represents Christ as the eternal Reason, or Wisdom of God; and, on the other, maintain, that all men are endowed naturally with a certain portion of the divine wisdom; they are thus directly led to affirm, that Christ, or the Word of God, dwells and speaks in the hearts of all men.*

The tenets that
flow from this
fundamental
doctrine.

VIII. All the singularities and wonderful fancies, that are to be found in the religious system of the Quakers, are the immediate consequences of the fundamental principle now mentioned. For since Christ resides in the inward frame of every mortal, it follows, "First, That the whole of religion consists in calling off the mind from external objects, in weakening the influence and ascendancy of the outward senses, and in every one's entering deeply into the inmost recesses of his heart, and listening attentively to the divine instructions and commands that the internal Word, or Christ within, delivers there. Secondly, That the external word, *i. e.* the Holy Scripture, neither points out the way of salvation, nor leads men to it; since it only consists of letters and words, which, being void of life, have not a degree of efficacy and power sufficient to illuminate the human mind, and to unite it to God. The only advantage that, in their opinion, results from a perusal of the Holy Scriptures, is, that they excite the mind to listen to the dictates of the internal Word, and to go to the school of Christ, who teaches within them; or, to express the same thing in other words, they look upon the Bible as a mute master, who, by signs and figures, points out and discovers that living master and effectual guide who dwells in the mind. Thirdly, That they who are without this written word, such as the Jews, Mahometans, and savage nations, are not, on that account, either removed from the path, or destitute of the doctrine of salvation, though they indeed want this inferior and subordinate help to its attainment. For if they only attend to this inward teacher, who always speaketh when the man is silent, they will learn abundantly, from him, all that is necessary to be known and practised in order to their final happiness; that of consequence, Fourthly,

* It is, nevertheless, to be observed, that the modern Quakers, as appears from the writings of Martyn and others, are, generally speaking, ignorant of the system of their an-

cestors, and perpetually confound the innate divine light above mentioned with the operations of the Holy Ghost in the minds of the faithful.

The kingdom of Christ is of a vast extent, and comprehends the whole race of mankind. For all have Christ within them, and therefore, even those who are deprived of the means of knowledge, and live in the grossest ignorance of the Christian religion, are capable of obtaining, through him, wisdom here, and happiness hereafter. Hence also they conclude, that those who lead virtuous lives, and resist the impulse of their lusts and passions, whether they be Jews, Mahometans, or Polytheists, shall be united to God in this life, by means of the Christ that lies hidden within them, and shall enjoy the fruits of this union in the life to come. To these tenets they add, in the fifth place, That a heavy, dark body, composed of corrupt matter, hinders men from discerning, with ease, this hidden Christ, and from hearing his divine and internal voice. Therefore they look upon it as a matter of the highest importance, to watch against the pernicious consequences of this union between the soul and body, that the latter may not blunt the powers of the former, disturb its tranquillity, or, by the ministry of the outward senses, fill it with the images of vain, sensible, and external objects." The consideration now mentioned engages them, lastly, "To look upon it as utterly incredible, that God should ever again shut up, in the same material habitation, the souls that are set free by death from their bodily prison; and therefore they affirm, that the Gospel account of the resurrection of the body, must either be interpreted in a figurative sense, or be understood as pointing out the creation of a new and celestial body."

Their doctrine concerning Christ. IX. It appears evidently from all this, that the existence of the man Christ Jesus, together with the circumstantial accounts we have in Scripture of his divine origin, his life, and actions, his satisfaction, merits, and sufferings, make no essential part of the theological system of the Quakers, which is built upon a different foundation, and derives the whole plan and method of salvation from the Christ within. Hence several members of that sect, as we learn from writers of unquestionable authority, went such an extravagant length, as to maintain, that the accounts we have of Jesus Christ, in the Gospel history, do not relate to the Son of God, who took upon him the nature of man, but to that Christ within, whose operations are recorded by the sacred historians in a figurative and allegorical language. This opinion, if we may confide in the testimonies of unexceptionable witnesses, is so far from having lost its credit among them, that it is still openly professed by the American Quakers. Those of Europe, whether from the force of conviction or the suggestions of prudence, differ entirely from their brethren in this respect; they hold, "That the divine Wisdom, or Reason, resided in the Son of the Virgin Mary, and conveyed its instructions to mankind by his ministry;" and they profess to believe, "that this divine man really did and suffered what is recorded concerning him by the sacred writers." It is nevertheless certain, that they express themselves in a very ambiguous manner on many points that relate to the history of the divine Saviour; and, in a more particular manner, their notions concerning the fruits of his sufferings, and the efficacy of his death, are so vague and obscure, that it is very difficult to know what is their real opinion about the degree of this efficacy, and the nature of these fruits. It is still further worthy of observation, that the European Quakers, though they acknowledge the reality of the life, actions,

* The Quakers adopt all these tenets; they are at least obliged to adopt them, unless they renounce the fundamental principles of their system. We have omitted the mention

of those points about which they dispute among themselves, that we may not appear to take pleasure in representing them under odious colours.

and sufferings of Christ, yet do not entirely reject the allegorical interpretation of our Saviour's history mentioned above; for they consider the events that happened to Christ, in the course of his ministry here upon earth, as the signs and emblems of those scenes through which the mental Christ must pass, in order to render us partakers of eternal salvation. Hence they talk in high-swollen and pompous strains (like their models the Mystics) of the birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ, in the hearts of the faithful.

Their religious discipline and worship. X. The religious discipline, worship, and practice of the Quakers flow from the same original source from which,

as we have already observed, their doctrine and tenets were immediately derived. They meet for the purposes of religion on the same days which are set apart for the celebration of public worship in all other Christian churches; but they neither observe festivals, nor use external rites nor ceremonies, nor suffer religion, which they place entirely in the mental worship of the hidden Christ, to be shackled and cramped by positive institutions. All the members of their community, whether male or female, have an equal right to teach and exhort in their public meetings; for who, say they, will presume to exclude from the liberty of speaking to the brethren, those persons in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks? They reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other Christian churches is distinguished; and this, indeed, is an instance of their consistency with themselves, as it is the immediate consequence of their religious system; for in their judgment, it is not the person who expresses his desires in a set form of words, that can be said to pray truly, but he, on the contrary, who by a deep recollection, withdraws his mind from every outward object, reduces it to a state of absolute tranquillity, silences every inward motion and affection, and plunges it, as it were, into the abyss of Deity. They neither observe the institution of baptism, nor do they renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits that result from it, by the celebration of the eucharist. They look upon these two institutions as merely Judaical, and allege, that our Saviour observed them for no other end than to show for once, in a visible manner, the mystical purification of the soul under the figure of baptism, and the spiritual nourishment of the inward man, under that of the eucharist.

Their moral precepts.

XI. The moral doctrine of the Quakers, which is remarkable for its excessive austerity, is chiefly comprehended in the two following precepts: First, "That the faithful are either to avoid entirely every thing that tends to gratify the external senses and passions, every thing that can be ranked under the denomination of sensual or bodily pleasure; or, if such rigorous abstinence be impossible in this present state, and contrary to the evident laws of nature, such pleasure is to be so modified and restrained by reason and meditation, as to prevent its debasing and corrupting the mind. For as the whole attention of the mind must be given to the voice and orders of the internal guide, so, for this purpose, all possible care must be taken to remove it from the contagion of the body, and from all intimate and habitual commerce with corporeal objects." By the second leading precept of morality among the Quakers, all imitation of those external manners, that go by the name of civility and politeness, as also several matters of form, usual in the conduct of life, and in the connexions of human society, are strictly prohibited as unlawful. Hence they are easily distinguished from all other Christian sects, by their outward deportment and their manner of life. They never salute

any person they meet in their way, nor employ in their conversation the usual manner of address, and the appellations that civility and custom have rendered a matter of decency at least, if not of duty; they never express their respect for magistrates, or persons in authority, either by bodily gestures, titles of honour, or in general by any of the marks of homage that are paid them by persons of all other denominations. They carry their pacific sentiments to such an extravagant length as to renounce the right of self-defence, and let pass with impunity, and even without resistance, the attacks that are made on their possessions, their reputation, nay, on their lives. They refuse to confirm their testimonies by an oath, to appear in behalf of their property before a civil tribunal, or to accuse those who have injured them. To these negative parts of their external conduct, they add peculiar circumstances of a positive kind, that discover the same austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit; for they distinguish themselves in a striking manner, from the rest of their fellow-citizens, by the gravity of their aspect, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tone of their voice, the stiffness of their conversation, and the frugality of their tables. It is, however, affirmed by persons of credit, who are eye-witnesses of what passes among the members of this sect, that the modern, and more especially the English Quakers, whom trade has furnished with the means of luxury, have departed from this rigid and austere manner of life, and daily grow more reconciled to the outward pleasures and enjoyments of the world. These more sociable Quakers are also said to modify and explain the theology of their ancestors, in such a manner as to render it more rational than it was in its primitive state. At the same time it is certain, that many of the members of this sect have either a false notion, or no notion at all, of that ancient theology.

Their form of ecclesiastical governments.

XII. The principles of this community seem to exclude the very idea of order, discipline, and ecclesiastical government. Its leading members, however, began to perceive in process of time, that without laws and rulers it could not subsist, but must inevitably fall into confusion and ruin. They accordingly erected a council of elders, who discuss and determine matters of a doubtful and difficult nature, and use all possible care and diligence in inspecting the conduct of the Brethren, and in preventing whatever they look upon as prejudicial to the interests of the community. The names of those that enter into the state of wedlock are given in to those leading members, who also keep an exact register of the births and deaths that happen in their society. They exercise, moreover, a certain degree of authority over those who speak in their meeting; since it is well known, that in some places these speakers show their discourses to the ruling elders before they deliver them, in order that they may judge whether or no they are fit to be repeated in public. For since the abuse that was made of the unbounded liberty that every individual had to instruct and exhort the congregation, and to speak and harangue when the pretended spirit moved them, new regulations have been observed; and this liberty has been considerably modified, in several places, to avoid the mockery, contempt, and censure, to which the community was constantly exposed, by the absurd, incoherent, and insipid discourses of many of its members. There are also in some of the more considerable congregations, and more especially in those that are erected in London, certain persons, whose vocation it is to be always prepared to speak to the people, in case none of the congregation find themselves inwardly moved or disposed to perform that office. The appointment of these professed speakers was designed to remedy an inconvenience that frequently happened

in the Quaker-meetings, even that the whole assembly was dismissed without either instruction or exhortation, because none found themselves moved to speak. It is indeed to be observed, that this public discourse is not looked upon by the Quakers as an essential part of their religion and worship; for the Brethren and Sisters do not meet that they may hear the words of an external teacher, but that they may listen with recollection to the voice of the divine instructor, which every one carries with him in his own breast, or, to use their own phrase, that they may commune with themselves. Nevertheless, as these mute assemblies excite the laughter of their adversaries, and expose them to the reproach of enthusiasm and frenzy, they have, on that account, appointed fixed speakers, to whom they give a small salary, that the whole time of their meeting may not be passed in silence.²

The Quakers have annually a general assembly of the whole sect, which meets at London the week before Whitsunday, and is composed of deputies from all their particular congregations. They still complain, notwithstanding the toleration they enjoy, of certain severities and hardships; but these are entirely owing to their obstinate refusal to pay those tithes which, by the laws of the land, are designed for the support of the established church.

CHAPTER V.

THE MENNONITES OR ANABAPTISTS.

The various fortunes of the Mennonites.

I. AFTER various scenes of trial and perplexity, the Mennonites at length found, during this century, the tranquillity they had long sought after in vain. They arrived, indeed, at this state of repose, by very slow steps; for though, in the preceding age, they were admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in the United Provinces, yet it was a long time before their solicitations and pleas of innocence could engage the English, the Swiss, and Germans, to receive them in their bosom, and to abrogate the laws that had been enacted against them. The civil magistrates, in those countries, had still before their eyes the enormities committed by the ancient Anabaptists; and besides, they could not persuade themselves, that a set of men, who looked upon all oaths as sinful, and declared that magistracy and penal laws have no place in the kingdom of Christ, had the qualities and sentiments that are necessary to constitute a good citizen. Hence we find, even in this century, several examples of great severities employed against the Anabaptists, and some instances of even capital punishments being inflicted on them.³ But now, that the demonstrations of their innocence and probity

² The truth of this account of fixed speakers appointed to discourse and exhort, when the spirit does not move any of the other brethren, and rewarded for their pains, is denied by the writer of the Letter to Dr. Formey; we leave the decision of the matter to those who have an opportunity of examining the fact.

³ The severities exercised in Switzerland against the Mennonites are recorded by Ottius, in his *Annal. Anabapt.* p. 837, and more particularly those that they suffered in the year 1093, by Hottinger, in his German work, entitled, *Schweizerische Kirchen-Historie*, vol. i. p. 1101; nor even in this present century have

they been treated more mildly in the canton of Berne, as appears from Schyn's *Historia Mennonitarum*, cap. x. p. 289, in which we find the letters of the States-General of the United Provinces interceding with that Canton in their behalf. A severe persecution was set on foot against them in the Palatinate in the year 1694, which was suspended by the intercession of William III. king of Great Britain. See Schyn, *ibid.* p. 265. Bishop Burnet mentions some instances of the Anabaptists suffering death in England during the seventeenth century, in the first volume of his *History of his Own Times*.

are clear and unquestionable, they enjoy the sweets of security and repose, not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, Germany, and Prussia, where they procure by their honest industry, and particularly by their application to trade and commerce, an ample subsistence for themselves and their families.

Union and concord restored among them.

II. The wiser members of this community easily perceived, that their external tranquillity would neither be stable nor permanent, unless their intestine discords were removed, and their ancient disputes about trifling and unimportant matters charitably terminated. They accordingly used their most zealous endeavours to diffuse the sweets of charity and concord throughout their sect; nor were their labours altogether unsuccessful. In the year 1630, a considerable part of the Anabaptists of Flanders, Germany, and Friesland, concluded their debates in a conference held at Amsterdam, and entered into the bonds of fraternal communion, each, notwithstanding, reserving to themselves the liberty of retaining certain opinions. This association was renewed, and confirmed by new resolutions in the year 1649, by the Anabaptists of Flanders and Germany, between whom great divisions had reigned.^b All these formed a bond of union with those branches of the sect that were most distinguished by their moderation; and they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous laws of Menno and his successors.

Different sects of Anabaptists.

III. Therefore, at this day the whole community may be divided into two large sects, the one comprehending the more Refined Anabaptists, remarkable for their austerity, who are also called Flemings or Flandrians; and the others called in the Dutch language the Grosser Anabaptists, who are of a milder complexion, and an easier and more moderate character, and go commonly under the denomination of Waterlandians. We have given already a particular account of the origin and etymology of these denominations. Each of these sects is subdivided into a variety of branches, more especially the refined and austere Anabaptists; who have not only produced two separate societies, distinguished by the names of Groningenists,^c and Dantzigers, or Prussians,^d but also a considerable number of more obscure and inconsiderable factions, which differ in doctrine, discipline, and manners; and agree in nothing but the name of Anabaptists, and in some ancient opinions that have been unanimously embraced by all the members of that sect. All the refined Anabaptists are the rigid followers of Simon Menno, and stedfastly maintain, though not all with the same degree of severity and rigour, the sentiments of their chief on the following points—the human nature of Christ—the obligation that binds us to wash the feet of strangers, in consequence of our Saviour's command—the necessity of excommunicating and of avoiding, as one would do the plague, not only avowed sinners, but also those who depart, even in some light instances, from the simplicity of their ancestors, and are tainted with any appearance of evil—the contempt that is due to human learning, and other matters of less moment.* It is, however, to be observed, that in our times, some of the congregations of this refined sect have been gradually departing from this austere system, and are proceeding, though with a slow pace, towards the opinions and discipline of the more moderate Anabaptists.

^b Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Historie Mennonit.* p. 41, 42.

^c So called, because they met at certain stated times in the city of Groningen.

^d They derive this denomination from their

adopting the manners and discipline of the Prussians.

* See a German work entitled, *Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Mennoniten*, by Reus. 1743.

The external form
of the Menno-
nite church.

IV. All these Anabaptists adopt a form of ecclesiastical government and discipline that is administered by three distinct orders of persons. The first order is that of the bishops or presbyters, who always preside in the consistory, and are alone invested with the power of administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The second is that of the teachers, who are set apart for the purposes of public instruction and the celebration of divine worship. The third comprehends the deacons, who are chosen out of both sexes. These three orders compose the consistory, or council, by which the church is governed. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the brethren. The ministers are elected to their holy office by their suffrages, and are all, the deacons excepted, installed by public prayers, attended with imposition of hands.

V. Among the inferior sects of the rigid anabaptists, the most considerable is that which passes under the denomination of Ukewallists, and is so called after its founder, Uke Walles, a native of Friesland. This rustic, rigid, and ignorant sectary, not only exhorted his followers to maintain the primitive and austere doctrine of Menno, without suffering it to be softened or altered in the smallest degree, but also took it into his head to propagate, jointly with another innovator, named John Leus, in the year 1637, a singular opinion concerning the salvation of Judas and the rest of Christ's murderers. To give an air of plausibility to the favourable opinion he entertained concerning the eternal state of this arch apostate, he invented the following odd hypothesis:—"That the period of time that extended from the birth of Christ to the descent of the Holy Ghost, and was, as it were, the distinctive term that separated the Jewish from the Christian dispensation, was a time of deep ignorance and darkness, during which the Jews were void of light, and entirely destitute of divine succour; and that, of consequence, the sins and enormities that were committed during this interval were in a great measure excusable, and could not merit the severest displays of the divine justice." This idle fiction met with no indulgence, either from the Mennonites on the one hand, or from the magistrates of Groningen on the other; for the former excluded its inventor from their communion, and the latter banished him from their city. He fixed his residence in the adjacent province of East-Friesland, and there drew after him a considerable number of disciples, whose descendants still subsist in the neighbourhood of Groningen, Friesland, and also in Lithuania and Prussia, and have their own religious assemblies, separate from those of the other Mennonites. As they have little intercourse with any but those of their own communion, it is not an easy matter to know with certainty whether they persevere in the singular opinion that proved so detrimental to the interest of their leader. It is at least certain that they follow scrupulously the steps of their original founder, MENNO, and exhibit a lively image of the primitive manners and constitution of the Mennonites. They rebaptize all those who leave other Christian churches to embrace their communion. Their apparel is mean beyond expression, and they avoid every thing that has the most distant appearance of elegance or ornament. They let their beards grow to an enormous length; their hair, uncombed, lies in a disorderly manner on their shoulders; their countenances are marked with the strongest lines of dejection and melancholy; and their habitations and household furniture are such as are only fitted to answer the demands of mere necessity. Such, moreover, is the severity of their discipline, that any member of their community who departs, in

the smallest instance, from this austere rule, is immediately excluded from the society, and avoided by all the brethren as a public pest. Their inspectors or bishops, whom they distinguish from the ministers, whose office is to preach and instruct, are chosen by an assembly composed of all the congregations of the sect. The ceremony of washing the feet of strangers, who come within the reach of their hospitality, is looked upon by them as a rite of divine institution. We shall not enlarge upon the other circumstances of their ritual, but only observe, that they prevent all attempts to alter or modify their religious discipline, by preserving their people from every thing that bears the remotest aspect of learning and science; from whatever, in a word, might have a tendency to enlighten their devout ignorance.

VI. The more moderate, who are called the Grosser, or *The Waterlandians*. less scrupulous Anabaptists, are composed of certain inhabitants of Waterland, Flanders, Friesland, and Germany, who entered into an association, as has been already observed, and commonly pass under the denomination of Waterlandians. This community has abandoned the severe discipline and singular opinions of Menno, whom, nevertheless, they generally respect as their primitive parent and founder, and have advanced a step nearer than the other Anabaptists to the religious doctrines and customs of other Christian churches. They are, however, divided into two distinct sects, which bear the respective denominations of Frieslanders and Waterlandians, and are both without bishops, employing no other ecclesiastical ministers than presbyters and deacons. Each congregation of this sect is independent on all foreign jurisdiction, having its own ecclesiastical council, or consistory, which is composed of presbyters and deacons. The supreme spiritual power is, nevertheless, in the hands of the people, without whose consent nothing of importance can be carried into execution. Their presbyters are, generally speaking, men of learning, and applying themselves with success to the study of physic and philosophy; and there is a public professor, supported, at present, by the sect at Amsterdam, for the instruction of their youth in the various branches of philosophy and sacred erudition.

The Galenists and Apostoolians. VII. One of these Waterlandian sects was divided, in the year 1664, into two factions, of which the one were called Galenists and the other Apostoolians, from their respective leaders. The founder of the former was Galen Abraham Haan, a doctor of physic, and pastor of a Mennonite congregation at Amsterdam, who has received the applause even of his enemies, on account of his uncommon penetration and eloquence. This eminent Anabaptist, in imitation of the Arminians, considered the Christian religion as a system that laid much less stress upon faith than upon practice; and he was for receiving into the communion of the Mennonites all those who acknowledged the divine origin of the books of the Old and the New Testament, and led holy and virtuous lives. Such, in his judgment, were true Christians, and had an undoubted right to all the rights and privileges that belong to that character. These comprehensive terms of communion were peculiarly favourable to his own theological sentiments, since his notions concerning Christ's divinity, and the salvation of mankind by his death and merits, were very different from those of the Mennonites, and coincided a good deal with the Socinian system.

Several persons opposed the sentiments of this latitudinarian, and more especially Samuel Apostool, an eminent pastor among the Mennonites at Amsterdam, who not only defended with the utmost zeal the doctrine

generally received among the Mennonites, in relation to the divinity of Christ and the first fruits of his death, but also maintained that ancient hypothesis of a visible and glorious church of Christ upon earth, that was peculiar to this sect.¹ Thus a controversy was kindled, which produced the division now mentioned—a division which the zealous efforts of several of the wisest and most respectable members of this community have hitherto proved insufficient to heal. The Galenists are not less disposed than the Arminians to admit, as members of their community, all those who call themselves Christians; and they are the only sect of the Anabaptists who reject the denomination of Mennonites. Apostolians, on the contrary, admit to their communion those only who profess to believe all the points of doctrine which are contained in their public confession of faith.²

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOCINIANS AND ARIANS.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century, the sect of the Socinians seemed to be well established, and their affairs were even in a flourishing situation. In Transylvania and in Lucko they enjoyed the liberty of holding, without molestation, their religious assemblies, and professing publicly their theological opinions. The advantages that attended their situation in Poland were still more considerable; for they had at Racow a public seminary of learning, which was furnished with professors eminently distinguished by their erudition and genius, together with a press for the publication of their writings; they had also a considerable number of congregations in that district, and were supported by the patronage of several persons of the highest distinction. Elated with this scene of prosperity, they began to form more extensive views, and aimed at enlarging the borders of their community, and procuring it patrons and protectors in other countries. There are in being authentic records, from which it appears that they sent emissaries with this view, about the commencement of this century, into Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, who endeavoured to make proselytes to Socinianism in these countries among men of learning and men in power. For it is remarkable, that the Socinians, in propagating their religious principles, have always followed a quite different method from that which has been observed by other sects. It has been the general practice of sectaries and innovators to endeavour to render themselves popular, and to begin by gaining the multitude to their side; but the disciples of Socinus, who are perpetually exalting the dignity, prerogatives, and authority of reason, have this peculiarity in their manner of proceeding, that they are at very little pains to court the favour of the people, or to make proselytes to their cause among those who are not distinguished from the multitude by their rank or their abilities. It is only among the learned and the great that they seek for disciples and patrons with a zealous assiduity.

The progress and decline of Socinianism at Altorf.

II. The effect of the missions now mentioned, though they were conducted and executed by persons of whom the greatest part were eminent, both on account of their

¹ For a more particular account of these two Mennonites, see Schyn's *Deductio plenior Histor. Mennonit.* a. xv. p. 318, and xviii. p. 237.

² Casp. Commelini *Descriptio Urbis Am-*

stelodami, tom. i. p. 500; Stoupe's *Religion des Hollandois*, p. 20; Benthem's *Holländischer Schul-und-Kirchen Staat*, p. 1, ch. xix. p. 830.

rank and abilities, was nevertheless far from answering the views and expectations of the community. In most places their success was doubtful, at best but inconsiderable; in some, however, they were favourably received, and seemed to employ their labours to purpose. They had no where a more flattering prospect of success than in the academy of Altorf, where their sentiments and their cause were promoted with dexterity by Ernest Sohner, an acute and learned Peripatetician, who was professor of physic and natural philosophy. This subtle philosopher, who had joined the Socinians during his residence in Holland, instilled their principles into the minds of his scholars with much greater facility, by his having acquired the highest reputation both for learning and piety. The death, indeed, of this eminent man, which happened in the year 1612, deprived the rising society of its chief ornament and support; nor could the remaining friends of Socinianism carry on the cause of their community with such art and dexterity as to escape the vigilant and severe eye of the other professors. Their secret designs were accordingly brought to light in the year 1616; and the contagion of Socinianism, which was gathering strength from day to day, and growing imperceptibly into a reigning system, was all of a sudden dissipated and extinguished by the vigilant severity of the magistrates of Nuremburg. The foreign students who had been infected with these doctrines saved themselves by flight; while the natives, who were chargeable with the same reproach, accepted of the remedies that were presented to them by the healing hand of orthodoxy, and returned quietly to their former theological system.^a

The decline of Socinianism and the sufferings of its votaries in Poland.

III. The establishment of the Socinians in Poland, though it seemed to rest upon solid foundations, was nevertheless of a short duration,¹ its chief supports were withdrawn in the year 1638, by a public decree of the diet. It happened in this year that some of the students of Racow vented, in an irregular and tumultuous manner, their religious resentment against a crucifix, at which they threw stones, till they beat it down out of its place. This act of violence excited such a high degree of indignation in the Roman catholics, that they vowed revenge, and fulfilled this vow in the severest manner; for it was through their importunate solicitations that the terrible law was enacted at Warsaw, by which it was resolved, that the academy of Racow should be demolished, its professors banished with ignominy, the printing-house of the Socinians destroyed, and their churches shut. All this was executed without the smallest alleviation, or the least delay, notwithstanding the efforts made by the powerful patrons of the Socinians to ward off the blow.¹ But a catastrophe still more terrible awaited them; and the persecution now mentioned was the forerunner of that dreadful revolution which, about twenty years afterwards, brought on the entire ruin of this community in Poland; for by a public and solemn act of the diet held at Warsaw, in the year 1658, all the Socinians were banished for ever from the territory of that republic, and capital punishment

^a The learned Gustavus George Zeltner, formerly professor of divinity in the academy of Altorf, composed an ample and learned account of this theological revolution, drawn principally from manuscript records, which was published at Leipsic, in the year 1729, in two volumes, in 4to, by Gebauer, under the following title: *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi, Altorfinae quondam Academiae infesti, arcana.*

¹ We have a circumstantial account of the

flourishing state of the Racovian academy, while it was under the direction of the learned Martin Ruarus, in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. i. p. 572, where we learn that Ruarus was a native of Holstein, who became a proselyte to the Socinian system.

¹ *Epistola de Wissowatii vita in Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 233; Gue. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfina*, vol. i. p. 299.

was denounced against all those who should either profess their opinions, or harbour their persons. The unhappy exiles were, at first, allowed the space of three years to settle their affairs, and to dispose of their possessions; but this term was afterwards abridged by the cruelty of their enemies, and reduced to two years. In the year 1661, the terrible edict was renewed; and all the Socinians that yet remained in Poland were barbarously driven out of that country, some with the loss of their goods, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness, nor any other domestic consideration, could suspend the execution of that rigorous sentence.¹

The fate of the Socinian exiles. IV. A part of these exiles, who sought for a refuge among their brethren in Transylvania, sank under the burden of their calamities, and perished amidst the hardships to which they were exposed. A considerable number of these unhappy emigrants were dispersed throughout the adjacent provinces of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; and their posterity still subsists in those countries. Several of the more eminent members of the sect, in consequence of the protection granted them by the Duke of Brieg, resided for some time at Crossen in Silesia.¹ Others went in search of a convenient settlement for themselves and their brethren, into Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark. Of all the Socinian exiles, none discovered such zeal and industry for the interests and establishment of the sect as Stanislaus Lubieniecicus, a Polish knight, distinguished by his learning, and singularly esteemed by persons of the highest rank, and even by several sovereign princes, on account of his eloquence, politeness, and prudence. This illustrious patron of Socinianism succeeded so far in his designs, as to gain the favour of Frederic III. king of Denmark; Christian Albert, duke of Holstein; and Charles Lewis, elector Palatine; and thus had almost obtained a secure retreat and settlement for the Socinians, about the year 1662, at Altena, Fredericstadt, and Manheim; but his measures were disconcerted, and all his hopes entirely frustrated, by the opposition and remonstrances of the clergy established in these countries; he was opposed in Denmark by Suaningius, bishop of Zealand, in Holstein by Reinboth, and in the Palatinate by John Lewis Fabricius.² Several other attempts were made, in different countries, in favour of Socinianism, but their success was still less considerable; nor could any of the European nations be persuaded to grant a public settlement to a sect whose members denied the divinity of Christ.

V. The remains, therefore, of this unfortunate community are at this day dispersed through different countries, particularly in the kingdoms of England and Prussia, the electorate of Brandenburg, and the United Provinces, where they lie more or less concealed, and hold their religious assemblies in a clandestine manner. They are, indeed, said to exercise their religion publicly in England,³ not in consequence of a legal tolera-

¹ Stanislaus Lubieniecici *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. iii. c. xvii. xviii. p. 279; *Equitis Poloni Vindicie pro Unitariorum in Polonia Religione liberate apud Sandium*, in *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 267.

² Lubieniecici *Historia Reformat. Polon.* cap. xviii. p. 285, where there is a letter written by the Socinians of Crossen.

³ See Sandii *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 165; *Historia Vitæ Lubieniecici*, prefixed to his *Historia Reformationis Polonica*, p. 7, 8; Mollerii *Introductio in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 105, and his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 487; Jo. Henr. Heideggeri

Vita Joh. Lud. Fabricii, subjoined to the works of the latter, p. 56.

⁴ The Socinians in England have never made any figure as a community, but have rather been dispersed among that great variety of sects that have arisen in a country where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniences. Besides, few ecclesiastics, or writers of any note, have adopted the theological system now under consideration, in all its branches. The Socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had indeed many abettors in

tion, but through the indulgent connivance of the civil magistrate.* Some of them have embraced the communion of the Arminians; others have joined with that sect of the Anabaptists that is distinguished by the name of Galenists; and in this there is nothing at all surprising, since neither the Arminians nor Anabaptists require from those that enter into their communion an explicit or circumstantial declaration of their religious sentiments. It is also said, that a considerable number of this dispersed community became members of the religious society called Collegiants.† Amidst these perpetual changes and vicissitudes, it was not possible that the Socinians could maintain a uniform system of doctrine, or preserve unaltered and entire the religious tenets handed down to them by their ancestors. On the contrary, their peculiar and distinctive opinions are variously explained and understood both by the learned and illiterate members of their community, though they all agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and that also of the divinity and satisfaction of Jesus Christ.‡

The Arians.

VI. After the Socinians, as there is a great affinity between the two sects, it is proper to mention the Arians,

England during the 17th century; and it may be presumed, without temerity, that its votaries are rather increased than diminished in the present: but those divines who have abandoned the Athanasian hypothesis concerning the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, have more generally gone into the Arian and Semi-Arian notions of that inexplicable subject than into those of the Socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous John Biddle, after having maintained, both in public and in private, during the reign of Charles, and the protectorship of Cromwell, the Unitarian system, erected an Independent congregation in London, which is the only British church we have heard of, in which all the peculiar doctrines of Socinianism were inculcated; for if we may give credit to the account of Sir Peter Pett, this congregation held the following notions: "That the fathers under the old covenant had only temporal promises—that saving faith consisted in universal obedience performed to the commands of God and Christ—that Christ arose again only by the power of the Father, and not his own—that justifying faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by men's natural abilities;—that faith cannot believe any thing contrary to, or above reason—that there is no original sin—that Christ hath not the same body now in glory, in which he suffered and rose again—that the saints shall not have the same body in heaven which they had on earth—that Christ was not a Lord or King before his resurrection, or Priest before his ascension—that the saints shall not, before the day of judgment, enjoy the bliss of heaven—that God doth not certainly know future contingencies—that there is not any authority of fathers or general councils in determining matters of faith

—that Christ, before his death, had not any dominion over the angels—and that Christ, by dying, made no satisfaction for us." See the Preface to Sir Peter Pett's *Happy Future State of England*, printed at London in 1688.

° The Socinians who reside at present in the district of Mark, used to meet, some years ago, at stated times, at Koningewald, a village in the neighbourhood of Frankfort on the Oder. See the *Recueil de Littérature de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, published at Amsterdam in the year 1731, in 8vo,* p. 44. They published, in the year 1716, at Berlin, their Confession of Faith in the German language, which is to be found, with a refutation thereto annexed, in a book entitled, *Den Theologischen Heb. Opfern*, part x. p. 352.

† This community, of which there is an account given in the beginning of the following chapter, called their religious meetings Collegies, a Dutch word, which signifies congregation, or assembly, and hence they were denominated Collegiants.

‡ Many examples might be alleged in proof of this: it will be sufficient to mention that of the learned Crellius, who, though he was a professor of theology among the Socinians, yet differed in his opinions, about many points of doctrine, from the sentiments of Socinus and the Racovian Catechism, and would not be called a Socinian, but an Artemonite.† See the *Journal Littéraire*, tom. xvii. p. i. p. 150, and the account I have given of this celebrated man in my *Syntagm. Dissertationum ad sanctiores Disciplinas pertinentium*, p. 362; *Unschuld. Nachricht*. 1750, p. 942; *Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 38. ‡ This last citation is erroneous; there is no account of Crellius in the place here referred to.

* ‡ The author of this collection was one Jordan, who was pastor of a church in the neighbourhood of Berlin.

† ‡ After Artemon, who lived under the reign of the emperor Severus, and denied the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ.

who had several celebrated writers in this century, such as Sandius and Biddle.* Of those who also passed under the general denomination of Anti-Trinitarians and Unitarians there are many that may be placed in the class of the Socinians and Arians; for the term Unitarian is very comprehensive, and is applicable to a great variety of persons, who, notwithstanding, agree in this common principle, that there is no real distinction in the divine nature. The denomination of Arian is also given in general to all who consider Jesus Christ as inferior and subordinate to the Father. But as this subordination may be understood and explained in a variety of ways, it is evident that the term Arian, as it is used in modern language, is susceptible of different significations; and that of consequence the persons to whom it is applied cannot be all considered in the same point of light with the ancient Arians, nor supposed to agree perfectly with each other in their religious tenets.

CHAPTER VII.

SOME SECTS OF INFERIOR NOTE.

The Collegiants or Rhinsbergers. I. It will not be amiss to take notice here of a few sects of inferior consequence and note, which we could not mention with propriety in the history of the larger and more extensive communities that we have been passing in review, and which, nevertheless, we cannot omit, for several reasons. While the disputes and tumults that the Arminian system produced in Holland in the year 1619, were at the greatest height, then arose that religious society, whose members hold at Rhinsberg, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, a solemn assembly every half year, and are generally known under the denomination of Collegiants.^a This community was founded by three brothers, whose name was Vander Kodde, who passed their days in the obscurity of a rural life, but are said to have been men of eminent piety, well acquainted with sacred literature, and great enemies to religious controversy. They had for their associate Anthony Cornelius, a man also of a mean condition, and who had no qualities that could give any degree of weight or credit to their cause. The descendants and followers of these men acquired the name of Collegiants, from this particular circumstance, that they called their religious assemblies *collegies*. All are admitted to the communion of this sect who acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Scriptures, and endeavour to live suitably to their precepts and doctrines, whatever their peculiar sentiments may be concerning the nature of the Deity, and the truths of Christianity. Their numbers are very considerable in the provinces of Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Westfriesland. They meet twice every week, namely, on Sundays and Wednesdays, for the purposes of divine worship; and after singing a psalm or hymn, and addressing themselves to the Deity by prayer, they explain a certain portion of the New Testament. The female members of the community are not allowed to speak in public; but all others, without any exception, founded on rank, condition or capacity,

* For an account of Sandius, father and son, see Arnold and other writers. The life of Biddle is to be found in the *Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. ii. p. 288. Dr. Mosheim places Biddle improperly among the Arians; it is manifest that he belongs to the Socinians, since in the 3rd article

of his Confession of Faith, he professeth to believe that Christ has no other than a human nature. See the Socinian Tracts, entitled, *The Faith of one God, &c.*, published at London, in 4to, 1691. See also above, p. 489, note^a.

^a See p. 490, note^p.

have a right to communicate the result of their meditations to the assembly, and to submit their sentiments to the judgment of the brethren. All likewise have an unquestionable right to examine and oppose what any of the brethren has advanced, provided their opposition be attended with a spirit of Christian charity and moderation. There is a printed list of the passages of Scripture, that are to be examined and illustrated at each of their religious meetings; so that any one who is ambitious of appearing among the speakers, may study the subject beforehand, and thus come fully prepared to descant upon it in public. The brethren, as has been already observed, have a general assembly twice a year at Rhinsberg, where they have ample and convenient houses for the education of orphans and the reception of strangers; and there they remain together during the space of four days, which are employed in hearing discourses that tend to edification, and exhortations that are principally designed to inculcate brotherly love and sanctity of manners. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is also administered during this assembly; and those adult persons that desire to be baptized receive the sacrament of baptism, according to the ancient and primitive manner of celebrating that institution, even by immersion. Those of the brethren that reside in the province of Friesland have at present an annual meeting at Lewarden, where they administer the sacraments, as the considerable distance at which they live from Rhinsberg renders it inconvenient for them to repair thither twice a year. We shall conclude our account of the Collegiants by observing, that their community is of a most ample and extensive kind; that it comprehends persons of all ranks, orders, and sects, who profess themselves Christians, though their sentiments concerning the person and doctrine of the divine Founder of Christianity be extremely different; that it is kept together, and its union maintained, not by the authority of rulers and doctors, the force of ecclesiastical laws, the restraining power of creeds and confessions, or the influence of certain positive rites and institutions, but merely by a zeal for the advancement of practical religion, and a desire of drawing instruction from the study of the Holy Scriptures.^b

II. In such a community, or rather amidst such a multitude as this, in which opinion is free and every one is permitted to judge for himself in religious matters, dissensions and controversies can scarcely have place. However, a debate, attended with some warmth, arose in the year 1672, between John and Paul Bredenburg, merchants of Rotterdam, on the one side, and Abraham Lemmerman and Francis Cuiper, merchants of Amsterdam, on the other. John Bredenburg had erected a particular society, or college, in which he gave a course of lectures upon the religion of nature and reason; but this undertaking was highly disapproved of by Lemmerman and Cuiper, who were for excluding reason altogether from religious inquiries and pursuits. During the heat of this controversy, Bredenburg discovered a manifest propensity towards the sentiments of Spinoza; nay, he even defended them publicly, and yet, at the same time, professed a firm attachment to the Christian religion.^c Other debates of less conse-

^b See the Dissertation sur les Usages de ceux qu'on appelle en Hollande Collégiens et Rhinbourgeois, in the Cérémonies Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 323; as also a Dutch book, containing an account of the Collegiants, and published by themselves under the following title: *De Oorspronck, Natuur, Handelwyze en Oogmerk der zo genaemde Rynburgsche Verga-*

dering, at Amsterdam, in 4to, in the year 1736.

^c The names of John Bredenburg and Francis Cuiper are well known among the followers and adversaries of Spinoza; but the character and profession of these two disputants are less generally known. Bredenburg, or (as he is otherwise called) Braitenburg, was a Collegiant, and a merchant of Rotter-

quence arose in this community, and the effect of those dissensions was a division of the Collegiants into two parties, which held their assemblies separately at Rhinsberg. This division happened in the year 1686, but it was healed about the commencement of the present century, by the death of those who had principally occasioned it; and then the Collegiants returned to their former union and concord.⁴

III. The sect of the Labbadists were so called from their founder John Labbadie, a native of France, a man of no mean genius, and remarkable for a natural and masculine eloquence. This man was born in the Romish communion, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and, being dismissed by them,* became a member of the Reformed church, and performed with reputation the ministerial functions in France, Switzerland, and Holland. He at length erected a new community, which resided successively at Middleburg in Zealand, and at Amsterdam. In the year 1670, it was transplanted to Hervorden, a town in Westphalia, at the particular desire of the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the elector Palatine, and abbess of Hervorden.⁴ It was nevertheless driven from

dam, who propagated in a public manner the doctrine of Spinoza, and pretended to demonstrate mathematically its conformity to the dictates of reason. The same man not only professed Christianity, but moreover explained, recommended, and maintained, the Christian religion in the meetings of the Collegiants, and asserted, on all occasions, its divine original. To reconcile these striking contradictions, he declared, on the one hand, that reason and Christianity were in direct opposition to each other; but maintained, on the other, that we were obliged to believe, even against the evidence of the strongest mathematical demonstrations, the religious doctrines comprehended in the holy Scriptures (this, indeed, was adding absurdity to absurdity.) He affirmed, that truth was twofold, theological and philosophical; and that those propositions, which were false in theology, were true in philosophy. There is a brief but accurate account of the character and sentiments of Brodenburg, in the learned work of the Jew Isaac Orobio, entitled, "*Certamen Philosophicum propugnatae veritatis, divinae et naturalis, adversus Jo. Brodenburgii principia, ex quibus, quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur.*" This work, which contains Brodenburg's pretended demonstrations of the philosophy of Spinoza, was first published in 8vo at Amsterdam, in the year 1703, and afterwards in 12mo, at Brussels, in 1731. Francis Cuiper, who was the antagonist of Brodenburg, acquired a considerable reputation by his *Arcana Atheismi detecta, &c.* The Secrets of Atheism Detected. He was a bookseller at Amsterdam; and it was he that published, among other things, the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum*. Those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the literary history of this century, know that Cuiper, on account of the very book which he wrote against Brodenburg, was suspected of Spinozism, though he was a Collegiant, and a zealous defender of the Christian faith, as also

of the perfect conformity that there is between right reason and true religion. † Dr. Mosheim said a little before, in the text, that Lemmerman and Cuiper were for excluding reason altogether from religion; how then can he consistently say here of the latter, that he was a defender of the conformity that there is between reason and religion?

⁴ Besides the authors who have been already mentioned, those who understand the German language may consult the curious work of Simon Frederic Rues, entitled, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*, p. 267.

† From this expression of our author, some may be led to imagine that Labbadie was expelled by the Jesuits from their society; and many have, in effect, entertained this notion. But this is a palpable mistake; and whoever will be at the pains of consulting the letter of the Abbé Goujet to Father Nicéron, (published in the *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xx. p. 142, 143,) will find that Labbadie had long solicited his discharge from that society, and after many refusals, obtained it at length in an honourable manner, by a public act signed at Bordeaux, by one of the provincials, the 17th of April, 1639. For a full account of this restless, turbulent, and visionary man, who, by his plans of reformation, conducted by a zeal destitute of prudence, produced much tumult and disorder, both in the Romish and Reformed churches, see his *Life*, composed with learning, impartiality, and judgment, by the Rev. Mr. Chaussepepied, in his *Supplement to M. Bayle*, entitled, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*.

† This illustrious princess seems to have had as prevailing a taste for fanaticism as her grandfather king James I. of England had for scholastic theology. She carried on a correspondence with Penn, the famous Quaker, and other members of that extravagant sect. She is, nevertheless, celebrated by certain writers, on account of her application to the

thence, notwithstanding the protection of this illustrious princess; and in the year 1672 settled at Altena, where its founder died two years after his arrival. After the death of Labbadie, his followers removed their wandering community to Wiewert, in the district of North Holland, where it found a peaceful retreat, and soon fell into oblivion; so that few if any traces of it are now to be found.

Among the persons that became members of this sect, there were some whose learning and abilities gave it a certain degree of credit and reputation, particularly Anna Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, whose extensive erudition rendered her so famous, in the republic of letters, during the last century. The members of this community, if we are to judge of them by their own account of things, did not differ from the Reformed church so much in their tenets and doctrines, as in their manners and rules of discipline,* for their founder exhibited, in his own conduct, a most austere model of sanctity and obedience, which his disciples and followers were obliged to imitate; and they were taught to look for the communion of saints, not only in the invisible church, but also in a visible one, which, according to their views of things, ought to be composed of none but of such persons as were distinguished by their sanctity and virtue, and by a pious progress towards perfection. There are still extant several treatises composed by Labbadie, which sufficiently discover the temper and spirit of the man, and carry the evident marks of a lively and glowing imagination, that was not tempered by the influence of a sober and accurate judgment. And as persons of this character are sometimes carried, by the impetuosity of passion and the seduction of fancy, both into erroneous notions and licen-

study of philosophy and poetry. That a poetical fancy may have rendered her susceptible of fanatical impressions is not impossible; but how these impressions could be reconciled with a philosophical spirit, is more difficult to imagine.

* Labbadie always declared, that he embraced the doctrines of the Reformed church. Nevertheless, when he was called to perform the ministerial functions to a French church at Middleburg, in Zealand, he refused to subscribe their confession of faith. Besides, if we examine his writings, we shall find that he entertained very odd and singular opinions on various subjects. He maintained among other things, "That God might, and did, on certain occasions, deceive men—that the holy Scriptures were not sufficient to lead men to salvation without certain particular illuminations and revelations from the Holy Ghost—that in reading the Scriptures, we ought to give less attention to the literal sense of the words than to the inward suggestions of the Spirit, and that the efficacy of the word depended upon him that preached it—that the faithful ought to have all things in common—that there is no subordination or distinction of rank in the true church of Christ—that Christ was to reign a thousand years upon earth—that the contemplative life is a state of grace and union with God, and the very height of perfection—that the Christian, whose mind is contented and calm, sees all things in God, enjoys the Deity, and is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes

in the world—and that the Christian arrives at that happy state by the exercise of a perfect self-denial, by mortifying the flesh and all sensual affections, and by mental prayer." Besides these he had formed singular ideas of the Old and New Testament, considered as covenants, as also concerning the Sabbath, and the true nature of a Christian church.

It is remarkable enough that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn, were desirous of entering into communion with Labbadie. The Brownists offered him their church at Middleburg, when he was suspended by the French synod from his pastoral functions. The Quakers sent their two leading members, Robert Barclay and George Keith, to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine; and, after several conferences with him, these two commissioners offered to receive him into their communion, which he refused, probably from a principle of ambition, and the desire of remaining head of a sect. Nay, it is said that the famous William Penn made a second attempt to gain over the Labbadists; and that he went for that purpose to Wiewert, where they resided after the death of their founder, but without success. We do not pretend to answer for the certainty of these facts; but shall only observe, that they are related by Mollerus in his *Cimbria Literata*, on the authority of a MS. Journal, of which several extracts have been given by Joach. Fred. Feller, in his *Trimest. ix. Monumentorum ineditorum*, sect. iii. A. 1717, p. 498—500.

tious pursuits, we are not perhaps to reject, in consequence of an excessive charity, the testimonies of those who have found many things worthy of censure, both in the life and doctrine of this turbulent enthusiast.^b

Bourignon and
Poiret.

IV. Among the fanatical contemporaries of Labbadie, was the famous Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, a native of Flanders, who pretended to be divinely inspired, and set apart, by a particular interposition of Heaven, to revive the true spirit of Christianity, that had been extinguished by theological animosities and debates. This female enthusiast, whose religious feelings were accompanied with an unparalleled vivacity and ardour, and whose fancy was exuberant beyond all expression, joined to these qualities a volubility of tongue, less wonderful indeed, yet much adapted to seduce the unwary. Furnished with these useful talents, she began to propagate her theological system, and her enthusiastical notions made a great noise in Flanders, Holland, and some parts of Germany, where she had resided some years. Nor was it only the ignorant multitude that swallowed down with facility her visionary doctrines; since it is well known that several learned and ingenious men were persuaded of their truth, and caught the contagion of her fanaticism. After experiencing various turns of fortune, and suffering much vexation and mockeries on account of her religious fancies, she ended her days at Franeker, in the province of Friesland, in the year 1680. Her writings were voluminous; but it would be a fruitless attempt to endeavour to draw from them an accurate and consistent scheme of religion. For the pretended divine light, that guides people of this class, does not proceed in a methodical way of reasoning and argument; it discovers itself by flashes, which shed nothing but thick darkness in the minds of those who investigate truth with the understanding, and do not trust to the reports of fancy, that is so often governed by sense and passion. An attentive reader will, however, learn something by perusing the writings of this fanatical virgin: he will be persuaded, that her intellect must have been in a disordered state; that the greatest part of her divine effusions were borrowed from the productions of the Mystics; and that, by the intemperance of her imagination, she has given an additional air of extravagance and absurdity to the tenets she has derived from these pompous enthusiasts. If we attend to the main and predominant principle that reigns throughout the incoherent productions of Bourignon, we shall find it to be the following: "That the Christian religion neither consists in knowledge nor in practice, but in a certain internal feeling and divine impulse, that arises immediately from communion with the Deity."^c Among the more considerable patrons of this fanatical doctrine, we may reckon Christian Bartholomew de Cordt, a Jansenist, and priest of the oratory at Mechlin, who died at Nordstrandt, in the duchy of Sleswick;^d and Peter Poiret, a man of a bold and penetrating genius, who was a great master of the Cartesian philosophy.^e This latter has shown,

^b See Mollerus, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 35, and *Imagoge ad Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. cap. v. p. 121; Arnold. *Histor. Ecclesiast.* vol. i. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. xxi. p. 1186; Weisman, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xvii.* p. 927. For an account of the two famous companions of Labbadie, viz. Du Lignon and Yvon, see Mollerus, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 472, 1020.

^c See for an ample account of Bourignon, the following writers: Moller. *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 85; *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ*, p. ii. p. 151; Bayle's

Dictionnaire, tom. i. at the article Bourignon; Arnold, *Historia Eccles. et Hæret.* vol. ii. 63. See also Poiret's *Epist. de Auctoribus Mysticis*, sect. xiv. p. 565. This treatise of Poiret is inserted at the end of his book. *De Eruditione Solida et Superficiali*, vol. ii. edit. 4to.

^d Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 149.

^e Poiret dressed out in an artful manner, and reduced to a kind of system, the wild and incoherent fancies of Bourignon, in his large work entitled, *L'Economie Divine*, ou

in a striking manner, by his own example, that knowledge and ignorance, reason and superstition, are often divided by thin partitions; and that they sometimes not only dwell together in the same person, but also, by an unnatural and unaccountable union, lend each other mutual assistance, and thus engender monstrous productions.

The Philadelphian society.

V. The same spirit, the same views, and the same kind of religion, that distinguished Bourignon, were observable in an English, and also a female fanatic, named Jean Leadley, who, towards the conclusion of this century, seduced by her visions, predictions, and doctrines, a considerable number of disciples, among whom there were some persons of learning; and thus gave rise to what was called the Philadelphian Society. This woman was of opinion that all dissensions among Christians would cease, and the kingdom of the Redeemer become, even here below, a glorious scene of charity, concord, and felicity, if those who bear the name of Jesus, without regarding the forms of doctrine or discipline that distinguish particular communions, would all join in committing their souls to the care of the internal guide, to be instructed, governed, and formed, by his divine impulse and suggestions. Nay, she went still further, and declared in the name of the Lord, that this desirable event would happen; and that she had a divine commission to proclaim the approach of this glorious communion of saints, who were to be gathered together in one visible universal church, or kingdom, before the dissolution of this earthly globe. This prediction she delivered with a peculiar degree of confidence, from a notion that her Philadelphian society was the true kingdom of Christ, in which alone the Divine Spirit resided and reigned. We shall not mention the other dreams of this enthusiast, among which the famous doctrine of the final restoration of all intelligent beings to perfection and happiness held an eminent place. Leadley was less fortunate than Bourignon in this respect, that she had not such an eloquent and ingenious patron as Poiret, to plead her cause, and to give an air of philosophy to her wild reveries. For Pordage and Bromley, who were the chief of her associates, had nothing to recommend them but their Mystic piety and contemplative turn of mind. Pordage more especially was so far destitute of the powers of elocution and reasoning, that he even surpassed Jacob Behmen whom he admired, in obscurity and nonsense; and, instead of imparting instruction to his readers, did no more than excite in them a stupid kind of awe by a high-sounding jingle of pompous words.¹

Système Universel, which was published both in French and Latin, at Amsterdam, in the year 1686, in seven volumes 8vo.—For an account of this Mystic philosopher, whose name and voluminous writings have made such a

noise, see *Bibliotheca Brem. Theolog. Philol.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 75.

¹ See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri *Hist. Sacra et Civilis*, Sec. xvii. Decenn. x. p. 90; Petri Poireti *Bibliotheca Mysticor.* p. 161, 174, 283, 286.

A SHORT VIEW, OR GENERAL SKETCH
OF
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
The Eighteenth Century.

Introductory ob-
servation.

I. THE history of the Christian church during the present age, instead of a few pages, would alone require a volume, such are the number and importance of the materials that it exhibits to an attentive inquirer. It is therefore to be hoped that, in due time, some able and impartial writer will employ his labours on this interesting subject. At the same time, to render the present work as complete as possible, and to give a certain clue to direct those who teach or who study ecclesiastical history, through a multitude of facts that have not yet been gathered together, and digested into a regular order, we shall draw here a general sketch that will exhibit the principal outlines of the state of religion since the commencement of the present century. That this sketch may not swell to too great a size, we shall omit the mention of the authors who have furnished materials for this period of church history. Those that are acquainted with modern literature must know that there are innumerable productions extant, from whence such a variety of lines and colours might be taken, as would render this rough and general draught a complete and finished piece.

The prosperous
state of the
church in gen-
eral, and of the
Romish church
in particular.

II. The doctrines of Christianity have been propagated in Asia, Africa, and America, with equal zeal, both by the Protestant and Popish missionaries. But we cannot say the same thing of the true spirit of the Gospel, or of the religious discipline and institutions that it recommends to the observance of Christians; for it is an undeniable fact that many of those whom the Romish missionaries have persuaded to renounce their false gods, are Christians only as far as an external profession and certain religious ceremonies go; and that, instead of departing from the superstitions of their ancestors, they observe them still, though under a different form. We have, indeed, pompous accounts of the mighty success with which the ministry of the Jesuits has been attended among the barbarous and unenlightened nations; and the French Jesuits in particular are said to have converted innumerable multitudes in the course of their missions. This perhaps cannot be altogether denied, if we are to call those converts to Christianity who have received some faint and superficial notions of the doctrines of the Gospel; for it is well known that several congregations of such Christians have been formed by the Jesuits in the East Indies, and more especially in the kingdoms of Carnate, Madura, and Marava, on the coast of Malabar, in the kingdom of Tonquin, the Chinese empire, and also in certain provinces of America. These conversions have, in outward

appearance, been carried on with particular success, since Anthony Veri has had the direction of the foreign missions, and has taken such special care, that neither hands should be wanting for this spiritual harvest, nor any expenses spared that might be necessary to the execution of such an arduous and important undertaking. But these pretended conversions, instead of effacing the infamy under which the Jesuits labour, in consequence of the iniquitous conduct of their missionaries in former ages, have only served to augment it, and show their designs and practices in a still more odious point of light. For they are known to be much more zealous in satisfying the demands of their avarice and ambition, than in promoting the cause of Christ; and are said to corrupt and modify, by a variety of inventions, the pure doctrine of the Gospel, in order to render it more universally palatable, and to increase the number of their ambiguous converts.

The famous contest relating to the lawfulness of allowing the Chinese Christians to observe their ancient rites.

III. A famous question arose in this century, which made a great noise in the Romish church, relating to the conduct of the Jesuits in China, and their manner of promoting the cause of the Gospel, by permitting the new converts to observe the religious rites and customs of their ancestors.

This question was decided to the disadvantage of the missionaries, in the year 1704, by Clement XI., who, by a solemn edict, forbade the Chinese Christians to practise the religious rites of their ancestors, and more especially those that are celebrated by the Chinese in honour of their deceased parents, and of their great lawgiver Confucius. This severe edict was, nevertheless, considerably mitigated in the year 1715, in order to appease, no doubt, the resentment of the Jesuits, whom it exasperated in the highest degree. For the pontiff allowed the missionaries to make use of the word TIEN, to express the divine nature, with the addition of the word TCHU, to remove its ambiguity, and make it evident that it was not the heaven, but the Lord of Heaven, that the Christian doctors worshipped; * he also permitted the observance of those rites and ceremonies that had so highly offended the adversaries of the Jesuits, on condition that they should be considered merely as marks of respect to their parents, and as tokens of civil homage to their lawgivers, without being abused to the purposes of superstition, or even being viewed in a religious point of light. In consequence of this second papal edict, the Chinese converts to Christianity are allowed considerable liberties; among other things, they have in their houses tablets, on which the names of their ancestors, and particularly of Confucius, are written in golden letters; they are allowed to light candles before these tablets, to make offerings to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruits, and other delicacies, nay, to prostrate the body before them until the head touches the ground. The same ceremony of prostration is performed by the Chinese Christians at the tombs of their ancestors.

The first of these papal edicts, which was designed to prevent the motley mixture of Chinese superstition with the religious institutions of Christianity, was brought into China, in the year 1705, by Cardinal Tournon, the pope's legate; and the second, which was of a more indulgent nature, was sent, in the year 1721, with Mezzabarba, who went to China with the same character. Neither the emperor nor the Jesuits were satisfied with these edicts. Tournon, who executed the orders of his ghostly master with more zeal than prudence, was, by the express command of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in the year 1710. Mezzabarba though more cautious and prudent, yet returned home without having

* Tien Tchu signifies the Lord of Heaven.

succeeded in his negotiation ; nor could the emperor be engaged, by either arguments or entreaties, to make any alteration in the institutions and customs of his ancestors.^b At present the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious and uncertain, this famous controversy is entirely suspended ; and many reasons induce us to think, that both the pontiffs and the enemies of the Jesuits will unite in permitting the latter to depart from the rigour of the papal edicts, and to follow their own artful and insinuating methods of conversion. For they will both esteem it expedient and lawful to submit to many inconveniences and abuses, rather than to risk the entire suppression of popery in China.

Protestant mis-
sions.

IV. The attempts made since the commencement of the present century, by the English and Dutch, and more especially by the former, to diffuse the light of Christianity through the benighted regions of Asia and America, have been carried on with more assiduity and zeal than in the preceding age. That the Lutherans have borne their part in this salutary work appears abundantly from the Danish mission, planned with such piety in the year 1706, by Frederick IV., for the conversion of the Indians that inhabit the coast of Malabar, and attended with such remarkable success. This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the Gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but acquires daily new degrees of perfection under the auspicious and munificent patronage of that excellent monarch Christian VI. We will, indeed, readily grant, that the converts to Christianity that are made by the Danish missionaries, are less numerous than those which we find in the lists of the popish legates ; but it may be affirmed, at the same time, that they are much better Christians, and far excel the latter in the sincerity and zeal that accompany their profession. There is a great difference between Christians in reality, and Christians in appearance ; and it is very certain, that the popish missionaries are much more ready than the Protestant doctors, to admit into their communion proselytes, who have nothing of Christianity but the name.

We have but imperfect accounts of the labours of the Russian clergy, the greatest part of whom lie yet involved in that gross ignorance that covered the most unenlightened ages of the church. We learn, nevertheless, from the modern records of that nation, that some of their doctors have employed, with a certain degree of success, their zeal and industry in spreading the light of the Gospel in those provinces that lie in the neighbourhood of Siberia.

Private enemies of
the gospel.

V. While the missionaries now mentioned exposed themselves to the greatest dangers and sufferings, in order to diffuse the light of divine truth in these remote and darkened nations, there arose in Europe, where the Gospel had obtained a stable footing, a multitude of adversaries, who shut their eyes upon its excellence, and endeavoured to eclipse its immortal lustre. There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhaled its poison ; and scarcely any denomination of Christians among whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invali-

^b (†) Tournon had been made, by the pope, patriarch of Antioch ; and Mezzabarba, to add a certain degree of weight to his mission, was created patriarch of Alexandria. After his return, the latter was promoted to the bishopric of Lodi, a preferment which,

though inferior in point of station to his imaginary patriarchate, was yet more valuable in point of ease and profit. See a fuller account of this mission in Dr. Mosheim's authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China, p. 26, &c. N.

date the authority of the Christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner, others under the mask of a Christian profession; but nowhere have these enemies of the purest religion, and consequently of mankind, whom it was designed to render wise and happy, appeared with more effrontery and insolence, than under the free governments of Great Britain and the United Provinces. In England, more especially, it is not uncommon to meet with books, in which not only the doctrines of the Gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue, are impudently called in question, and turned into derision.^c Such impious productions have cast a deserved reproach on the names and memories of Toland, Collins, Tindal, and Woolaston, a man of an inauspicious genius, who made the most audacious though senseless attempts to invalidate the miracles of Christ. Add to these Morgan, Chubb, Mandeville, and others. And writers of the same class will be soon found in all the countries of Europe, particularly in those where the Reformation has introduced a spirit of liberty, if mercenary booksellers are still allowed to publish, without distinction or reserve, every wretched production that is addressed to the passions of men, and designed to obliterate in their minds a sense of religion and virtue.

Atheists and
Deists.

VI. The sect of Atheists, by which, in strictness of speech, those only are to be meant who deny the existence and moral government of an infinitely wise and powerful Being, by whom all things subsist, is reduced to a very small number, and may be considered as almost totally extinct. Any that yet remain under the influence of this unaccountable delusion, adopt the system of Spinoza, and suppose the universe to be one vast substance which excites and produces a great variety of motions, all uncontrollably necessary, by a sort of internal force, which they carefully avoid defining with perspicuity and precision.

The Deists, under which general denomination those are comprehended who deny the divine origin of the Gospel in particular, and are enemies to all revealed religion in general, form a motley tribe, which, on account of their jarring opinions, may be divided into different classes. The most decent, or, to use a more proper expression, the least extravagant and insipid form of Deism, is that which aims at an association between Christianity and natural religion, and represents the Gospel as no more than a republication of the original law of nature and reason, that was more or less obliterated in the minds of men. This is the hypothesis of Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, and several others, if we are to give credit to their own declarations, which, indeed, ought not always to be done without caution. This also appears to have been the sentiment of an ingenious writer,

^c This observation, and the examples by which it is supported in the following sentence, stand in need of some correction. Many books have, indeed, been published in England against the divinity, both of the Jewish and Christian dispensations; and it is justly to be lamented, that the inestimable blessings of religious liberty, which the wise and good have improved to the glory of Christianity, by setting its doctrines and precepts in a rational light, and bringing them back to their primitive simplicity, has been so far abused by the pride of some, and the ignorance and licentiousness of others, as to excite an opposition to the Christian system, which is both de-

signed and adapted to lead men, through the paths of wisdom and virtue, to happiness and perfection. It is, nevertheless, carefully to be observed, that the most eminent of the English unbelievers were far from renouncing, at least in their writings and profession, the truths of what they call natural religion, or denying the unchangeable excellence and obligations of virtue and morality. Dr. Moheim is more especially mistaken, when he places Collins, Tindal, Morgan, and Chubb, in the list of those who called in question the perfections of the Deity, and the obligations of virtue; it was sufficient to put Mandeville, Woolaston, and Toland, in this infamous class.

whose eloquence has been ill employed in a book, entitled, *Essential Religion distinguished from that which is only Accessory*;^d for the whole religious system of this author consists in the three following points:— That there is a God—that the world is governed by his wise providence—and that the soul is immortal; and he maintains, that it was to establish these three points by his ministry that Jesus Christ came into the world.

The Church of
Rome and its
pontiffs.

VII. The church of Rome has been governed since the commencement of this century by Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., and Benedict XIV., who may be all considered as men of eminent wisdom, virtue, and learning, if we compare them with the pontiffs of the preceding ages. Clement XI. and Prosper Lambertini, who at present fills the papal chair under the title of Benedict XIV.,^e stand much higher in the list of literary fame than the other pontiffs now mentioned; and Benedict XIII. surpassed them all in piety, or at least in its appearance, which, in the whole of his conduct, was extraordinary and striking. It was he that conceived the laudable design of reforming many disorders in the church, and restraining the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy; and for this purpose held a council, in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1725, whose acts and decrees have been made public. But the event did not answer his expectations; nor is there any probability that Benedict XIV., who is attempting the execution of the same worthy purpose, though by different means, will meet with better success.

We must not omit observing here, that the modern bishops of Rome make but an indifferent figure in Europe, and exhibit little more than an empty shadow of the authority of the ancient pontiffs. Their prerogatives are diminished, and their power is restrained within very narrow bounds. The sovereign princes and states of Europe, who embrace their communion, no longer tremble at the thunder of the Vatican, but treat their anathemas with indifference and contempt. They, indeed, load the holy father with pompous titles, and treat him with all the external marks of veneration and respect; yet they have given a mortal blow to his authority, by the prudent and artful distinction they make between the court of Rome and the Roman pontiff. For, under the cover of this distinction, they buffet him with one hand, and stroke him with the other; and, under the most respectful profession of attachment to his person, oppose the measures, and diminish still more from day to day, the authority of his court. A variety of modern transactions might be alleged in confirmation of this, and more especially the debates that have arisen in this century, between the court of Rome, and those of France, Naples, Sardinia, and Portugal, in all which that ghostly court has been obliged to yield, and to discover its extreme insignificancy and weakness.

All prospects of a
reconciliation
between the
Protestant and
Romish com-
munions entirely
removed.

VIII. There have been no serious attempts made in latter times to bring about a reconciliation between the Protestant and Romish churches; for, notwithstanding the pacific projects formed by private persons with a view to this union, it is justly considered as an impracticable scheme. The difficulties that attend its execution were greatly augmented

^d ☞ The original title of this book, which is supposed to have been written by one Mural, a Swiss, author of the *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François*, is as follows: *Lettres sur la Religion essentielle à l'Homme distinguée de ce qui n'en est que l'accessoire*. There have been several excellent refutations

of this book published on the continent; among which the *Lettres sur les vrais Principes de la Religion*, in two volumes 8vo, composed by the late learned and ingenious M. Boullier, deserve particular notice.

^e ☞ This history was published while Benedict XIV. was yet alive.

by the famous bull of Clement XI., entitled *Unigenitus*, which deprived the peace-makers of the principal expedient they employed for the accomplishment of this union, by putting it out of their power to soften and mitigate the doctrines of popery, that appeared the most shocking to the friends of the Reformation. This expedient had been frequently practised in former times, in order to remove the disgust that the Protestants had conceived against the church of Rome; but the bull *Unigenitus* put an end to all these modifications, and in most of those points that had occasioned our separation from Rome, represented the doctrine of that church in the very same shocking light in which it had been viewed by the first reformers. This shows, with the utmost evidence, that all the attempts the Romish doctors have made, from time to time, to give an air of plausibility to their tenets, and render them palatable, were so many snares insidiously laid to draw the Protestants into their communion; that the specious conditions they proposed as the terms of a reconciliation, were perfidious stratagems; and that, consequently, there is no sort of dependence to be placed upon the promises and declarations of such a disingenuous set of men.

Intestine divisions
in the Romish
church.

IX. The intestine discords, tumults, and divisions, that reigned in the Romish church during the preceding century, were so far from being terminated in this, that new fuel was added to the flame; and the animosities of the contending parties grew more vehement from day to day. These divisions still subsist. The Jesuits are at variance with the Dominicans, and some other religious orders, though these quarrels make little noise, and are carried on with some regard to decency and prudence; the Dominicans are on bad terms with the Franciscans; the controversy concerning the nature, lawfulness, and expediency of the Chinese ceremonies still continues, at least in Europe; and were we to mention all the debates that divide the Romish church, which boasts so much of its unity and infallibility, the enumeration would be endless. The controversy relating to Jansenism, which was one of the principal sources of that division which reigned within the papal jurisdiction, has been carried on with great spirit and animosity in France and in the Netherlands. The Jansenists, or, as they rather choose to be called, the disciples of Augustin, are inferior to their adversaries the Jesuits, in numbers, power, and influence; but they equal them in resolution, prudence, and learning, and surpass them in sanctity of manners and superstition, by which they excite the respect of the people. When their affairs take an unfavourable turn, and they are oppressed and persecuted by their victorious enemies, they find an asylum in the Netherlands. For the greatest part of the Roman Catholics in Spanish Flanders, and all the members of that communion that live under the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, embrace the principles and doctrines of Jansenius.* Those that inhabit the United Provinces have almost renounced their allegiance to the pope, though they profess a warm attachment to the doctrine and communion of the church of Rome: nor are either the exhortations or threatenings of the holy father sufficient to banish the

* This assertion is too general. It is true, that the greatest part of the Roman Catholics in the United Provinces are Jansenists, and that there is no legal toleration of the Jesuits in that republic. It is, nevertheless, a known fact, and a fact that cannot be indifferent to those who have the welfare and security of these provinces at heart, that the Jesuits are daily gaining ground among

the Dutch papists. They have a flourishing chapel in the city of Utrecht, and have places of worship in several other cities, and in a great number of villages. It would be worthy of the wisdom of the rulers of the republic to put a stop to this growing evil, and not to suffer in a Protestant country a religious order which has been suppressed in a Popish one, and declared enemies of the state.

obstinacy of these wayward children, or to reduce them to a state of subjection and obedience.

The debates occasioned by Quenel's New Testament.

X. The cause of the Jansenists acquired a peculiar degree of credit and reputation, both in this and the preceding century, by a French translation of the New Testament, made by the learned and pious Paschasius Quenel, a priest of the Oratory, and accompanied with practical annotations, adapted to excite lively impressions of religion in the minds of men. The quintessence of Jansenism was blended, in an elegant and artful manner, with these annotations, and was thus presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect. The Jesuits were alarmed at the success of Quenel's book, and particularly at the change it had wrought in many in favour of the theological doctrines of Jansenius; and to remove out of the way an instrument which proved so advantageous to their adversaries, they engaged that weak prince Lewis XIV. to solicit the condemnation of this production at the court of Rome. Clement XI. granted the request of the French monarch, because he considered it as the request of the Jesuits; and, in the year 1713, issued out the famous bull *Unigenitus*, in which Quenel's New Testament was condemned, and a hundred and one propositions contained in it pronounced heretical.* This bull, which is also known by the name of the Constitution, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the Jesuits; but it was highly detrimental to the interests of the Romish church, as many of the wiser members of that communion candidly acknowledge. For it not only confirmed the Protestants in their separation, by convincing them that the church of Rome was resolved to adhere obstinately to its ancient superstitions and corruptions, but also offended many of the Roman catholics who had no particular attachment to the doctrines of Jansenius, and were only bent on the pursuit of truth and the advancement of piety. It must also be observed, that the controversy relating to Jansenism was much heated and augmented, instead of being mitigated or suspended, by this despotic and ill-judged edict.

Commutations in France occasioned by this bull.

XI. The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of bishops, and a large body composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the bull to a general council. It was more particularly opposed by the Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the pontiff, and by the resentment and indignation of Lewis XV., made a noble stand against the despotic proceeding of the church of Rome. These defenders of the ancient doctrine and liberties of the Gallican church were persecuted by the Popes, the French monarch, and the Jesuits, from whom they received an uninterrupted series of injuries and affronts. Nay, their entire ruin was aimed at by these unrelenting adversaries, and was indeed accomplished in part,

* To show what a political weathercock the infallibility of the holy father was upon this occasion, it may not be improper to place here an anecdote which is related by Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* vol. ii. under the article Jansenism. The credit of the teller weighs but light in the balance of historical fame: the anecdote, however, is well attested, and is as follows: "The Abbé Renaudot, a learned Frenchman, happening to be at Rome the first year of the pontificate

of Clement XI., went one day to see the Pope, who was fond of men of letters, and was himself a learned man, and found his holiness reading father Quenel's book. On seeing Renaudot enter the apartment, the Pope said in a kind of rapture, 'Here is a most excellent book; we have nobody at Rome that is capable of writing in this manner; I wish I could engage the author to reside here!'" And yet this same book was condemned afterwards by this same pope.

since some of them were obliged to fly for refuge to their brethren in Holland; others forced, by the terrors of penal laws, and by various acts of tyranny and violence, to receive the papal edict; while a considerable number, deprived of their places, and ruined in their fortunes, looked for subsistence and tranquillity at a greater distance from their native country. The issue of this famous contest was favourable to the bull, which was at length rendered valid by the authority of the parliament, and was registered among the laws of the state. This contributed, in some measure, to restore the public tranquillity, but it was far from diminishing the number of those who complained of the despotism of the pontiff; and the kingdom of France is still full of Appellants,¹ who reject the authority of the bull, and only wait for a favourable opportunity of reviving a controversy, which is rather suspended than terminated, and of kindling anew a flame that is covered without being extinguished.

XII. Amidst the calamities in which the Jansenists have been involved, they have only two methods left of maintaining their cause against their powerful adversaries, and these are their writings and their miracles. The former alone have proved truly useful to them; the latter gave them only a transitory reputation, which, being ill founded, contributed in the issue to sink their credit. The writings in which they have attacked both the pope and the Jesuits are innumerable; and many of them are composed with such eloquence, spirit, and solidity, that they have produced a remarkable effect. The Jansenists, however, looking upon all human means as insufficient to support their cause, turned their views towards supernatural succours, and endeavoured to make it appear, that their cause was the peculiar object of the divine protection and approbation. For this purpose they persuaded the multitude, that God had endowed the bones and ashes of certain persons, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal in the cause of Jansenius, and had, at the point of death, appealed a second time from the pope to a general council, with the power of healing the most inveterate diseases. The person whose remains were principally honoured with this marvellous efficacy, was the Abbé Paris, a man of family, whose natural character was dark and melancholy; his superstition excessive beyond all credibility; and who, by an austere abstinence from bodily nourishment, and the exercise of other inhuman branches of penitential discipline, was the voluntary cause of his own death.¹ To the miracles which were said to be wrought at the tomb of this fanatic, the Jansenists added a great variety of visions and revelations, to which they audaciously attributed a divine origin; for several members of the community, and more especially those who resided at Paris, pretended to be filled with the Holy Ghost; and, in consequence of this prerogative, delivered instructions, predictions, and exhortations, which, though frequently extravagant, and almost always insipid, yet moved the passions, and attracted the admiration, of the ignorant multitude. The prudence, however, of the court of France put a stop to these fanatical tumults and false miracles; and, in the situation in which things are at present, the Jansenists have nothing left but their genius and their pens to maintain their cause.²

¹ & This was the name that was assumed by those who appealed from the bull and the court of Rome to a general council.

² The imposture that reigned in these pretended miracles has been detected and exposed by various authors; but by none with more

acuteness, perspicuity, and penetration, than by the ingenious Dr. Douglas, in his excellent treatise on miracles, entitled, *The Criterion*, which was published by Millar, in the year 1754.

³ & Things are greatly changed since

The state of the
Eastern church.

XIII. We can say but very little of the Greek and Eastern churches. The profound ignorance in which they live, and the despotic yoke under which they groan, prevent their forming any plans to extend their limits, or making any attempts to change their state. The Russians, as we had formerly occasion to observe, assumed, under the reign of Peter the Great, a less savage and barbarous aspect than they had before that memorable period; and in this century have given some grounds to hope that they may one day be reckoned among the civilized nations. There are, nevertheless, immense multitudes of that rugged people, who are still attached to the brutish superstition and discipline of their ancestors; and there are several in whom the barbarous spirit of persecution still so far prevails, that, were it in their power, they would cut off the Protestants, and all other sects that differ from them, by fire and sword. This appears evident from a variety of circumstances, and more especially from the book which Stephen Javorski has composed against heretics of all denominations.

The Greek Christians are said to be treated at present by their haughty masters with more clemency and indulgence than in former times. The Nestorians and Monophysites in Asia and Africa persevere in their refusal to enter into the communion of the Romish church, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties and alluring offers that have been made from time to time by the pope's legates, to conquer their inflexible constancy. The Roman pontiffs have frequently attempted to renew, by another sacred expedition, their former connexions with the kingdom of Abyssinia; but they have not yet been able to find out a method of escaping the vigilance of that court, which still persists in its abhorrence of popery. Nor is it at all probable that the embassy, which is now preparing at Rome for the Abyssinian emperor, will be attended with success. The Monophysites propagate their doctrine in Asia with zeal and assiduity, and have not long ago gained over to their communion a part of the Nestorians who inhabit the maritime coasts of India.

The external state
of the Lutheran
church.

XIV. The Lutheran church, which dates its foundation from the year 1517, and the confession of Augsburg from the year 1530, celebrated in peace and prosperity the secular return of these memorable periods in the years 1717 and 1730. It received some years ago, a considerable accession to the number of its members, by the emigration of that multitude of protestants which abandoned the territory of Saltzburg, and the town of Berchtolsgraden, in order to breathe a free air, and to enjoy unmolested the exercise of their religion. One part of these emigrants settled in Prussia, another in Holland, and many of them transplanted themselves and their families to America, and other distant regions. This circumstance contributed greatly to propagate the doctrine, and extend the reputation of the Lutheran church, which thus not only obtained a footing in Asia and America, but also formed several congregations of no small note in these remote parts of the world. The state of Lutheranism at home has not been so prosperous, since we learn, both from public transactions, and also from the complaints of its professors and patrons, that, in several parts of Germany, the Lutheran church has been injuriously oppressed, and unjustly deprived of several of its privileges and advantages, by the votaries of Rome.

the learned author wrote this paragraph. The storm of just resentment that has arisen against the Jesuits, and has been attended with the extinction of their order in Portugal, France,

and in all the Spanish dominions, has disarmed the most formidable adversaries of Jansenism, and must consequently be considered as an event highly favourable to the Jansenists.

Its internal state. XV. It has been scarcely possible to introduce any change into the system of doctrine and discipline that is received in that church, because the ancient confessions and rules that were drawn up to point out the tenets that were to be believed, and the rites and ceremonies that were to be performed, still remain in their full authority, and are considered as the sacred guardians of the Lutheran faith and worship. The method, however, of illustrating, enforcing, and defending the doctrines of Christianity has undergone several changes in the Lutheran church. Towards the commencement of this century, an artless simplicity was generally observed by the ministers of that communion, and all philosophical terms and abstract reasonings were entirely laid aside, as more adapted to obscure than to illustrate the truths of the gospel. But, in process of time, a very different way of thinking began to take place; and several learned men entertained a notion that the doctrines of Christianity could not maintain their ground, if they were not supported by the aids of philosophy, and exhibited and proved in a geometrical order.

The adepts in jurisprudence, who undertook, in the last century, the revision and correction of the body of ecclesiastical law that is in force among the Lutherans, carried on their undertaking with great assiduity and spirit; and our church government would at this day bear another aspect, if the ruling powers had judged it expedient to listen to their counsels and representations. We see, indeed, in several places, evident proofs that the directions of these great men, relating to the external form of ecclesiastical government, discipline, and worship, are highly respected; and that their ideas, even of the doctrinal part of religion, have been more or less adopted by many. Hence it is not at all surprising, that warm disputes have arisen between them and the rulers of the church concerning several points. The Lutheran doctors are apprehensive that, if the sentiments of certain of these reformers took place, religion would become entirely subservient to the purposes of civil policy, and be at length converted into a mere state-machine; and this apprehension is not peculiar to the clergy alone, but is also entertained by some persons of piety and candour, even among the civilians.

Intestine enemies. XVI. The liberty of thinking, speaking, and writing, concerning religious matters, which began to prevail in the last century, was, in this, still farther confirmed and augmented; and it extended so far as to encourage both infidels and fanatics to pour forth among the multitude, without restraint, all the effusions of their enthusiasm and extravagance. Accordingly we have seen, and still see, numbers of fanatics and innovators start up from time to time, and, under the influence of enthusiasm, or of a disordered brain, divulge their crude fancies and dreams among the people, by which they either delude many from the communion of the established church, or at least occasion contests and divisions of the most disagreeable kind. We mentioned formerly several of these disturbers of the tranquillity of the church; to whom we may add here the notorious names of Tennharr, Gichtelius, Ueberfeld, Rosenbach, Bredel, Scizius, Rœmeling, and many others, who either imagined that they were divinely inspired, or, from a persuasion of their superior capacity and knowledge, set up for reformers of the doctrine and discipline of the church. Many writers drew their pens against this presumptuous and fanatical tribe; though the greatest part of those who composed it were really below the notice of men of character, and were rather worthy of contempt than of opposition. And indeed it was not so much the

force of reason and argument, as the experience of their bad success, that convinced these fanatics of their folly, and made them desist from their chimerical projects. Their attempts could not stand the trial of time and common sense; and therefore, after having made a transitory noise, they fell into oblivion. Such is the common and deserved fate of almost all the fanatical ringleaders of the deluded populace; they start up all of a sudden, and make a figure for a while; but, generally speaking, they ruin their own cause, by their imprudence or obstinacy, by their austerity or perverseness, by their licentious conduct or their intestine divisions.

Herrenhutters. XVII. Many place in this fanatical class the brethren of

Herrenhut, who were first formed into a religious community in the village so named, in Lusatia, by the famous Count Zinzendorf; and afterwards grew so numerous that their emigrants were spread abroad in all the countries of Europe, reached even as far as the Indies, and formed settlements in the remotest quarters of the globe. The Herrenhutters call themselves the decendants of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren, who, in the fifteenth century, threw of the despotic yoke of Rome, animated by the zealous exhortations and heroic example of John Huss. They may, however, be said, with more propriety, to imitate the example of that famous community, than to descend from those who composed it; for it is well known that there are very few Bohemians and Moravians in the fraternity of the Herrenhutters; and it is extremely doubtful, whether even this small number are to be considered as the posterity of the ancient Bohemian brethren that distinguished themselves so early by their zeal for the Reformation.

If we are to give credit to the declarations of the Herrenhutters, they agree with the Lutherans in their doctrine and opinions, and only differ from them in their ecclesiastical discipline, and in those religious institutions and rules of life which form the resemblance between the Bohemian brethren and the disciples of Zinzendorf. There are, indeed, many who doubt much of the truth of this declaration, and suspect that the society now under consideration, and more especially their rulers and ringleaders, speak the language of Lutheranism, when they are among the Lutherans, in order to obtain their favour and indulgence; and those who have examined this matter with the most attention, represent this fraternity as composed of persons of different religions, as well as of various ranks and orders. Be that as it may, it is at least very difficult to guess the reason that induces them to live in such an entire state of separation from the Lutheran communion, and to be so ambitiously zealous in augmenting their sect, if the only difference between them and the Lutherans lies in the nature of their discipline, and in certain rites and institutions that do not belong to the essence of religion. For the true and genuine followers of Jesus Christ are but little concerned about the outward forms of ecclesiastical government and discipline, knowing that real religion consists in faith and charity, and not in external rites and institutions.^k

^k It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim speak in such vague and general terms of this sect, without taking the least notice of their pernicious doctrines and their flagitious practices, that do not only disfigure the sacred truths of the Gospel, but also sap all the foundations of morality. To be persuaded of this, the reader, besides the accounts which Rimius has given of this enormous sect,

will do well to consult a curious Preface, prefixed to the French translation of a Pastoral Letter against Fanaticism, addressed by Mr. Sintra, an Anabaptist minister in Friesland, to his congregation, and published at Leyden in the year 1752. It may not be amiss to add here a passage relating to this odious community from the Bishop of Gloucester's treatise entitled, *The Doctrine of Grace*. The

The state of philosophy among the Lutherans.

XVIII. It was the opinion of many, that the succours of philosophy were absolutely necessary to stem the torrent of superstition, and stop its growing progress, and that these alone were adapted to accomplish this desirable purpose. Hence the study of philosophy, which towards the conclusion of the last century seemed to decline, was now revived, established upon a more rational footing, and pursued with uncommon assiduity and ardour. The branch of philosophy, which is commonly known under the denomination of metaphysics, was generally preferred, as it leads to the first principles of things; and the improvements made in this important science were very considerable. These improvements were owing chiefly to the genius and penetration of the immortal Leibnitz, who cast a new light upon metaphysics, and gave this interesting branch of philosophy a more regular form. This science received a still greater degree of perfection from the philosophical labours of the acute and indefatigable Wolf, who reduced it into a scientific order, and gave its decisions the strength and evidence of a geometrical demonstration. Under this new and respectable form it captivated the attention and esteem of the greatest part of German philosophers, and of those in the general who pursue truth through the paths of strict evidence; and it was applied with great ardour and zeal to illustrate and confirm the great truths both of natural and revealed religion. This application of the First Philosophy gave much uneasiness to some pious men, who were extremely solicitous to preserve pure and unmixed the doctrines of Christianity; and it was accordingly opposed by them with great eagerness and obstinacy. Thus the ancient contest between Philosophy and Theology, Faith and Reason, was unhappily revived, and has been carried on with much animosity for several years past. For many are of opinion, that this metaphysical philosophy inspires youthful minds with notions that are far from being favourable to the doctrines, and more especially to the positive

words of that great and eminent prelate are as follow: "As purity respects practice, the Moravians give us little trouble. If we may credit the yet unconfuted relations, both in print and in MS., composed by their own members, the participants in their most sacred mysterious rites, their practices in the consummation of marriage are so horribly, so unspeakably flagitious, that this people seems to have no more pretence to be put into the number of Christian sects, than the Turlupins of the thirteenth century, a vagabond crew of miscreants who rambled over Italy, France, and Germany, calling themselves the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who, in speculation, professed that species of atheism called Pantheism, and in practice, pretended to be exempted from all the obligations of morality and religion." See Doctrine of Grace, 12mo, vol. ii. p. 153. As for the doctrines of this sect, they open the door to the most licentious effects of fanaticism. Such among many others are the following, drawn from the express declarations of Count Zinzendorf, the head and founder of the community: That the law is not a rule of life to a believer: That the moral law belongs only to the Jews: That a converted person cannot sin against light. But of all the singularities for which this sect is famous, the notions they entertain

of the organs of generation in both sexes are the most enormously wild and extravagant. "I consider (says Count Zinzendorf, in one of his sermons) the parts for distinguishing both sexes in Christians, as the most honourable of the whole body, my Lord and God having partly inhabited them, and partly worn them himself." This raving sectary looks upon the conjugal act as a piece of scenery, in which the male represents Christ the husband of souls, and the female the church. "The married brother," says he, "knows matrimony, respects it, but does not think upon it of his own accord; and thus the precious member of the covenant (*i. e.* the penis) is so much forgot, becomes so useless, and consequently is reduced to such a natural numbness by not being used, that afterwards, when he is to marry, and use it, the Saviour must restore him from this deadness of body. And when an Eather by grace, and sister according to her make, gets sight of this member, her senses are shut up, and she holly perceives, that God the Son was a boy. Ye holy matrons, who as wives are about your Vice-Christa, honour that precious sign with the utmost veneration." We beg the chaste reader's pardon for presenting him with this odious specimen of the horrors of the Moravian theology.

institutions of religion ; that, seconded by the warmth of fancy, at that age of levity and presumption, it engenders an arrogant contempt of Divine Revelation, and an excessive attachment to human reason, as the only infallible guide of man : and that, instead of throwing new light on the science of theology, and giving it an additional air of dignity, it has contributed, on the contrary, to cover it with obscurity, and to sink it into oblivion and contempt.

Wertheim translation of the Bible. XIX. In order to justify this heavy charge against the metaphysical philosophy, they appeal to the writings of Laurent Schmidt, whom they commonly called the Wertheim interpreter, from the place of his residence. This man, who was by no means destitute of abilities, and had acquired a profound knowledge of the philosophy now under consideration, undertook, some years ago, a new German translation of the Holy Scriptures, to which he prefixed a new system of theology, drawn up in a geometrical order, that was to serve him as a guide in the exposition of the sacred oracles. This undertaking proved highly detrimental to its author, as it drew upon him from many quarters severe marks of opposition and resentment ; for scarcely had he published the Five Books of Moses, as a specimen of his method and abilities, when he was not only attacked by several writers, but also brought before the supreme tribunal of the empire, and there accused as the enemy of the Christian religion, and a caviller at divine truth. This severe charge was founded upon this circumstance only, that he had boldly departed from the common explication of certain passages in the books of Moses, which are generally supposed to prefigure the Messiah.¹ On this account he was cast into prison, and his errors were looked upon as capitally criminal : but he luckily escaped the vigilance of his keepers, and saved himself by flight.

The controversies called Pietistical, and other religious contests, divide the Lutheran church. XX. The bare indication of the controversies that have divided the Lutheran church since the commencement of the century would make up a long list. The religious contests that were set on foot by the Pietists were carried on in some places with animosity, in others with moderation, according to the characters of the champions, and the temper and spirit of the people. These contests, however, have gradually subsided in process of time, and seem at present to be all reduced to the following question, Whether a wicked man be capable of acquiring a true and certain knowledge of divine things, or be susceptible of any degree or species of divine illumination ? The controversy that has been excited by this question is considered by many as a mere dispute about words ; its decision, at least, is rather a matter of curiosity than importance. Many other points, that had been more or less debated in the last century, occasioned keen contests in this, such as the eternity of hell torments ; the reign of Christ upon earth during a thousand years, and the final restoration of all intelligent beings to order, perfection, and happiness. The mild and indulgent sentiments of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, concerning the importance of the controversy between the Lutherans and Roman catholics, excited also a warm debate ; for this doctor, together with his disciples, went so far as to maintain, that the difference between the two churches was of so little consequence, that a Lutheran might safely embrace

¹ Dr. Mosheim gives here but the half of the accusation brought against Schmidt in the year 1737, when he was charged with attempting to prove, that there was not the smallest trace or vestige of the doctrine of the Trinity,

nor any prediction pointing out the Messiah, to be found in the Five Books of Moses. It was by the authority of an Imperial edict, addressed by Charles VI. to the princes of the empire, that Schmidt was imprisoned.

popery. The famous controversies that have been carried on between certain divines and some eminent civilians concerning the rites and obligations of wedlock, the lawful grounds of divorce, and the nature and guilt of concubinage, are sufficiently known. Other disputes of inferior moment, which have been of a sudden growth, and of short duration, we shall pass over in silence, as the knowledge of them is not necessary to our forming an accurate idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church.

XXI. The Reformed church still carries the same external aspect under which it has been already described.^a For though there be every where extant certain books, creeds, and confessions, by which the wisdom and vigilance of ancient times, thought proper to perpetuate the truths of religion and to preserve them from the contagion of heresy; yet, in most places, no person is obliged to adhere strictly to the doctrines they contain; and those who profess the main and fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and take care to avoid too great an intimacy^b with the tenets of Socinianism and Popery, are deemed worthy members of the Reformed church.^c Hence in our times, this great and extensive community comprehends in its bosom, Arminians, Calvinists, Supralapsarians, Sublapsarians, and Universalists, who live together in charity and friendship,^d and unite their efforts in healing the breach, and diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that separate

^a ¶ This description the reader will find above, at the beginning of the last century.

^b ¶ *Nimiam consuetudinem*. The expression is remarkable and malignant; it would make the ignorant and unwary apt to believe, that the Reformed church allows its members certain approaches towards Popery and Socinianism, provided they do not carry these approaches too far, even to an intimate union with them. This representation of the Reformed church is too glaringly false to proceed from ignorance; and Dr. Mosheim's extensive knowledge places him beyond the suspicion of an involuntary mistake in this matter. It is true, this reflection bears hard upon his candour: and we are extremely sorry that we cannot, in this place, do justice to the knowledge of that great man, without arraigning his equity.

^c ¶ Nothing can be more unfair, or at least more inaccurate, than this representation of things. It proceeds from a supposition that is quite chimerical, even that the Reformed churches in England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, &c. form one general body, and have, besides their respective and particular system of government and discipline, some general laws of religious toleration, in consequence of which they admit a variety of sects into their communion. But this general hierarchy does not exist. The friends of the Reformation, whom the multiplied horrors and absurdities of Popery obliged to abandon the communion of Rome, were formed in process of time, into distinct ecclesiastical bodies, or national churches, every one of which has its peculiar form of government and discipline. The toleration that is enjoyed by the various sects and denominations of Christians arises, in part, from the

clemency of the ruling powers, and from the charity and forbearance which individuals think themselves bound to exercise one toward another. See the following note.

¶ If the different denominations of Christians here mentioned live together in the mutual exercise of charity and benevolence, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological opinions, this circumstance, which Dr. Mosheim seems to mention as a reproach, is, on the contrary, a proof, that the true and genuine spirit of the Gospel (which is a spirit of forbearance, meekness, and charity), prevails among the members of the reformed churches. But it must be carefully observed, that this charity, though it discovers the amiable bond of peace, does not, by any means, imply uniformity of sentiment, indifference about truth, or suppose that the Reformed churches have relaxed or departed from their system of doctrine. Indeed, as there is no general Reformed church, so there is no general Reformed creed or confession of faith. The established church of England has its peculiar system of doctrine and government, which remains still unchanged, and in full force; and to which an assent is demanded from all its members, and in a more especial, solemn, and express manner from those who are its ministers. Such is the case with the national Reformed churches in the United Provinces. The dissenters in these countries, who are tolerated by the state, have also their respective bonds of ecclesiastical union; and such of them, particularly in England and Ireland, as differ from the establishment only in their form of government and worship, and not in matters of doctrine, are treated with indulgence by the more moderate members of the national church who look upon them as their brethren.

them from each other.^a This moderation is, indeed, severely censured by many of the reformed doctors in Switzerland, Germany, and more especially in Holland, who lament, in the most sorrowful strains, the decline of the ancient purity and strictness that characterized the doctrine and discipline of the church, and sometimes attack, with the strongest marks of indignation and resentment, these modern contemners of primitive orthodoxy. But as the moderate party has an evident superiority in point of numbers, power, and influence, these attacks of their adversaries are, generally speaking, treated with the utmost indifference.

Projects of re-
union between
the reformed and
the Lutherans.

XXII. Whoever, therefore, considers all these things, with due attention, will be obliged to acknowledge that neither the Lutherans nor Arminians have, at this day, any further subject of controversy or debate with the reformed church, considered in a general point of view, but only with individuals, with private persons that are members of this great community.^r For the church, con-

^a ¶ In the 4to edition of this work, I mistook, in a moment of inadvertency, the construction of this sentence in the original Latin, and rendered the passage as if Dr. Mosheim had represented the reformed churches as diminishing the weight and importance of those controversies that separate them from the church of Rome; whereas he represents them (and, indeed, what he says is rather an encomium than a reproach) as diminishing the weight of those controversies which separate them from each other. One of the circumstances that made me fall more easily into this mistake, was my having read, the moment before I committed it, Dr. Mosheim's insinuation with respect to the spirit of the church of England in the very next page, where he says very inconsiderately, "that we may judge of that spirit by the conduct of Dr. Wake, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their peculiar doctrines." This is supposing, though upon the foundation of a mistaken fact, that the church of England, at least, is making evident approaches to the church of Rome. — When I had made the mistake, which turned really an encomium into an accusation, I thought it incumbent on me to defend the reformed church against the charge of an approximation to Popery. For this purpose I observed (in note z of the 4to edition) "that the reformed churches were never at such a distance from the spirit and doctrine of the church of Rome as they are at this day; and that the improvements in science, that characterize the last and the present age, seem to render a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossible in those who have been once delivered from its baneful influence." The ingenious author of the Confession did not find this reasoning conclusive; and the objections he has started against it, do not appear to me insurmountable. I have, therefore, thrown upon paper some farther thoughts upon the present state of the reformed religion, and the influence of improvements in philosophy

upon its advancement; and these thoughts the reader will find in the Second Appendix.

^r ¶ Granting this to be true with respect to the Arminians, it cannot be affirmed, with equal truth, in regard to the Lutherans, whose doctrines concerning the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the communication of the properties of his divine to his human nature, is rejected by all the reformed churches, without exception. But it is not universally true, even with respect to the Arminians: for though these latter are particularly favoured by the church of England; though Arminianism may be said to have become predominant among the members of that church, or at least to have lent its influence in mitigating some of its articles in the private sentiments of those who subscribe them; yet the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England still maintain their authority; and when we judge of the doctrine and discipline of any church, it is more natural to form this judgment from its established creeds and confession of faith, than from the sentiments and principles of particular persons. So that, with respect to the church of England, the direct contrary of what Dr. Mosheim asserts is strictly true; for it is rather with that church, and its rule of faith, that the Lutherans are at variance, than with private persons, who, prompted by a spirit of Christian moderation, mitigate some of its doctrines, in order charitably to extend the limits of its communion. But, if we turn our view to the reformed churches in Holland, Germany, and a part of Switzerland, the mistake of our author will still appear more palpable; for some of these churches consider certain doctrines, both of the Arminians and Lutherans, as a just cause of excluding them from their communion. The question here is, not, whether this rigour is laudable; it is the matter of fact that we are examining at present. The church of England, indeed, if we consider its present temper and spirit, does not look upon any of the errors of the Lutherans as fundamental, and is therefore ready to receive them into its communion; and the same thing may,

sidered in its collective and general character, allows now to all its members the full liberty of entertaining the sentiments they think most reasonable, in relation to those points of doctrine that formerly excluded the Lutherans and Arminians from its communion, and looks upon the essence of Christianity and its fundamental truths as in no wise affected by these points, however variously they may be explained by the contending parties. But this moderation, instead of facilitating the execution of the plans that have been proposed by some for the re-union of the Lutheran and reformed churches, contributes rather to prevent this re-union, or at least to render it much more difficult. For those among the Lutherans who are zealous for the maintenance of the truth, complain, that the Reformed church has rendered too wide the way of salvation, and opened the arms of fraternal love and communion, not only to us (Lutherans,) but also to Christians of all sects and all denominations. Accordingly we find, that when, about twenty years ago, several eminent doctors of our communion, with the learned and celebrated Matthew Pfaff at their head, employed their good offices with zeal and sincerity in order to our union with the reformed church; this pacific project was so warmly opposed by the greatest part of the Lutherans, that it came to nothing in a short time.*

XXIII. The church of England, which is now the chief and leading branch of that great community that goes under the denomination of the Reformed Church, continues in the same state, and is governed by the same principles, that it assumed at the Revolution under the reign of King William III. The established form of church-government is Episcopacy, which is embraced by the sovereign, the nobility, and the greatest part of the people. The Presbyterians, and the numerous sects of different denominations that are comprehended under the general title of Non-conformists, enjoy the sweets of religious liberty, under the influence of a legal toleration. Those, indeed, who are best acquainted with the present state of the English nation, tell us, that the dissenting interest declines from day to day, and that the cause of Non-conformity owes this gradual decay, in a great measure, to the lenity and moderation that are practised by the rulers of the established church. The members of this church may be divided into two classes, according to their different ideas of the origin, extent, and dignity of episcopal jurisdiction. For some look upon the government of bishops to be founded on the authority of a divine institution, and are immoderately zealous in extending the power and prerogatives of the church; others of a more mild and sedate spirit, while they consider the episcopal form of government as far superior to every other system of ecclesiastical polity, and warmly recommend all the precautions that are necessary to its preservation and the

perhaps, be affirmed of several of the reformed churches upon the continent. But this is very far from being a proof, that the Lutherans have at this day, as Dr. Mosheim asserts, no further subject of controversy or debate with these churches; it only proves, that these churches nourish a spirit of toleration and charity worthy of imitation.

* The project of the very pious and learned Dr. Pfaff for uniting the Lutheran and reformed churches, and the reasons on

which he justified this project, are worthy of the truly Christian spirit, and do honour to the accurate and sound judgment of that most eminent and excellent divine.* And it is somewhat surprising, considering the proofs of moderation and judgment that Dr. Mosheim has given in other parts of this valuable history, that he neither mentions the project of Dr. Pfaff with applause, nor the stiffness of the Lutherans on this occasion with any mark of disapprobation.

* See this learned author's *Collectio Scriptorum Irenicorum ad Unionem inter*

Protestantes facientium, published in 4to, at Halle, in Saxony, in the year 1723.

independence of the clergy, yet do not carry this attachment to such an excessive degree, as to refuse the name of a church to every religious community that is not governed by a bishop, or to defend the prerogatives and pretensions of the episcopal order with an intemperate zeal.—These two classes are sometimes involved in warm debates, and oppose each other with no small degree of animosity, of which this present century has exhibited the following remarkable example. Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, the present bishop of Winchester, a prelate eminently distinguished by the accuracy of his judgment, and the purity of his flowing and manly eloquence, used his utmost endeavours, and not without success, to lower the authority of the church, or at least to reduce the power of its rulers within narrow bounds. On the other hand, the church and its rulers found several able defenders; and, among the rest, Dr. John Potter, now archbishop of Canterbury, who maintained the rights and pretensions of the clergy with great eloquence and erudition. As to the spirit of the established church of England, in relation to those who dissent from its rule of doctrine and government, we see it nowhere better than in the conduct of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, who formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.^a

Various sects in
England.

XXIV. The unbounded liberty which every individual in England enjoys of publishing, without restraint, his religious opinions, and of worshipping God in the manner he thinks the most conformable to reason and scripture, naturally produces a variety of sects, and gives rise to an uninterrupted succession of controversies about theological matters. It is scarcely possible for any historian that has not resided for some time in England, and examined, with attention, upon the spot, the laws, the privileges, the factions, and opinions of that free and happy people, to give a just and accurate account of these religious sects and controversies. Even the names of the greatest part of these sects have not as yet reached us, and many of those that are come to our knowledge we know but imperfectly. We are greatly in the dark with respect to the grounds and principles of these controversies, because we are destitute of the sources from whence proper information must be drawn. At present

^a The learned and pious archbishop Wake, in a letter to Father Courayer, dated from Croydon House, July 9, 1724, expresseth himself thus: "I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church, which, I am convinced, has been the government established in the Christian church from the very time of the apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not episcopal, there is no church, nor any true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry."

^b Archbishop Wake certainly corresponded with some learned and moderate Frenchmen on this subject, particularly with Du Pin, the ecclesiastical historian: and no doubt the archbishop, when he assisted Courayer in his Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations, by furnishing him with

unanswerable proofs, drawn from the registers at Lambeth, had it in his view to remove certain groundless prejudices, which, while they subsisted amongst Roman Catholics, could not but defeat all projects of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches. The interests of the Protestant religion could not be in safer hands than archbishop Wake's. He who had so ably and so successfully defended Protestantism, as a controversial writer, could not surely form any project of peace and union with a Roman catholic church, the terms of which would have reflected on his character as a negotiator. ^c This note has been misunderstood and censured by the acute author of the Confessional. This censure gave occasion to the Third Appendix, which the reader will find at the end of the volume, and in which the matter contained in this note is fully illustrated, and the conduct of archbishop Wake set in its true light.

Whitefield.

the ministerial labours of Mr. George Whitefield, who has formed a community, which he proposes to render superior in sanctity and perfection to all other Christian churches, make a considerable noise in England, and are not altogether destitute of success. If there is any consistency in this man's theological system, and he is not to be looked upon as an enthusiast, who follows no rule but the blind impulse of an irregular fancy, his doctrine seems to amount to these two propositions: "That true religion consists alone in holy affections, and in a certain inward feeling, which it is impossible to explain; and that Christians ought not to seek truth by the dictates of reason, or by the aids of learning, but by laying their minds open to the direction and influence of Divine illumination."

The state of the Dutch church.

XXV. The Dutch church is still divided by the controversies that arose from the philosophy of Des Cartes and the theology of Cocceius; though these controversies be carried on with less bitterness and animosity at present than in former times. It is even to be hoped that these contests will soon be totally extinguished, since it is well known, that the Newtonian philosophy has expelled Cartesianism from almost all the academies and schools of learning in the United Provinces. We have already mentioned the debates that were occasioned by the opinions of Roell. In the year 1703, Frederick Van Leenhof was suspected of a propensity towards the system of Spinoza, and drew upon him a multitude of adversaries, on account of a remarkable book, entitled *Heaven upon Earth*; in which he maintained literally, that it was the duty of Christians to rejoice always, and to suffer no feelings of affliction and sorrow to interrupt their gaiety. The same accusations were brought against an illiterate man, named William Deurhoff, who, in some treatises composed in the Dutch language, represented the Divine Nature under the idea of a certain force or energy that is diffused throughout the whole universe, and acts in every part of the great fabric. The most recent controversies that have made a noise in Holland, were those that sprang from the opinions of Mr. James Saurin and Mr. Paul Maty, on two very different subjects. The former, who was minister of the French church in the Hague, and acquired a shining reputation by his genius and eloquence, fell into an error, which, if it may be called such, was at least an error of a very pardonable kind. For, if we except some inaccurate and unwary expressions, his only deviation from the received opinions consisted in his maintaining, that it was sometimes lawful to swerve from truth, and to deceive men by our speech, in order to the attainment of some great and important good.* This sentiment was not relished, as the most considerable part of the reformed churches adopt the doctrine of Augustin, "That a lie, or a violation of truth, can never be allowable in itself, or advantageous in the issue." The conduct of Maty was much more worthy of condemnation; for, in order to explain the mystery of the Trinity, he invented the following unsatisfactory hypothesis: "That the Son and the Holy Ghost were two finite beings, that had been created by God, and at a certain time were united to the Divine nature."†

* See Saurin's *Discours Historiques, Theologiques, Critiques, et Moraux, sur les Evénemens les plus mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, tom. I. of the folio edition.

† Dr. Mosheim, in another of his learned productions, has explained, in a more

accurate and circumstantial manner, the hypothesis of Maty, which amounts to the following propositions: "That the Father is the pure Deity; and that the Son and the Holy Ghost are two other persons, in each of whom there are two natures; one divine, which is the same in all the three persons, and with respect to

The disputes in Switzerland concerning the formula, consensus, or form of agreement.

XXVI. The particular confession of faith that we have already had occasion to mention under the denomination of the Formulary of agreement or concord, has, since the commencement of this century, produced warm and vehement contests in Switzerland, and more especially in the canton of Berne. In the year 1718, the magistrates of Berne published an order, by which all professors and pastors, particularly those of the university and church of Lausanne, who were suspected of entertaining any erroneous opinions, were obliged to declare their assent to this formulary, and to adopt it as the rule of their faith. This injunction was so much the more grievous, as no demand of that kind had been made for some time before this period; and the custom of requiring subscription to this famous confession had been suspended in the case of several who were promoted in the academy, or had entered into the church. Accordingly, many pastors and candidates for holy orders refused the assent that was demanded by the magistrates, and some of them were punished for this refusal. Hence arose warm contests and heavy complaints, which engaged the king of Great Britain, and the States-general of the United Provinces, to offer their intercession, in order to terminate these unhappy divisions; and hence the Formulary under consideration lost much of its credit and authority. Nothing memorable happened during this period in the German churches. The Reformed church that was established in the Palatinate, and had formerly been in such a flourishing state, suffered greatly from the persecuting spirit and the malignant counsels of the votaries of Rome.

Socinians.

XXVII. The Socinians, who were dispersed through the different countries of Europe, have never hitherto been able to form a separate congregation, or to celebrate publicly divine worship, in a manner conformable to the institutions of their sect; though it is well known that, in several places, they hold clandestine meetings of a religious kind. The person that made the principal figure among them in this century, was the learned Samuel Crellius, who died in an advanced age at Amsterdam; he, indeed, preferred the denomination of Artemonite before that of Socinian, and really departed, in many points, from the received doctrines of that sect.

Arians.

The Arians found a learned and resolute patron in Whiston, professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge, who defended their doctrine in various productions, and chose rather to resign his chair, than to renounce his opinions. He was followed in these opinions, as is commonly supposed, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of great abilities, judgment, and learning, who, in the year 1724, was charged with

which they are one and the same God, having the same numerical divine essence; and the other a finite and dependent nature, which is united to the divine nature in the same manner in which the orthodox say, that Jesus Christ is God and Man." See Mosheim *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes* (published at Altona in the year 1743), vol. ii. p. 498. But principally the original work of Mr. Maty, which was published at the Hague, in the year 1729, under the following title: *Lettre d'un Théologien à un autre Théologien sur le Mystère de la Trinité*. The publication of this hypothesis was unnecessary, as it was really destitute even of the merit of novelty, being very little

more than a repetition of what Dr. Thomas Burnet, prebendary of Sarum, and rector of Westkington in Wiltshire, had said, about ten years before, on this mysterious subject, which nothing but presumption can make any man attempt to render intelligible. See a treatise published without his name by Dr. Burnet, in the year 1720, under the following title: *The Scripture Trinity intelligibly explained; or, An Essay towards the Demonstration of a Trinity in Unity, from Reason and Scripture, in a Chain of Consequences from certain Principles, &c.*, by a divine of the church of England. See also the same author's *Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of the World by Christ, intelligibly explained, &c.*

altering and modifying the ancient and orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.* But it must argue a great want of equity and candour to rank this eminent man in the class of Arians, taking that term in its proper and natural sig-

* It is but too evident that few controversies have so little augmented the sum of knowledge, and so much hurt the spirit of charity, as the controversies that have been carried on in the Christian church in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Whiston was one of the first divines who revived this controversy in the xviiith century. About the year 1706, he began to entertain some doubts about the proper eternity and omniscience of Christ. This led him to review the popular doctrine of the Trinity; and in order to execute this review with a degree of diligence and circumspection suitable to its importance, he read the New Testament twice over, and also all the ancient genuine monuments of the Christian religion till near the conclusion of the second century. By this inquiry, he was led to think, that, at the incarnation of Christ, the Logos, or Eternal Wisdom, supplied the place of the rational soul or *πνεῦμα*;—that the eternity of the Son of God was not a real distinct existence, as of a son properly co-eternal with his father by a true eternal generation, but rather a metaphysical existence in potentia, or in some sublimer manner in the Father, as his wisdom or word; that Christ's real creation or generation (for both these terms are used by the earliest writers) took place some time before the creation of the world;—that the council of Nice itself established no other eternity of Christ;—and, finally, that the Arian doctrine in these points was the original doctrine of Christ himself, of his holy Apostles, and of the most primitive Christians. Mr. Whiston was confirmed in these sentiments by reading Novatian's Treatise concerning the Trinity; but more especially by the perusal of the Apostolical Constitutions, the antiquity and authenticity of which he endeavoured, with more zeal than precision and prudence, to prove, in the third part of his *Primitive Christianity Revived*.

This learned visionary, and upright man, was a considerable sufferer by his opinions. He was not only removed from his theological and pastoral functions, but also from his mathematical professorship, as if Arianism had extended its baneful influence even to the science of lines, angles, and surfaces. This measure was undoubtedly singular, and it appeared rigid and severe to all those of both parties who were dispassionate enough to see things in their true point of light. And, indeed, though we should grant that the good man's mathematics might, by erroneous conclusions, have corrupted his orthodoxy, it will be extremely difficult to comprehend how his heterodoxy could hurt his mathematics. It was not therefore consistent, either with clemency or good sense, to turn Mr. Whiston out of his mathematical chair, because he did not

believe the explication of the Trinity that is given in the Athanasian creed; and I mention this as an instance of the unfair proceedings of immoderate zeal, which often confounds the plainest distinctions, and deals its punishments without measure or proportion.

Dr. Samuel Clarke stepped also aside from the notions commonly received concerning the Trinity; but his modification of this doctrine was not so remote from the popular and orthodox hypothesis, as the sentiment of Whiston. His method of inquiring into that incomprehensible subject was modest, and, at least, promised fair as a guide to truth. For he did not begin by abstract and metaphysical reasonings in his illustrations of this doctrine, but turned his first researches to the word and to the testimony, persuaded that, as the doctrine of the Trinity was a matter of mere revelation, all human explications of it must be tried by the declarations of the New Testament, interpreted by the rules of grammar, and the principles of sound criticism. It was this persuasion that produced the Doctor's famous book, entitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, wherein every Text of the New Testament relating to that doctrine is distinctly considered, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained. The doctrine which this learned divine drew from his researches was comprehended in 55 propositions, which, with the proper illustrations, form the second part of his work. The reader will find them there at full length. We shall only observe here, that Dr. Clarke, if he was careful in searching after the true meaning of those scripture expressions that relate to the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, was equally circumspect in avoiding the accusation of heterodoxy, as appears by the series of propositions now referred to. There are three great rocks of heresy on which many bold adventurers on this anti-pacific ocean have been seen to split violently. These rocks are Tritheism, Sabellianism, and Arianism. Dr. Clarke got evidently clear of the first by denying the self-existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by maintaining their derivation from, and subordination to, the Father. He laboured hard to avoid the second, by acknowledging the personality and distinct agency of the Son and the Holy Ghost: and he flattered himself with having escaped from the dangers of the third, by his asserting the eternity, for the Doctor believed the possibility of an eternal production, which Whiston could not digest, of the two divine subordinate persons. But with all his circumspection, Dr. Clarke did not escape opposition and censure. He was abused and answered, and heresy was subdivided and modi-

nification; for he only maintained what is commonly called the Arminian Subordination, which has been, and is still, adopted by some of the greatest men in England, and even by some of the most learned bishops of that

fied, in order to give him an opprobrious title, even that of Semi-Arian. The convocation threatened, and the doctor calmed by his prudence the apprehensions and fears which his scripture doctrine of the Trinity had excited in that learned and reverend assembly. An authentic account of the proceedings of the two houses of convocation upon this occasion, and of Dr. Clarke's conduct in consequence of the complaints that were made against his book, may be seen in a piece supposed to have been written by the Rev. Mr. John Lawrence, and published at London, in 8vo, in the year 1714, under the following title: *An Apology for Dr. Clarke, containing an account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity.* The true copies of all the original papers relating to this affair are published in this apology.

If Dr. Clarke was attacked by authority, he was also combated by argument. The learned Dr. Waterland was one of his principal adversaries, and stands at the head of a polemical body, composed of eminent divines, such as Gastrel, Wells, Nelson, Mayo, Knight, and others who appeared in this controversy. Against these, Dr. Clarke, unaided by their numbers, defended himself with great spirit and perseverance, in several letters and replies. This prolonged a controversy, which may often be suspended through the fatigue of the combatants, or the change of the mode in theological researches, but which will probably never be terminated; for nothing affords such an endless subject of debate as a doctrine above the reach of human understanding, and expressed in the ambiguous and improper terms of human language, such as persons, generation, substance, &c., which in this controversy either convey no ideas at all, or false ones. The inconveniences, accordingly, of departing from the divine simplicity of the Scripture language on this subject, and of making a matter of mere revelation an object of human reasoning, were palpable in the writings of both the contending parties. For, if Dr. Clarke was accused of verging towards Arianism, by maintaining the derived and caused existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, it seemed no less evident that Dr. Waterland was verging towards Tritheism, by maintaining the self-existence and independence of these divine persons, and by asserting that the subordination of the Son to the Father is only a subordination of office, and not of nature. So that if the former divine was deservedly called a Semi-Arian, the latter might, with equal justice, be denominated a Semi-Tritheist. The difference between these two learned men lay in this, that Dr. Clarke, after making a faithful col-

lection of the texts in Scripture that relate to the Trinity, thought proper to interpret them by the maxims and rules of right reasoning, that are used on other subjects; whereas Dr. Waterland denied that this method of reasoning was to be admitted in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, which was far exalted above the sphere of human reason, and therefore he took the texts of Scripture in their direct, literal, and grammatical sense. Dr. Waterland, however, employed the words persons, subsistence, &c., as useful for fixing the notion of distinction; the words uncreated, eternal, and immutable, for ascertaining the divinity of each person; and the words interior generation and procession, to indicate their union. This was departing from his grammatical method, which ought to have led him to this plain conclusion, that the Son and the Holy Ghost, to whom divine attributes are ascribed in Scripture, and even the denomination of God to the former, possess these attributes in a manner which it is impossible for us to understand in this present state, and the understanding of which is consequently unessential to our salvation and happiness. The Doctor, indeed, apologizes in his queries (p. 321) for the use of these metaphysical terms, by observing, that "they are not designed to enlarge our views, or to add any thing to our stock of ideas, but to secure the plain fundamental truth, That Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are all strictly divine, and uncreated; and yet are not three Gods, but one God." It is, however, difficult to comprehend how terms that neither enlarge our views, nor give us ideas, can secure any truth. It is difficult to conceive what our faith gains by being entertained with a certain number of sounds. If a Chinese should explain a term of his language which I did not understand, by another term which he knew beforehand that I understood as little, his conduct would be justly considered as an insult against the rules of conversation and good breeding; and I think it is an equal violation of the equitable principles of candid controversy, to offer, as illustrations, propositions, or terms that are as unintelligible and obscure as the thing to be illustrated. The words of the excellent and learned Stillingfleet, in the Preface to his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, administer a plain and a wise rule, which, were it observed by divines, would greatly contribute to heal the wounds which both Truth and Charity have received in this controversy. "Since both sides yield," says he, "that the matter they dispute about is above their reach, the wisest course they can take is, to assert and defend what is revealed, and not to be peremptory and quarrelsome about that which

nation. This doctrine he illustrated with greater care and perspicuity than any before him had done, and taught that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are equal in nature, and different in rank, authority, and subordination.* A great number of English writers have endeavoured, in a variety of ways, to invalidate and undermine the doctrine of the holy Trinity; and it was this consideration that engaged a lady,^a eminently distinguished by her orthodoxy and opulence, to leave by her testament a rich legacy as a foundation for a lecture, in which eight sermons are preached annually by a learned divine, who is nominated to that office by the trustees. This foundation has subsisted since the year 1720, and promises to posterity an ample collection of learned productions in defence of this branch of the Christian faith.

is acknowledged to be above our comprehension; I mean as to the manner how the three persons partake of the divine nature."

Those who are desirous of a more minute historical view of the manner in which the Trinitarian controversy has been carried on during this present century, may consult a pamphlet entitled, "An Account of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets that have been wrote on either side in the Controversy concerning the Trinity, since the year 1712; in which is also contained an Account of the Pamphlets written this last Year, on each side by the Dissenters, to the End of the Year

1719." This pamphlet was published at London in the year 1720. The more recent treatises on the subject of the Trinity are sufficiently known.

It will appear to those who read the preceding note², that Dr. Mosheim has here mistaken the true hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, or, at least, expressed it imperfectly; for what he says here is rather applicable to the opinion of Dr. Waterland. Dr. Clarke maintained an equality of perfections between the three Persons; but a subordination of nature, in point of existence and derivation.

^a Lady Moyer.

APPENDIXES

TO

MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

APPENDIX I.

Concerning the spirit and conduct of the first reformers, and the charge of enthusiasm, that is, fanaticism, that has been brought against them by a celebrated author.

THE candour and impartiality with which Dr. Mosheim represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the Reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowledges, that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause; and, in the very nature of things, it could not be otherwise. It was one of the inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependants; and the unhappy effects of a party spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution that delivered a great part of Europe from the ignominious yoke of the Roman Pontiff. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety, and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy, with a multitude of dependants, admirers, and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and the abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many things which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct and measures of some of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence, if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the spirit which animated the first and principal reformers, who arose in times of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of Rome, and upon what principles a Luther, a Zuingli, a Calvin, a Melancthon, a Bucer, &c. embarked in the arduous cause of the Reformation? This question, indeed, is not at all necessary to the defence of the Reformation, which rests upon the strong foundations of scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent on the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But, until the more than Jesuitical and disingenuous Philips resumed the trumpet of calumny,* even the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

* See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. Pye, the learned Dr. Neve, and other commendable writers who have appeared in this controversy.

These eminent men were, indeed, attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. Hume, so justly celebrated as one of the first favourites of the historical muse, has, in his *History of England*, and more especially in the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, represented the character and temper of the first reformers in a point of view, which undoubtedly shows, that he had not considered them with that close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflections. He has laid it down as a principle, that superstition and enthusiasm are two species of religion that stand in diametrical opposition to each other; and seems to establish it as a fact, that the former is the genius of popery, and the latter the characteristic of the Reformation. Both the principle and its application must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

First, Persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and eccentric movements, must be surprised to see superstition and fanaticism^b represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been seen often together, holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and, indeed, if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear, not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. Superstition, which consists in false and abject notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless fears of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly at the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is fanaticism, but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an overheated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a cheerful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *Fanaticism* in the famous *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, published at Paris, to define it^c as "a blind and passionate zeal, which arises from superstitious opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort;" from which the author concludes, that "fanaticism is really nothing more than superstition set in motion." This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of false religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and misrepresenting the true. It is, however, a testimony from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favour of the compatability of fanaticism with superstition. These two principles are evidently distinct; because superstition is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgment perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas fanaticism is the offspring of an inflamed imagination, and may exist where there is no superstition, i. e. no false or gloomy notions of the Divinity. But though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, mutual strength and assistance to each other.

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither, in the second place, can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon superstition as a more predominant characteristic of popery than fanaticism; and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent *History*, but appears to be the basis of all the reflections he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of Rome before the Reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were at least as visible and frequent as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united

^b I use the word fanaticism here, instead of enthusiasm, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shown presently, Mr. Hume takes enthusiasm in its worst sense, when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with, fanaticism. Besides, this latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm, by this celebrated historian, in characterising the Reformation.

^c The words of the original are: "Le fanatisme est un zèle aveugle et passionné, que naît des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes, et cruelles, non seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joie et de consolation. Le fanatisme donc n'est que la superstition mise en mouvement."

their visions and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is more especially well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishments, that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury, were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and such like wild delusions of an over-heated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter;—by no means;—imposture there was; and it was frequently employed: but impostors made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit. Were I to recount with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the ecstasies, visions, seraphic amours, and celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odour of sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous conformities of St. Francis, the illuminations of St. Ignatius, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonoured humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. Mosheim's account of those ages that more immediately preceded the Reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, purely fanatical, arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all—for it must be carefully observed that even those extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in Germany about the commencement of the Reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of Luther, nay, many of them passed directly from popery to fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that besides the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, Seckendorf speaks of a sect that merits this denomination, which had spread in the Netherlands, before Luther raised his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments; nay, even affected a devout compliance with the external rites of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the Reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the third place, the friends of the Reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find enthusiasm, or fanaticism, laid down by Mr. Hume as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception, or distinction, made in favour of any one of the reformers. That fanaticism was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the Reformation, is a fact which I do not pretend to deny; and it may be worthy of the reader's curiosity to consider, for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty, which the Reformation introduced and granted, in consequence of its essential principles, indiscriminately to all, to learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniences, or, at least, are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a natural right but not a discerning principle, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come in along with it. If reason came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; imagination, also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical phantoms were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the Reformation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar in this to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructifies indiscriminately the salutary plant in the well-cultivated ground, and the noxious weed in a rank and neglected soil. And as the Reformation had no such miraculous influence (not to speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not yet entirely been removed from its more advanced stages) as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fana-

ticism and superstition to sow their tares among the good seed ; and this will probably be the case until the end of the world. It is here that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm that has dishonoured the Christian name, and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods of time since the Reformation, and for which the Reformation is no more responsible than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The Reformation established the sacred and unalienable right of private judgment ; but it could not hinder the private judgment of many from being wild and extravagant.

The Reformation, then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be, and were often, made of the liberty it introduced. If you ask, indeed, what was the temper and spirit of the first heralds of this happy Reformation, Mr. Hume will tell you, that they were universally inflamed with the highest enthusiasm. This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers, might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, nay, even honourable to the character of these eminent men. For if by enthusiasm we understand that spirit of ardour, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance have made a deep impression upon their minds ; the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of enthusiasm is a noble affection, when fitly placed, and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the great and excellent, that forms heroes and patriots ; and without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger or prejudice to our temporal interests, can either be attempted with vigour, or executed with success. Nay, had this ingenious writer observed, that the ardour of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions, candour would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism, in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the inflexible intrepidity with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itself ; but he calls them the fanatical and enraged reformers : he indicates, through the whole course of his history, fanaticism as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders ; the terms protestant fanaticism—fanatical churches, are interspersed in various parts of this work ; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the rational and enthusiastic, the wise and indiscreet friends of the Reformation. In short, we find a phraseology constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound Protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make reformers and fanatics synonymous terms. We are told, that while absurd rites and burdensome superstitions reigned in the Romish church, the reformers were thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion ; and in another place, that these latter placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dexterous strokes of a seducing pencil ; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form imperceptibly an unfavourable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants, in all ages and places, are stigmatized by Mr. Hume with very dishonourable titles ; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish Inquisition in Holland, whose proceedings were so moderate, and whose complaints were so humble, until the barbarous yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable—it struck me, I say, to see these generous patrons branded with the general character of bigots. This is certainly a severe appellation ; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security under the auspicious shade of that very liberty which the Reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes (or bigots—if we must call them so) shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the

phraseology employed perpetually by Mr. Hume, on similar occasions, seems to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favour of the Reformation. Nay, upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall be obliged to brand with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the revolution of 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government; and to rank the Burnets, Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, and other immortal ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a Boyle, a Newton, or a Locke, will escape a censure which is lavished without mercy and without distinction.—But my present business is with the first reformers, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were, Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger, Beza, Oecolampadius, and others. Now, these were all men of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy, in which the fate of future ages with respect to liberty was to be decided, with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse, or seduced by the delusions, of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations or impulses; they never attempted to work miracles, nor pleaded a divine commission;—they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation; they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience which God has made free, and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free. They maintained that the faith of Christians was to be determined by the word of God alone; they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history. They translated the Scriptures into the popular language of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the Scriptures, to break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and to assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an unalienable right as reasonable beings. Mr. Hume himself acknowledges, that they offered to submit “all religious doctrines to private judgment, and exhorted every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him.” In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of Rome,* of which Mr. Hume himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms as those which were used by Luther and Calvin in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowledge it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersions of fanaticism, which is cast both on the spirit of the Reformation, and the principal agents concerned in it. A man may be over-zealous in the advancement of what he supposes to be the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a fanatic: unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal of the reformers was the result of the ardour which takes place in all divisions and parties that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that, in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of the goodness of their end, and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflection, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper,—the provocations of unjust and violent opposition,—a spirit of sympathy which connects in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm; nay, frequently the pride of conquest which mingles itself, imperceptibly, with the best principles and the most generous views, all these produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected, that some writers, and Mr. Hume among others, may have given too

* See the sensible and judicious Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain, such is the title, that were published at Edinburgh in the year 1756; and in which some points,

which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon and illustrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner.

high colours to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir Robert Cotton that has much meaning: "Most men," says he, "grew to be frozen in zeal and benumbed, so whosoever pretended a little spark of earnestness, he seemed no less than red fire hot, in comparison of the other."

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments, than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal; more especially, every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution, ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interest of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There may be, nevertheless, cases, in which a zeal, not that breathes a spirit of persecution, but that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; nay, not only useful, but necessary. This assertion I advance almost against my will—because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse—the assertion, however, is true, though the cases must be singularly important and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the Reformation was one of these cases, and, all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers might have been, I do not say that they really were, as much the effect of provident reflection, as of natural fervour and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in these times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of Rome, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances combined, what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred? No doubt, the improbability that cool philosophy, dispassionate reasoning, and affectionate remonstrances, would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And, if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind with a religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply even a violent remedy, if that were necessary, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem that Luther acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. Mosheim's History, or any other impartial account of the XVIth century, will find, that Luther's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences, was carried on at first in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered, not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet at Worms, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless both respectful and modest. But when all gentle measures proved ineffectual, then, indeed, he acted with redoubled vigour, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and, I repeat it, reflection might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing perhaps merely to his resentment, and the natural warmth of his temper, inflamed by opposition. Certain it is, at least, that neither the elegant satires of Erasmus, had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty, nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle Melancthon, who was really such, would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many laugh, the latter made some reason; but neither of the two could make them act, or set them in motion. In such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of Europe, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to Calvin, every one, who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with classic elegance of style; and which, though tinged with the scholastic theology of the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the Institutes of the Christian Religion, in which the learned writer shows, that the doctrine of the reformers was founded on scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to show, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain fanatics, who, about the time of the Reformation, sprang from the bosom of the church of Rome, and excited tumults and commotions in

several places. The French monarch, Francis I., to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the Protestants in Germany, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged, that his severity fell only upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of Anabaptists, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Holy Scriptures. To vindicate the reformers from this reproach, Calvin wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism as any thing can be. Nor, indeed, is this spirit visible in any of the writings of Calvin that I have perused. His Commentary upon the Old and New Testament is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial inquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, nay, several of them men of taste for the age in which they lived; they cultivated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which, of all others, are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of fanaticism. They had, indeed, their errors and prejudices; nor, perhaps, were they few in number; but who is free from the same charge? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology savoured somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools;—how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them at least a title to our candour and indulgence; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude, let us regret their infirmities; let us reject their errors; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence they may have been chargeable with;—but let us never forget, that through perils and obstacles almost insurmountable, they opened the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

APPENDIX II.

Some observations relative to the present state of the Reformed Religion, and the influence of improvements in philosophy and science on its propagation and advancement.

Occasioned by some passages in the preface to a book entitled *THE CONFESSIONAL*.

IN one of the notes,* which I added to those of Dr. Mosheim, in my translation of his Ecclesiastical History, I observed that “the Reformed churches were never at such a distance from the spirit and doctrine of the church of Rome as they are at this day;—that the improvements in science that characterize the last and the present age, seem to render a relapse into Romish superstition morally impossible in those who have been once delivered from its baleful influence: and that, if the dawn of science and philosophy towards the end of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries was favourable to the cause of the Reformation, their progress, which has a kind of influence even upon the multitude, must confirm us in the principles that occasioned our separation from the church of Rome.”

This reasoning did not appear conclusive to the ingenious author of the Confessional, who has accordingly made some critical reflections upon it in the preface to that work. However, upon an impartial view of these reflections, I find that

* See vol. ii. p. 573 of the quarto edition. This note was occasioned by my mistaking, in a moment of inadvertency, the true sense

of the passage to which it relates. This mistake I have corrected in the octavo edition, and in the supplement to the quarto edition.

this author's excessive apprehension of the progress of popery have had an undue influence on his method of reasoning on this subject. He supposes (Preface, pp. 59 and 60,) that the improvements in science and philosophy, in some popish countries, have been as considerable as in any reformed country; and afterwards asks, "what intelligence we have from these popish countries of a proportionable progress of religious reformation? Have we no reason to suspect (he adds) that if an accurate account were to be taken, the balance in point of conversions, in the most improved of these countries, would be greatly against the reformed religion?"

I cannot see how these observations, or rather conjectures, even were they founded on truth and fact, tend to prove my reasoning inconclusive. I observed, that the progress of science was adapted to confirm us Protestants in the belief and profession of the reformed religion; and I had here in view, as every one may see, those countries in which the protestant religion is established; and this author answers me by observing, that the progress of the Reformation in some popish countries is not proportionable to the progress of science and philosophy in these countries. This, surely, is no answer at all; since there are in popish countries accidental circumstances that counteract, in favour of popery, the influence of those improvements in science which are in direct opposition to its propagation and advancement; circumstances that I shall consider presently, and which do not exist in protestant states. This subject is interesting; and I therefore presume, that some farther thoughts upon it will not be disagreeable to the candid reader.

The sagacious author of the Confessional cannot, I think, seriously call in question the natural tendency of improvements in learning and science to strengthen and confirm the cause of the Reformation. For as the foundations of popery are a blind submission to a usurped authority over the understandings and consciences of men, and an implicit credulity that adopts, without examination, the miracles and visions that derive their existence from the crazy brains of fanatics, or the lucrative artifice of impostors, so it is unquestionably evident, that the progress of sound philosophy, and the spirit of free inquiry it produces, strike directly at these foundations. I say the progress of sound philosophy, that the most inattentive reader may not be tempted to imagine (as the author of the Confessional has been informed, Preface, p. 60,) that improvements in philosophy have made many sceptics in all churches, reformed and unreformed. For I am persuaded, that as true Christianity can never lead to superstition, so true philosophy will never be a guide to infidelity and scepticism. We must not be deceived with the name of philosophers, which some poets and wits have assumed in our days, particularly upon the Continent, and which many lavish upon certain subtle refiners in dialectics, who bear a much greater resemblance of overweening sophists, than of real sages. We must not be so far lost to all power of distinguishing, as to confound in one common mass, the philosophy of a Bacon, a Newton, a Boyle, and a Neiwentyt, with the incoherent views and rhetorical rants of a Bolingbroke, or the flimsy sophistry of a Voltaire. And though candour must acknowledge that some men of true learning have been so unhappy as to fall into infidelity, and charity must weep to see a Hume and a D'Alembert joining a set of men that are unworthy of their society, and covering a dark and uncomfortable system with the lustre of their superior talents, yet equity itself may safely affirm, that neither their science nor their genius is the cause of their scepticism.

But if the progress of science and free inquiry have a natural tendency to destroy the foundations of Popery, how comes it to pass that, in Popish countries, the progress of the Reformation bears no proportion to the progress of science? and how can we account for the ground which Popery (if the apprehensions of the authority of the Confessional are well founded) gains even in England?

Before I answer the first of these questions, it may be proper to consider the matter of fact, and to examine, for a moment, the state of science and philosophy in Popish countries; this examination, if I am not mistaken, will confirm the theory I have laid down with respect to the influence of philosophical improvement upon true religion. Let us then turn our view first to one of the most considerable countries in Europe, I mean Germany; and here we shall be struck with this undoubted fact, that it is in the Protestant part of this vast region only, that the improvements of science and philosophy appear, while the barbarism of the fifteenth century reigns, as yet, in those districts of the empire that profess the Romish religion. The celebrated M. D'Alembert, in his treatise entitled *De l'Abus de la*

Critique en matière de Religion, makes the following remarkable observation on this head: "We must acknowledge, though with sorrow, the present superiority of the Protestant universities in Germany over those of the Romish persuasion. This superiority is so striking, that foreigners who travel through the empire, and pass from a Romish academy to a Protestant university, even in the same neighbourhood, are induced to think that they have rode in an hour four hundred leagues, or lived in that short space of time four hundred years; that they have passed from Salamanca to Cambridge, or from the times of Scotus to those of Newton." "Will it be believed (says the same author), in succeeding ages, that, in the year 1750, a book was published in one of the principal cities of Europe (Vienna) with the following title: *Systema Aristotelicum de formis substantialibus et accidentibus absolutis*; i. e. The Aristotelian System concerning substantial forms and absolute accidents? Will it not rather be supposed, that this date is an error of the press, and that 1550 is the true reading?" See D'Alembert's *Mélanges de Littérature, d'Histoire, et de Philosophie*, vol. 4, p. 376.—This fact seems evidently to show the connexion that there is between improvements in science, and the free spirit of the reformed religion. The state of letters and philosophy in Italy and Spain, where canon law, monkish literature, and scholastic metaphysics, have reigned during such a long course of ages, exhibits the same gloomy spectacle. Some rays of philosophical light are now breaking through the cloud in Italy; Boscovich, and some geniuses of the same stamp, have dared to hold up the lamp of science, without feeling the rigour of the Inquisition, or meeting with the fate of Galileo. If this dawning revolution be brought to any degree of perfection, it may, in due time, produce effects that at present we have little hopes of.

France, indeed, seems to be the country which the author of the Confessional has principally in view, when he speaks of a considerable progress in philosophy in Popish states that has not been attended with a proportionable influence on the reformation of religion. He even imagines that "if an account were to be taken, the balance, in point of conversions, in this most improved of the Popish countries, would be greatly against the Reformed religion." The reader will perceive, that I might grant this without giving up any thing that I maintained in the note which this judicious author censures. I shall, however, examine this notion, that we may see whether it is to be adopted without restriction; and perhaps it may appear, that the improvements in philosophy have had more influence on the spirit of religion in France than this author is willing to allow.

And here I observe, in the first place, that it is no easy matter, either for him or me, to calculate the number of conversions that are made, on both sides, by priests armed with the secular power, and Protestant ministers discouraged by the frowns of government and the terrors of persecution. If we judge of this matter by the external face of things, the calculation may indeed be favourable to his hypothesis, since the apostate Protestant comes forth to view, and is publicly enrolled in the registers of the church, while the converted Papist is obliged to conceal his profession, and to approach the truth, like Nicodemus, secretly and by night. This evident diversity of circumstances in the respective proselytes shows that we are not to form our judgment by external appearances, and renders it but equitable to presume that the progress of knowledge may have produced many examples of the progress of reformation which do not strike the eye of the public. Is it not in effect to be presumed, that if either a toleration, or even an indulgent connivance, were granted to French Protestants, many would appear friends of the Reformation, who, at present, have not sufficient strength of mind to become martyrs or confessors in its cause? History informs us of the rapid progress the Reformation made in France in former times, when a legal toleration was granted to its friends. When this toleration was withdrawn, an immense number of Protestants abandoned their country, their relations, and their fortunes, for the sake of their religion. But when that abominable system of tyranny was set up, which would neither permit the Protestants to profess their religion at home, nor to seek for the enjoyment of religious liberty abroad, and when they were thus reduced to the sad alternative of dissimulation or martyrdom, the courage of many failed, though their persuasion remained the same. In the south of France many continued, and still continue, their profession, even in the face of those booted apostles, who are sent from time to time to dragoon them into popery. In other places (particularly in the metropolis, where the empire of the

mode, the allurements of court-favour, the dread of persecution, unite their influence in favour of popery) the public profession of Protestantism lies under heavy discouragements, and would require a zeal that rises to heroism—a thing too rare in modern times! In a word, a religion like popery, which forms the main-spring in the political machine, which is doubly armed with allurements and terrors, must damp the fortitude of the feeble friend of truth, and attract the external respect even of libertines, freethinkers, and sceptics.

But, in the second place, if it should be alleged, that men eminent for learning and genius have adhered seriously to the profession of popery, the fact cannot be denied. But what does it prove? It proves only that, in such persons, there are circumstances which counteract the natural influence of learning and science. It cannot be expected that the influence of learning and philosophy will always obtain a complete victory over the attachment to a superstitious church, that is riveted by the early prejudices of education, by impressions formed by the examples of respectable personages who have professed and defended the doctrine of that church, by a habit of veneration for authority, and by numberless associations of ideas, whose combined influence gives a wonderful bias to the mind, and renders the impartial pursuit of truth extremely difficult. Thus knowledge is acquired with an express design to strengthen previous impressions and prejudices. Thus many make considerable improvements in science who have never once ventured to review their religious principles, or to examine the authority on which they have been taken up.

Others observe egregious abuses in the Romish church, and are satisfied with rejecting them in secret, without thinking them sufficient to justify a separation. This class is extremely numerous; and it cannot be said that the improvements in science have had no effect upon their religious sentiments. They are neither thorough Papists nor entire Protestants; but they are manifestly verging towards the Reformation.

Nearly allied to this class is another set of men, whose case is singular, and worthy of attention. Even in the bosom of the Romish church they have tolerably just notions of the sublime simplicity and genuine beauty of the Christian religion; but, either from false reasonings upon human nature, or an observation of the powerful impressions that authority makes upon the credulity, and a pompous ritual upon the senses of the multitude, imagine that Christianity, in its native forms, is too pure and elevated for vulgar souls, and therefore countenance and maintain the absurdities of popery from a notion of their utility. Those who conversed intimately with the sublime Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, have declared, that such was the nature of his sentiments with respect to the public religion of his country.

To all this I may add, that a notion of the necessity of a visible universal church, and of a visible centre or bond of union, has led many to adhere to the papacy (considered in this light) who look upon some of the principles and fundamental doctrines of the Romish church to be erroneous and extravagant. Such is the case of the learned and worthy Dr. Courayer, whose upright fortitude in declaring his sentiments obliged him to seek an asylum in England; and who, notwithstanding his persuasion of the absurdities which abound in the church of Rome, has never totally separated himself from its communion; and such is known to be the case with many men of learning and piety in that church.

Thus it happens, that particular and accidental circumstances counteract in favour of popery the natural effects of improvements in learning and philosophy, which have their full and proper influence in Protestant countries, where any thing that resembles these circumstances is directly in favour of the Reformed religion.

But I beg that it may be attentively observed, in the third place, that notwithstanding all these particular and accidental obstacles to the progress of the Reformation among men of knowledge and letters, the spirit of the Reformation has, in fact, gained more ground than the ingenious author of the Confessional seems to imagine. I think it must be allowed, that every branch of superstition that is retrenched from popery, and every portion of authority that is taken from its pontiff, is a real gain to the cause of the Reformation; and, though it does not render that cause absolutely triumphant, yet prepares the way for its progress and advancement. Now (in this point of view), I am persuaded it will appear that,

for twenty or thirty years past, the Reformation, or at least its spirit, has rather gained than lost ground in Roman Catholic states. In several countries, and more particularly in France, many of the gross abuses of Popery have been corrected. We have seen the saintly legend in many places deprived of its fairest honours. We have seen a mortal blow given in France to the absolute power of the pope. What is still more surprising, we have seen, even in Spain and Portugal, strong lines of a spirit of opposition to the pretended infallible ruler of the church. We have seen the very order, that has been always considered as the chief support of the papacy, the order of the Jesuits, the fundamental characteristic of whose institute is an inviolable obligation to extend beyond all limits the despotic authority of the Roman pontiffs: we have seen, I say, that order suppressed, banished, covered with deserved infamy, in three powerful kingdoms;^b and we see at this moment their credit declining in other Roman Catholic states. We see in several popish countries, and more especially in France, the Holy Scriptures more generally in the hands of the people than in former times; we have seen the senate of Venice, not many months ago, suppressing, by an express edict,^c the officers of the Inquisition in all the small towns, reducing their power to a shadow in the larger cities, extending the liberty of the press, and all this in a steady opposition to the repeated remonstrances of the court of Rome. These, and many other facts that might be collected here, facts of a recent date, show that the essential spirit of Popery, which is a spirit of unlimited despotism in the pretended head of the church, and a spirit of blind submission and superstition in its members, is rather losing than gaining ground, even in those countries that still profess the religion of Rome.

If this be the case, it would seem indeed very strange that Popery, which is losing ground at home, should be gaining it abroad, and acquiring new strength, as some imagine, even in Protestant countries. This, at first sight, must appear a paradox of the most enormous size; and it is to be hoped that it will continue to appear such upon the closest examination. While the spirit and vigour of Popery are actually declining on the continent, I would fondly hope that the apprehensions of some worthy persons, with respect to its progress in England, are without foundation. To account for the growth of Popery in an age of light would be incumbent upon me, if the fact were true. Until this fact be proved, I may be excused from undertaking such a task. The famous story of the golden tooth, that employed the laborious researches of physicians, chemists, and philosophers, stands upon record as a warning to those who are over-hasty to account for a thing which has no existence. My distance from England, during many years past, renders me indeed less capable of judging concerning the state of Popery than those who are upon the spot. I shall therefore confine myself to a few reflections upon this interesting subject.

When it is said that Popery gains ground in England, one of the two following things must be meant by this expression; either that the spirit of the Established, and other Reformed churches, is leaning that way; or that a number of individuals are made proselytes, by the seduction of popish emissaries, to the Romish communion. With respect to the established church, I think that a candid and accurate observer must vindicate it from the charge of a spirit of approximation to Rome. We do not live in the days of a Laud, nor do his successors seem to have imbibed his spirit. I do not hear that the claims of church power are carried high in the present times, or that a spirit of intolerance characterises the Episcopal hierarchy. And though it were to be wished that the case of subscription were to be made easier to good and learned men, whose scruples deserve indulgence, and were better accommodated to what is known to be the reigning theology among the Episcopal clergy, yet it is straining matters too far to allege the demand of subscription as a proof that the established church is verging towards Popery. As to the Protestant dissenting churches in England and Ireland, they stand so avowedly clear of all imputations of this nature, that it is utterly unnecessary to vindicate them on this head. If any thing of this kind is to be apprehended from any quarter within the pale of the Reformation, it is from the quarter of fanaticism,

^b France, Spain, and Portugal.^c This edict was issued in the month of February, 1767.

which, by discrediting free inquiry, crying down human learning, and encouraging those pretended illuminations and impulses which give imagination an undue ascendant in religion, lays weak minds open to the seductions of a church which has always made its conquests by wild visions and false miracles, addressed to the passions and fancies of men. Cry down reason, preach up implicit faith, extinguish the lamp of free inquiry, make inward experience the test of truth, and then the main barriers against Popery will be removed. Persons who follow this method possibly may continue Protestants; but there is no security against their becoming papists, if the occasion is presented. Were they placed in a scene where artful priests and enthusiastic monks could play their engines of conversion, their Protestant faith would be very likely to fail.

If, by the supposed growth of Popery, be meant the success of the Romish emissaries in making proselytes to their communion, here again the question turns upon a matter of fact upon which I cannot venture to pronounce. There is no doubt but the Romish hierarchy carries on its operations under the shade of an indulgent connivance; and it is to be feared that its members are wiser, *i. e.*, more artful and zealous, in their generation, than the children of light. The establishment of the Protestant religion inspires, it is to be feared, an indolent security into the hearts of its friends. Ease and negligence are the fruits of prosperity; and this maxim extends even to religion. It is not unusual to see a victorious general sleep upon his laurels, and thus give advantage to an enemy whom adversity renders vigilant. All good and true Protestants will heartily wish that this were otherwise. They will be sincerely afflicted at any decline that may happen in the zeal and vigilance that ought ever to be employed against Popery and popish emissaries, since they can never cease to consider Popery as a system of wretched superstition and political despotism, and must particularly look upon Popery in the British isles as pregnant with the principles of disaffection and rebellion, and as at invariable enmity with our religious liberty and our happy civil constitution. But still there is reason to hope that Popery makes very little progress, notwithstanding the apprehensions that have been entertained on this subject. The insidious publications of a Taaffe and a Philips, who abuse the terms charity, philanthropy, and humanity, in their flimsy apologies for a church whose tender mercies are known to be cruel, have alarmed many well-meaning persons. But it is much more wise, as well as noble, to be vigilant and steady against the enemy, than to take the alarm at the smallest of his motions, and to fall into a panic as if we were conscious of our weakness. Be that as it will, I return to my first principle, and am still persuaded that the Protestant church, and its prevailing spirit, are at this present time as averse to Popery as they were at any period since the Reformation, and that the thriving state of learning and philosophy is adapted to confirm them in this well-founded aversion. Should it even be granted that proselytes to Popery have been made among the ignorant and unwary by the emissaries of Rome, this would by no means invalidate what I here maintain, though it may justly be considered as a powerful incentive to the zeal and vigilance of rulers, temporal and spiritual, of the pastors and people of the reformed churches, against the encroachments of Rome.

The author of the Confessional complains, and perhaps justly, of the bold and public appearance which Popery has of late made in England. "The Papists," says he, "strengthened and animated by an influx of Jesuits, expelled even from popish countries for crimes and practices of the worst complexion, open public mass-houses, and affront the laws of this Protestant kingdom in other respects, not without insulting some of those who endeavour to check their insolence. And we are told, with the utmost coolness and composure, that popish bishops go about here, and exercise every part of their function, without offence, and without observation." This is, indeed, a circumstance that the friends of reformation and religious liberty cannot behold without offence; I say, the friends of religious liberty, because the maintenance of all liberty, both civil and religious, depends on circumscribing Popery within proper bounds; since Popery is not a system of innocent speculative opinions, but a yoke of despotism, an enormous mixture of princely and priestly tyranny, designed to enslave the consciences of mankind, and to destroy their most sacred and invaluable rights. But at the same time I do not think we can, from this public appearance of Popery, rationally conclude that it gains ground, much less (as the author of the Confessional suggests) that

the two hierarchies (*i. e.* the Episcopal and the Popish) are growing daily more and more into a resemblance of each other. The natural reason of this bold appearance of Popery is the spirit of toleration that has been carried to a great height, and has rendered the execution of the laws against Papists, in the time past, less rigorous and severe.

How it may be proper to act with regard to the growing insolence of Popery, is a matter that must be left to the wisdom and clemency of government. Rigour against any thing that bears the name of religion, gives pain to a candid and generous mind; and it is certainly more eligible to extend too far, than to circumscribe too narrowly, the bounds of forbearance and indulgent charity.

If the dangerous tendency of Popery, considered as a pernicious system of policy, should be pleaded as a sufficient reason to except it from the indulgence due to merely speculative systems of theology;—if the voice of history should be appealed to, as declaring the assassinations, rebellions, conspiracies, the horrid scenes of carnage and desolation that Popery has produced; if standing principles and maxims of the Roman church should be quoted, which authorize these enormities;—if it should be alleged, finally, that Popery is much more malignant and dangerous in Great Britain than in any other Protestant country;—I acknowledge that all these pleas against Popery are well founded: and plead for modifications to the connivance which the clemency of government may think proper to grant to that unfriendly system of religion. All I wish is, that mercy and humanity may ever accompany the execution of justice, and that nothing like merely religious persecution may stain the British annals. And all I maintain, with respect to the chief point under consideration is, that the public appearance of Popery, which is justly complained of, is no certain proof of its growth, but rather shows its indiscretion than its strength, and the declining vigour of our zeal, than the growing influence of its maxims.

APPENDIX III.

A circumstantial account of the Correspondence that was carried on in the year 1717 and 1718, between Dr. William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris, relative to a project of union between the English and Gallican churches.

“ — Magis amica veritas. ”

WHEN the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, laid an insidious snare for unthinking Protestants, in his artful Exposition of the Doctrines of the Church of Rome, the pious and learned Dr. Wake unmasked this deceiver; and the writings he published on this occasion gave him a distinguished rank among the victorious champions of the Protestant cause. Should any person, who had perused these writings, be informed, that this “pretended champion of the Protestant religion had set on foot a project for union with a popish church, and that with concessions in favour of the grossest superstition and idolatry,”^a he would be apt to stare; at least, he would require the strongest possible evidence for a fact, in all appearance so contradictory and unaccountable. This accusation has, nevertheless, been brought against the eminent prelate, by the ingenious and intrepid author of the Confessional; and it is founded upon an extraordinary passage in Dr. Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History; where we are told, that “Dr. Wake formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches, founded upon this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.”^b This passage, though it is perhaps too

^a See the Confessional, 2nd edition, Pref. p. lxxvi.

^b See this English Translation of Mosheim’s History, p. 688. Dr. Mosheim had certainly a very imperfect idea of this correspondence; and he seems to have been misled by the ac-

count of it which Kierningius has given in his *Dissertatio de Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum*, published at Helmstadt, in 1739, which account, notwithstanding the means of information its author seemed to have by his journey to England, and his conversations

uncharitably interpreted by the author already mentioned, would furnish, without doubt, just matter of censure, were it founded in truth. I was both surprised and perplexed while I was translating it. I could not procure immediately proper information with respect to the fact, nor could I examine Mosheim's proofs of this strange assertion, because he alleged none. Destitute of materials, either to invalidate or confirm the fact; I made a slight mention, in a short note, of a correspondence which had been carried on between Archbishop Wake and Dr. Du Pin, with the particulars of which I was not acquainted; and, in this my ignorance, I only made a general observation, drawn from Dr. Wake's known zeal for the Protestant religion, which was designed, not to confirm that assertion, but rather to insinuate my disbelief of it. It never could come into my head, that the interests of the Protestant religion would have been safe in Archbishop Wake's hands, had I given the smallest decree of credit to Dr. Mosheim's assertion, or even suspected that that eminent prelate was inclined to form a union between the English and Gallican churches founded on this condition, that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.

If the author of the Confessional had given a little more attention to this, he could not have represented me as confirming the fact alleged by Mosheim, much less as giving it what he is pleased to call the sanction of my approbation. I did not confirm the fact; for I only said there was a correspondence on the subject, without speaking a syllable of the displeasing condition that forms the charge against Dr. Wake. I shall not enter here into a debate upon the grammatical import of my expressions, as I have something more interesting to present to the reader who is curious of information about Archbishop Wake's real conduct in relation to the correspondence already mentioned. I have been favoured with authentic copies of the letters which passed in this correspondence, which are now

with Dr. Courayer, is full of mistakes. Thus Klorningius tells, that Dr. Wake submitted to the judgment of the Romish doctors, his correspondents, the conditions of peace between the two churches which he had drawn up;—that he sent a learned man (Dr. Wilkins, his chaplain) to Paris, to forward and complete, if possible, the projected union; that, in a certain assembly held at Paris, the difficulties of promoting this union without the pope's concurrence were insisted upon by some men of high rank, who seemed inclined to the union, and that these difficulties put an end to the conferences;—that, however, two French divines, whom he supposes to be Du Pin and Girardin, were sent to England to propose new terms. It now happens, unluckily for Mr. Klorningius's reputation as an historian, that not one syllable of all this is true, as will appear sufficiently to the reader who peruses with attention the account and the pieces which I here lay before the public. But one of the most egregious errors in the account given by Klorningius is at page 61 of the Dissertation, where he says, that Archbishop Wake was so much elated with the prospect of success in the scheme of an accommodation, that he acquainted the divines of Geneva with it in 1719, and plainly intimated to them that he thought it an easier thing than reconciling the Protestants with each other. Let us now see where Klorningius received this information. Why, truly, it was from a letter of Dr. Wake to Professor Turretin, of Geneva, in which there is not one syllable relative to a scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches; and yet Klorningius

quotes a passage in this letter as the only authority he has for this affirmation. The case was thus: Dr. Wake, in the former part of his letter to Turretin, speaks of the sufferings of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, which he had successfully endeavoured to alleviate, by engaging George I. to intercede in their behalf, and then proceeds to express his desire of healing the differences that disturbed the union of the Protestant churches abroad. *Interim (says he) dum hæc (i. e. the endeavours to relieve the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches) feliciter peraguntur, ignoret, Fratres dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longe maximi nobis commodi inceptum vobis proponam: unionem nimirum, &c.* Professor Turretin, in his work entitled *Nubes Testium*, printed only the latter part of Dr. Wake's letter, beginning with the words, *Interim dum hæc feliciter, ut spero, peraguntur*; and Klorningius not having seen the preceding part of this letter, which relates to the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, and with which these words are connected, took it into his head that these words were relative to the scheme of union between the English and Gallican churches. Nor did he only take this into his head by way of conjecture, but he affirms very sturdily and positively, that the words have this signification: *Hæc verba (says he) tangunt pacis cum Gallis instaurandi negotium, quod ex temporum rationibus, manifestum est.* To show him, however, that he is grossly mistaken, I have published among the annexed pieces (No. XX.) the whole letter of Archbishop Wake to Turretin.

in the hands of Mr. Beauvoir, of Canterbury, the worthy son of the clergyman who was chaplain to Lord Stair in the year 1717, and also with others, from the valuable collection of manuscripts left by Dr. Wake to the library of Christ-church college in Oxford. It is from these letters that I have drawn the following account, at the end of which copies of them are printed, to serve as proofs of the truth of this relation, which I publish with a disinterested regard to truth. This impartiality may be, in some measure, expected from my situation in life, which has placed me at a distance from the scenes of religious and ecclesiastical contention in England, and cut me off from those personal connexions that nourish the prejudices of a party spirit more than many are aware of: but it would be still more expected from my principles, were they known.

From this narrative, confirmed by authentic papers, it will appear with the utmost evidence:

1st, That Archbishop Wake was not the first mover in this correspondence, nor the person that formed the project of union between the English and Gallican churches.

2dly, That he never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in order to promote this union.

3dly, That any desire of union with the church of Rome, expressed in the archbishop's letters, proceeded from the hopes (well founded or illusory is not my business to examine here) that he at first entertained of a considerable reformation in that church, and from an expectation that its most absurd doctrines would fall to the ground, if they could once be deprived of their great support, the papal authority,—the destruction of which authority was the very basis of this correspondence.

It will further appear, that Dr. Wake considered union in external worship as one of the best methods of healing the uncharitable dissensions that are often occasioned by a variety of sentiments in point of doctrine, in which a perfect uniformity is not to be expected. This is undoubtedly a wise principle, when it is not carried too far; and whether or no it was carried too far by this eminent prelate, the candid reader is left to judge from the following relation:

In the month of November, 1717, Archbishop Wake wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, chaplain to the Earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, in which his grace acknowledges the receipt of several obliging letters from Mr. Beauvoir. This is manifestly the first letter which the prelate wrote to that gentleman, and the whole contents of it are matters of a literary nature.* In answer to this letter, Mr. Beauvoir

* The perusal of this letter (which the reader will find among the pieces here subjoined, No. I.) is sufficient to remove the suspicions of the author of the Confessional, who seems inclined to believe, that Archbishop Wake was the first mover in the project of uniting the English and Gallican churches. This author having mentioned Mr. Beauvoir's letter, in which Du Pin's desire of this union is communicated to the archbishop, asks the following question: "Can any man be certain that Beauvoir mentioned this merely out of his own head, and without some previous occasion given, in the archbishop's letter to him, for such a conversation with the Sorbonne doctors?"* I answer to this question, that every one who reads the archbishop's letter of the 28th of November, to which this letter of Mr. Beauvoir is an answer, may be very certain that Dr. Wake's letter did not give Mr. Beauvoir the least occasion for such a conver-

sation, but relates entirely to the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom, Martene's *Theaurus Anecdotorum*, and Moreri's Dictionary. But, says our author, there is an &c. in this copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter, very suspiciously placed, as if to cover something improper to be disclosed.† But really if any thing was covered here, it was covered from the archbishop as well as from the public, since the very same &c. that we see in the printed copy of Mr. Beauvoir's letter stands in the original. Besides, I would be glad to know, what there is in the placing of this &c. that can give rise to suspicion? The passage of Beauvoir's letter runs thus: "They (the Sorbonne doctors) talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future General Council, &c." They wished for a union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. It is palpably evident, that the &c. here has not the least relation to

* See the 2nd edition of the Confessional, Pref. p. lxxviii. note *.

† The other reflections that the author has

there made upon the correspondence between Archbishop Wake and the doctors of the Sorbonne, are examined in the following note.

in one dated the 11th of December, 1717, O. S., gives the archbishop the information he desired, about the method of subscribing to a new edition of St. Chrysostom, which was at that time in the press at Paris; and then mentions his having dined with Du Pin, and three other doctors of the Sorbonne, who talked as if the whole kingdom of France was to appeal (in the affair of the bull *Unigenitus*) to a future general council, and who wished for a union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. Mr. Beauvoir adds, that Dr. Du Pin had desired him to give his duty to the archbishop⁴. Here we see the first hint, the very first overture that was made, relative to a project of union between the English and Gallican churches; and this hint comes originally from the doctors of the Sorbonne, and is not at all occasioned by any thing contained in preceding letters from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, since the only letter which Mr. Beauvoir had hitherto received from that eminent prelate was entirely taken up in inquiries about some new editions of books that were then publishing at Paris.

Upon this the archbishop wrote a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in which he makes honourable mention of Du Pin as an author of merit; and expresses his desire of serving him, with that benevolent politeness which reigns in our learned prelate's letters, and seems to have been a striking line in his amiable character.* Dr. Du

the union in question, and gives no sort of reason to suspect any thing but the spirit of discontentment which the insolent proceedings of the court of Rome had excited among the French divines.

⁴ See the Letters subjoined, No. II.

* This handsome mention of Dr. Du Pin, made by the archbishop, gives new subject of suspicion to the author of the Confessional. He had learned the fact from the article Wake, in the *Biographia Britannica*; "but (says he) we are left to guess what this handsome mention was;—had the biographer given us this letter, together with that of November 27, they might probably (it would have been more accurate to have said possibly) have discovered what the biographer did not want we should know, namely, the share Dr. Wake had in forming the project of a union between the two churches."† This is guessing with a witness!—and it is hard to imagine how the boldest calculator of probabilities could conclude, from Dr. Wake's handsome mention of Dr. Du Pin, that the former had a share, of any kind, in forming the project of union, now under consideration. For the ingenious guesser happens to be quite mistaken in his conjecture: and I hope to convince him of this, by satisfying his desire. He desires the letter of the 27th (or rather the 28th) of November; I have referred to it in the preceding note, and he may read it at the end of this account.‡ He desires the letter in which handsome mention is made of Du Pin; and I can assure him, that in that letter there is not a single syllable relative to a union. The passage that regards Dr. Du Pin is as follows: "I am much obliged to you (says Dr. Wake, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated January 2, 1717-18) for making my name known to Dr. Du Pin. He is a gentleman by whose labours I have profited these many years. And I do really admire how it is possible for one

man to publish so much, and yet so correctly, as he has generally done. I desire my respects to him; and that if there be any thing here whereby I may be serviceable to him, he will freely command me." Such was the archbishop's handsome mention of Du Pin; and it evidently shows that till then, there never had been any communication between them. Yet these are all the proofs which the author of the Confessional gives of the probability that the archbishop was the first mover in this affair.

"But his grace accepted the party, a formal treaty commences, and is carried on in a correspondence of some length," &c., says the author of the Confessional. And I would candidly ask that author, upon what principles of Christianity, reason, or charity, Dr. Wake could have refused to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments, of the Sorbonne doctors, who discovered an inclination to unite with this church? The author of the Confessional says elsewhere, "that it was, at the best, officious and presumptuous in Dr. Wake to enter into a negotiation of this nature, without authority from the church or the government."‡ But the truth is, that he entered into no negotiation or treaty on this head; he considered the letters that were written on both sides as a personal correspondence between individuals, which could not commence a negotiation, until they had received the proper powers from their respective sovereigns. And I do think the archbishop was greatly in the right to enter into this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, in the then circumstances of the Gallican church, to serve the Protestant interest, and the cause of the Reformation. If, indeed, in the course of this correspondence, Dr. Wake had discovered any thing like what Mosheim imputes to him, even a disposition towards a union, "founded upon the condition that each of the two churches should retain

* Confessional, 2nd edit. Pref. p. lxxviii.

† No. I.

‡ Conf., Pref. p. lxxxv.

Pin improved this favourable occasion of writing to the Archbishop a letter of thanks, dated January 31 (February 11), 1717-18; in which, towards the conclusion, he intimates his desire of a union between the English and the Gallican churches, and observes, that the difference, in most points, between them was not so great as to render a reconciliation impracticable; and that it was his earnest wish that all Christians were united in one sheepfold. His words are: "Unum addam cum bona venia tua, me vehementer optare, ut unionis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam ineundæ via aliqua inveniri posset: non ita sumus ab invicem in plerisque disiti, ut non possimus mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam Christiani omnes essent unum ovile." The Archbishop wrote an answer to this letter, dated February 13-24, 1717-18, in which he asserts, at large, the purity of the church of England, in faith, worship, government, and discipline, and tells his correspondent, that he is persuaded that there are few things in the doctrine and constitution of that church which even he himself (Du Pin) would desire to see changed; the original words are: "Aut ego vehementer fallor, aut in ea pauca admodum sunt, quæ vel tu immutanda velles;" and again, "Sincere judica, quid in hac nostra Ecclesia invenias, quod jure damnari debeat, aut nos atra hereticorum, vel etiam schismaticorum, nota iniurere." The zeal of the venerable prelate goes still farther; and the moderate sentiments which he observed in Dr. Du Pin's letter induced him to exhort the French to maintain, if not to enlarge, the rights and privileges of the Gallican church, for which the present disputes, about the

the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines." I should think his conduct liable to censure. But no such thing appears in the archbishop's letters, which I have subjoined to this account, that the candid examiner may receive full satisfaction in this affair. Mosheim's mistake is palpable, and the author of the Confessional seems certainly to have been too hasty in adopting it. He alleges, that the archbishop might have maintained the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the church of England, and yet give up some of them for the sake of peace.* But the archbishop expressly declares, in his letters, that he would give up none of them, and that, though he was a friend to peace, he was still a greater friend to truth. The author's reflection, that without some concessions on the part of the archbishop the treaty could not have gone a step farther, may be questioned in theory; for treaties are often carried on for a long time without concessions on both sides, or perhaps on either; and the archbishop might hope, that Du Pin, who had yielded several things, would yield still more: but this reflection is overturned by the plain fact. Besides, I repeat what I have already insinuated, that this correspondence does not deserve the term of a treaty.† Proposals were made only on Du Pin's side; and these proposals were positively rejected by the archbishop, in his letters to Mr. Beauvoir. Nor did he propose any thing in return to either of the Sorbonne doctors, but that they should entirely renounce the authority of the pope, hoping, though perhaps too fancifully, that, when this was done, the two churches might come to an agreement about other matters, as far as was necessary. But the author of the Confessional supposes, that the archbishop must have made some concessions; be-

cause the letters on both sides were sent to Rome, and received there "as so many trophies gained from the enemies of the church." This supposition, however, is somewhat hasty. Could nothing but concessions from the archbishop make the court of Rome consider them in that light? Would they not think it a great triumph, that they have obliged Du Pin's party to give up the letters as a token of their submission, and defeated the archbishop's design of engaging the Gallican church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the papal yoke? If Dr. Wake made concessions, where are they? And if these were the trophies, why did not the partisans of Rome publish authentic copies of them to the world? Did the author of the Confessional ever hear of a victorious general who carefully hid under ground the standard he had taken from the enemy? This, indeed, is a new method of dealing with trophies. Our author, however, does not as yet quit his hold; he alleges, that the French divines could not have acknowledged the catholic benevolence of the archbishop, if he made no concessions to them. This reasoning would be plausible, if charity towards those that err consisted in embracing their errors; but this is a definition of charity that I fancy the ingenious author will give up, upon second thoughts. Dr. Wake's catholic benevolence consisted in his esteem for the merit and learning of his correspondents, in his compassion for their servitude and their errors, in his desire of the reformation and liberty of their church, and his propensity to live in friendship and concord, as far as was possible, with all that bear the Christian name. And this disposition, so suitable to the benevolent genius of Christianity, will always reflect a true and solid glory upon his character as a Christian bishop.

* Conf., Pref., p. xxix.

† See below, p. 541, note †, and the letters subjoined, No. XI.

constitution Unigenitus, furnished the most favourable occasion. He also expresses his readiness to concur in improving any opportunity that might be offered by these debates, to form a union, that might be productive of a further reformation, in which not only the most rational Protestants, but also a considerable number of the Roman Catholic churches, should join with the church of England; "*si ex hinc (says the Archbishop, speaking concerning the commotions excited by the Constitution) aliquid amplius elici possit ad unionem nobiscum Ecclesiasticam ineundam; unde forte nova quædam Reformatio exoriatur, in quam non solum ex Protestantibus optimi quique, verum etiam pars magna Ecclesiarum Communione Romano-Catholicæ una nobiscum conveniant.*"

Hitherto we see, that the expressions of the two learned doctors of the English and Gallican churches, relating to the union under consideration, are of a vague and general nature. When they were thus far advanced in their correspondence, an event happened which rendered it more close, serious, and interesting, and even brought on some particular mention of preliminary terms and certain preparatives for a future negotiation. The event I mean, was a discourse delivered in an extraordinary meeting of the Sorbonne, March 17-28, 1717-18, by Patrick Piers de Girardin, in which he exhorts the doctors of that society to proceed in their design of revising the doctrines and rules of the church, to separate things necessary from those which are not so, by which they will show the church of England that they do not hold every decision of the pope for an article of faith. The learned orator observes farther, upon what foundation it is difficult to guess, that the English church may be more easily reconciled than the Greek was; and that the disputes between the Gallican church and the court of Rome, removing the apprehensions of papal tyranny, which terrified the English from the Catholic communion, will lead them back into the bosom of the church, with greater celerity than they formerly fled from it: "*Facient,*" says he, "*perfecto offensiones, quæ vos inter et Senatum Capitolinum videntur intervenisse, ut Angli, deposito servitutis metu, in Ecclesiæ gremium revolent alacrius, quam olim inde, quorundam exosi tyrannidem, avolarunt. Meministis ortas inter Paulum et Barnabam dissensiones animorum tandem eo recidisse, ut singuli propagandæ in diversis regionibus Fidei felicius insudaverunt, sigillatim, quam junctis viribus fortasse insudassent.*" This last sentence, in which Dr. Girardin observes, that Paul and Barnabas probably made more converts in consequence of their separation, than they would have done had they travelled together, and acted in concert, is not a little remarkable; and indeed the whole passage discovers rather a desire of making proselytes, than an inclination to form a coalition founded upon concessions and some reformation on the side of Popery. It may perhaps be alleged, in opposition to this remark, that prudence required a language of this kind, in the infancy of a project of union, whatever concessions might be offered afterwards to bring about its execution. And this may be true.

After the delivery of this discourse in the Sorbonne, Dr. Du Pin showed to Girardin Archbishop Wake's letter, which was also communicated to Cardinal de Noailles, who admired it greatly, as appears by a letter of Dr. Piers de Girardin to Dr. Wake, written, I believe, April 18-29, 1718. Before the arrival of this letter the Archbishop had received a second from Dr. Du Pin, and also a copy of Girardin's discourse. But he does not seem to have entertained any notion, in consequence of all this, that the projected union would go on smoothly. On the contrary, he no sooner received these letters, than he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, April 15, 1718, that it was his opinion, that neither the Regent nor the Cardinal would ever come to a rupture with the court of Rome; and that nothing could be done, in point of doctrine, until this rupture was brought about. He added that fundamentals should be distinguished from matters of lesser moment, in which differences or error might be tolerated. He expresses a curiosity to know the reception which his former letter to Du Pin had met with; and he wrote again to that ecclesiastic, and also to Girardin, May 1, 1718, and sent both his letters towards the end of that month.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, whether they were set in motion by the real desire of a union with the English church, or only intended to make use of this union as a means of intimidating the court of Rome, began to form a plan of reconciliation, and to specify the terms upon which they were willing to bring it into execution. Mr. Beauvoir acquaints the Archbishop, July 16, probably N. S., 1718, that Dr.

Du Pin had made a rough draught of an essay towards a union, which Cardinal De Noailles desired to peruse before it was sent to his Grace; and that both Du Pin and Girardin were highly pleased with his Grace's letters to them. These letters, however, were written with a truly Protestant spirit; the Archbishop insisted in them upon the truth and orthodoxy of the articles of the church of England, and did not make any concession which supposed the least approximation to the peculiar doctrines, or the smallest approbation of the ambitious pretensions, of the church of Rome; he observed, on the contrary, that it was now the time for Dr. Du Pin, and his brethren of the Sorbonne, to declare openly their true sentiments with respect to the superstition and tyranny of that church; that it was the interest of all Christians to unmask that court, and to reduce its authority to its primitive limits; and that, according to the fundamental principle of the Reformation in general, and of the church of England in particular, Jesus Christ is the only founder, source, and head of the church. Accordingly, when Mr. Beauvoir had acquainted the archbishop with Du Pin's having formed a plan of union, his Grace answered in a manner which showed that he looked upon the removal of the Gallican church from the jurisdiction of Rome as an essential preliminary article, without which no negotiation could even be commenced. "To speak freely," says the prelate in his letter of the 11th of August to Mr. Beauvoir, "I do not think the Regent (the duke of Orleans) yet strong enough in his interest to adventure at a separation from the church of Rome. Could the Regent openly appear in this, the divines would follow, and a scheme might fairly be offered for such a union as alone is requisite, between the English and Gallican churches. But, till the time comes that the state will enter into such a work, all the rest is mere speculation. It may amuse a few contemplative men of learning and probity, who see the errors of the church, and groan under the tyranny of the court of Rome. It may dispose them secretly to wish well to us, and think charitably of us; but still they must call themselves Catholics, and us Heretics; and to all outward appearance, say Mass, and act so as they have been wont to do. If, under the shelter of Gallican privileges, they can now and then serve the state by speaking big in the Sorbonne, they will do it heartily; but that is all, if I am not greatly mistaken."

Soon after this the archbishop received Du Pin's *Communitorium*, or advice relating to the method of re-uniting the English and Gallican churches; of the contents of which it will not be improper to give here a compendious account, as it was read in the Sorbonne, and was approved of there, and as the concessions it contains, though not sufficient to satisfy a true Protestant, are yet such as one would not expect from a very zealous Papist. Dr. Du Pin, after some reflections, in a tedious preface, on the Reformation, and the present state of the church of England, reduces the controversy between the two churches to three heads, viz. Articles of Faith,—Rules and Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Discipline,—and Moral Doctrine, or Rules of Practice; and these he treats, by entering into an examination of the XXXIX articles of the Church of England. The first five of these articles he approves. With regard to the VIth., which affirms that the Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, he expresses himself thus: "This we will readily grant, provided that you do not entirely exclude Tradition, which doth not exhibit new articles of faith, but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the Sacred Writings, and places about them new guards to defend them against gainsayers," &c. The doctor thinks that the Apocryphal Books will not occasion much difficulty. He is, indeed, of opinion, that "they ought to be deemed Canonical, as those books concerning which there were doubts for some time;" yet, since they are not in the first or Jewish Canon, he will allow them to be called Deutero-Canonical. He consents to the Xth article which relates to Free-will, provided by the word Power be understood what school-divines called *Potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power, since without a remote power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed.

With respect to the XIth article, which contains the doctrine of Justification, Dr. Du Pin expresses thus the sentiments of his brethren: "We do not deny that

¹ The original words are: "Hoc lubenter admittimus, modo non excludatur Traditio, quæ Articulus Fidei novos non exhibit, sed confirmat et explicat ea, quæ in Sacris Literis

habentur; ac adversus aliter sapientes munit eos novis cautionibus, ita ut non nova dicantur, sed antiqua nove."

it is by faith alone that we are justified, but we maintain that faith, charity, and good works, are necessary to salvation; and this is acknowledged in the following, *i. e.* the XIIth article.^f

Concerning the XIIth article, the doctor observes, "that there will be no dispute, since many divines of both communions embrace the doctrine contained in that article" (*viz.* that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God,—and have the nature of sin.) He indeed thinks "it very harsh to say, that all those actions are sinful which have not the grace of Christ for their source;" but he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion.^h

On the XIVth article, relating to works of Supererogation, undoubtedly one of the most absurd and pernicious doctrines of the Romish church, Dr. Du Pin observes that "works of Supererogation mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matter of strict precept, but of counsel only; that the word, being new, may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works."

The doctor makes no objection to the XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIIIth articles.

His observation on the XIXth is, that to the definition of the church the words, under lawful pastors, ought to be added; and that though all particular churches, even that of Rome, may err, it is needless to say this in a Confession of Faith.

He consents to the decision of the XXth article, which refuses to the church the power of ordaining any thing that is contrary to the word of God; but he says, it must be taken for granted, that the church will never do this in matters which overturn essential points of faith, or, to use his own words, "*quæ fidei substantiam evertant.*"

It is in consequence of this notion that he remarks, on the XXIst article, that general councils, received by the universal church, cannot err; and that, though particular councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture.

As to the important points of controversy contained in the XXIInd article, the doctor endeavours to mince matters as nicely as he can, to see if he can make the cable pass through the eye of the needle; and for this purpose observes, that souls must be purged, *i. e.* purified from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the church of Rome doth not affirm this to be done by fire; that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that the Roman Catholics do not worship the cross, nor relics, nor images, nor even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect, which is not of a religious nature; and that even this external demonstration of respect is a matter of indifference, which may be laid aside or retained without harm.

He approves of the XXIIIrd article; and does not pretend to dispute about the XXIVth, which ordains the celebration of divine worship in the vulgar tongue. He, indeed, excuses the Latin and Greek churches for preserving their ancient languages; alleges, that great care has been taken that every thing be understood by translations; but allows, that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary.

Under the XXVth article he insists, that the five Romish sacraments be acknowledged as such, whether instituted immediately by Christ or not.

He approves of the XXVIth and XXVIIth articles; and he proposes expressing that part of the XXVIIIth, that relates to Transubstantiation, which term he is willing to omit entirely, in the following manner: "That the Bread and Wine are really changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful partake of any benefit from them." This extends also to the XXIXth article.

Concerning the XXXth he is for mutual toleration, and would have the receiving the communion in both kinds held indifferent, and liberty left to each church to preserve, or change, or dispense, on certain occasions, with its customs.

^f The original words are; "*Fide sola in Christum nos justificari, quod Articulo XI^{mo} exponitur, non inficiamur; sed fide, charitate, et adjunctis bonis operibus, quæ omnino necessaria sunt ad salutem, ut articulo sequenti cognoscitur.*"

^h "*De Articulo XIII^{mo} nulla lis erit, cum multi theologi in eadem versentur sententia. Durius videtur id dici, eas omnes actiones quæ ex gratia Christi non sunt, esse peccata. Nolum tamen de hac re discipulari, nisi inter theologos.*"

He is less inclined to concessions on the XXXIst article, and maintains that the Sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated but continued, in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with the priest.

He is not a warm stickler for the celibacy of the clergy, but consents so far to the XXXIInd article, as to allow that priests may marry, where the laws of the church do not prohibit it.

In the XXXIIIrd and XXXIVth articles, he acquiesces, without exception.

He suspends his judgment with respect to the XXXVth, as he never perused the homilies mentioned therein.

As to the XXXVIth, he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them, perhaps, are so; but thinks that, if a union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices, either by right or indulgence, "*sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia ecclesiæ.*"

He admits the XXXVIIth, so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the pope; but alleges that, by virtue of his primacy, which moderate (he ought to have said immoderate) church of England men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained; that the canons be observed every where; and, when any thing is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed for such disorders by the canon laws, "*secundum leges canonicas, ut malum resarciatur, procurare.*" As to the rest, he is of opinion, that every church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges, which the pope has no right to infringe. He declares against going too far (the expression is vague, but the man probably meant well) in the punishment of heretics, against admitting the inquisition into France, and against war without a just cause.

The XXXVIIIth and XXXIXth articles he approves. Moreover, in the discipline and worship of the church of England he sees nothing amiss; and thinks no attempts should be made to discover, or prove by whose fault the schism was begun. He further observes, "that a union between the English and French bishops and clergy may be completed, or at least advanced, without consulting the Roman pontiff, who may be informed of the union as soon as it is accomplished, and may be desired to consent to it; that, if he consents to it, the affair will then be finished; and that, even without his consent, the union shall be valid; that, in case he attempts to terrify by his threats, it will then be expedient to appeal to a general council." He concludes by observing, "that this arduous matter must first be discussed between a few; and if there be reason to hope that the bishops, on both sides, will agree about the terms of the desired union, that then application must be made to the civil powers, to advance and confirm the work," to which he wishes all success.¹

It is from the effect which these proposals and terms made upon archbishop Wake that it will be most natural to form a notion of his sentiments with respect to the church of Rome. It appears evident, from several passages in the writings and letters of this eminent prelate, that he was persuaded that a reformation in the church of Rome could only be made gradually; that it was not probable that they would renounce all their follies at once; but that, if they once began to make concessions, this would set in motion the work of reformation, which, in all likelihood, would receive new accessions of vigour, and go on until a happy change was effected. This way of thinking might have led the archbishop to give an indulgent reception to these proposals of Du Pin, which contained some concessions, and might be an introduction to more. And yet we find that Dr. Wake rejected this piece, as insufficient to serve as a basis, or ground-work, to the desired union. On receiving the piece, he immediately perceived that he had not sufficient ground for carrying on this negotiation, without previously consulting his brethren, and obtaining a permission from the king for this purpose. Besides this, he was resolved not to submit either to the direction of Dr. Du Pin, nor to that of the Sorbonne, in relation to what was to be retained, or what was to be given up, in the doctrine and discipline of the two churches; nor to treat with the church of Rome upon any

¹ "Unio fieri potest aut saltem promoveri, inconsulto Pontifice, qui, facta unione, deo admo-nabitur, ac suppliciter rogabitur, ut velit ei consentire. Si consentiet, jam peracta res erit: sin

abuauat, nihilominus valebit hæc unio. Et si minus intenteat, ad Concilium Generale appel-labitur."

other footing than that of a perfect equality in point of authority and power. He declared more especially, that he would never comply with the proposals made in Dr. Du Pin's Commonitorium, of which I have now given the contents, observing that, though he was a friend to peace, he was still more a friend to truth: and that "unless the Roman Catholics gave up some of their doctrines and rites," a union with them could never be effected. All this is contained in a letter written by the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, on receiving Du Pin's Commonitorium. This letter is dated August 30, 1718, and the reader will find a copy of it subjoined to this Appendix.^k About a month after, his Grace wrote a letter to Dr. Du Pin, dated October 1, 1718, in which he complains of the tyranny of the pope, exhorts the Gallican doctors to throw off the papal yoke in a national council, since a general one is not to be expected; and declares, that this must be the great preliminary and fundamental principle of the projected union, which being settled, a uniformity might be brought about in other matters, or a diversity of sentiments mutually allowed, without any violation of peace or concord. The archbishop commends, in the same letter, the candour and openness that reigns in the Commonitorium; entreats Dr. Du Pin to write to him always upon the same footing, freely, and without disguise or reserve; and tells him, he is pleased with several things in that piece, and with nothing more than the Doctor's declaring it as his opinion, that there is not a great difference between their respective sentiments, but adds, that he cannot at present give his sentiments at large concerning that piece.^l

Dr. Wake seems to have aimed principally, in this correspondence, at bringing about a separation between the Gallican church and the court of Rome. The terms in which the French divines often spoke about the liberties of their church, might give him some hope that this separation would take place if ever these divines were countenanced by the civil power of France. But a man of the archbishop's sagacity could not expect that they would enter into a union with any other national church all at once. He acted therefore with dignity, as well as with prudence, when he declined to explain himself on the proposals contained in Du Pin's Commonitorium. To have answered ambiguously, would have been mean; and to have answered explicitly, would have blasted his hopes of separating them from Rome, which separation he desired upon the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, independent on the discussion of theological tenets. The archbishop's sentiments in this matter will still appear farther from the letters he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, in the months of October, November, and December, 1718, and the January following, of which the proper extracts are here subjoined.^m It appears from these letters, that Dr. Wake insisted still upon the abolition of the pope's jurisdiction over the Gallican church, and leaving him no more than a primacy of rank and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city; to which empty title our prelate seems willing to have consented, provided it was attended with no infringement of the independency and privileges of each particular country, and each particular church. "*Si quam prærogativam* (says the archbishop in his letter to Girardin,ⁿ after having defied the court of Rome to produce any precept of Christ in favour of the primacy of its bishop) *ecclesiæ concilia sedis imperialis episcopa concesserint (etsi cadente imperio etiam ea prerogativa excidisse merito possit censi) tamen, quod ad me attingit, servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur qualemque primatu; non ego illi locum primum, non inanem honoris titulum invidco. At in alias ecclesias dominari, etc. hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis.*"

It appears farther, from these letters, that any proposals or terms conceived by the archbishop, in relation to this project of union, were of a vague and general nature, and that his views terminated rather in a plan of mutual toleration, than in a scheme for effectuating an entire uniformity. The scheme that seemed to his grace the most likely to succeed was, that "the independence of every national church, or any other, and its right to determine all matters that arise within itself, should be acknowledged on both sides; that, for points of doctrine, they should agree as far as possible, in all articles of any moment, as in effect the two churches

^k See this letter, No. III.

Girardin, No. VI.

^l See this letter to Du Pin, No. V. as also the archbishop's letter to Dr. P. Piers de

^m See Nos. IV., VII., VIII., IX., X.

ⁿ No. VI.

either already did, or easily might; and in other matters, that a difference should be allowed until God should bring them to a union in them also."° It must be, however, observed, though the expression is still general, that the archbishop was for "purging out of the public office of the church, all such things as hinder a perfect communion in divine service, so that persons coming from one church to the other might join in prayers, and the holy sacrament, and the public service."¶ He was persuaded that, in the Liturgy of the church of England, there was nothing but what the Roman Catholics would adopt, except the single rubric relating to the eucharist; and that in the Romish liturgy there was nothing to which Protestants object but what the more rational Romanists agree might be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse or more imperfect for the want of it. He therefore thought it proper to make the demands already mentioned, the groundwork of the project of union at the beginning of the negotiation; not that he meant to stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, they might the more easily go farther, descend to particulars, and render their scheme more perfect by degrees.¶

The violent measures of the court of Rome against that part of the Gallican church which refused to admit the constitution *Unigenitus* as an ecclesiastical law, made the archbishop imagine that it would be no difficult matter to bring this opposition to an open rupture, and to engage the persons concerned in it to throw off the papal yoke, which seemed to be borne with impatience in France. The despotical bull of Clement XI., dated August 28, 1718, and which begins with the words *Pastoralis officii*, was a formal act of excommunication, thundered out against all the Anti-constitutionists, as the opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* were called; and it exasperated the doctors of the Sorbonne in the highest degree. It is to this that the archbishop alludes when he says, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated the 23rd of January, 1718, "At present he (the pope) has put them out of his communion. We have withdrawn ourselves from him; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies." But the wished-for separation from the court of Rome, notwithstanding all the provocations of its pontiff, was still far off. Though on numberless occasions, the French divines showed very little respect for the papal authority, yet the renouncing it altogether was a step which required deep deliberation, and which, however inclined they might be to it, they could not make, if they were not seconded by the state. But from the state they were not likely to have any countenance. The regent of France was governed by the abbé Du Bois, and the abbé Du Bois was aspiring eagerly after a cardinal's cap. This circumstance, not more unimportant than many secret connexions and trivial views that daily influence the course of public events, transactions of government, and the fate of nations, was sufficient to stop the Sorbonne and its doctors in the midst of their career; and, in effect, it contributed greatly to stop the correspondence of which I have been now giving an account, and to nip the project of union in the bud. The correspondence between the archbishop and the two doctors of the Sorbonne had been carried on with a high degree of secrecy. This secrecy was prudent, as neither of the corresponding parties were authorized by the civil powers to negotiate a union between the two churches; and, on Dr. Wake's part, it was partly owing to his having nobody that he could trust with what he did. He was satisfied, as he says in a letter to Mr. Beauvoir, "that most of the high-church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design; but these (adds his grace) are not men either to be confided in, or made use of by me."

The correspondence, however, was divulged, and the project of union engrossed the whole conversation of the city of Paris. Lord Stanhope and Lord Stair were congratulated thereupon by some great personages in the royal palace. The duke

* See the pieces subjoined to this Appendix, No. VIII.

¶ Ibid. id. § Ibid. id.

¶ See the letters subjoined, No. X.

¶ Dr. Wake seems to have been sensible of the impropriety of carrying on a negotiation of this nature, without the approbation and countenance of government. "I have always," says he, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, which the reader will find at the end of

this Appendix, No. XI., "taken it for granted, that no step should be taken towards a union, but with the knowledge, approbation, and even by the authority of civil powers. All, therefore, that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any exception as to the civil magistrate. It is only a consultation in order to find out a way how a union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered."

¶ See the letters subjoined, No. IX.

regent himself, and abbé Du Bois, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Joli de Fleury, the attorney-general, gave the line at first, appeared to favour the correspondence and the project, and let things run on to certain lengths. But the Jesuits and Constitutioners sounded the alarm, and overturned the whole scheme, by spreading a report that cardinal De Noailles, and his friends the Jansenists, were upon the point of making a coalition with the heretics. Hereupon the regent was intimidated, and Du Bois had an opportunity of appearing a meritorious candidate for a place in the sacred college. Dr. Piers Girardin was sent for to court, was severely reprimanded by Du Bois, and strictly charged, upon pain of being sent to the Bastille, to give up all the letters he had received from the archbishop of Canterbury, as also a copy of all his own. The doctor was forced to obey; and all the letters were immediately sent to Rome, "as so many trophies (says a certain author) gained from the enemies of the church."^u The archbishop's letters were greatly admired, as proofs both of his catholic benevolence and extensive abilities.

Mr. Beauvoir informed the archbishop, by a letter dated February 8, 1719, N. S., that Dr. Du Pin had been summoned by the abbé Du Bois to give an account of what had passed between him and Dr. Wake. This step naturally suspended the correspondence, though the archbishop was at a loss at first whether he should look upon it as favourable or detrimental to the projected union.^v The letters which he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir and Dr. Du Pin, after this, express the same sentiments which he discovered through the whole course of the transaction.^w The letter to Dr. Du Pin more especially is full of a pacific and reconciling spirit, and expresses the archbishop's desire of cultivating fraternal charity with the doctors, and his regret at the ill success of their endeavours towards the projected union. Du Pin died before this letter, which was retarded by some accident, arrived at Paris.^x Before the archbishop had heard of his death, he wrote to Mr. Beauvoir, to express his concern that an account was going to be published of what had passed between the two doctors and himself; and his hope "that they would keep in generals, as the only way to renew the good design if occasion should serve, and to prevent themselves trouble from the reflections of their enemies," on account (as the archbishop undoubtedly means) of the concessions they had made, which though insufficient to satisfy true Protestants, were adapted to exasperate bigoted Papists. The prelate adds, in the conclusion of his letter, "I shall be glad to know that your doctors still continue their good opinion of us. For though we need not the approbation of men on our own account, yet I cannot but wish it as a means to bring them, if not to a perfect agreement in all things with us, which is not presently to be expected, yet to such a union as may put an end to the odious charges against, and consequential aversion of us, as heretics and schismatics, and, in truth, make them cease to be so."

Dr. Du Pin, whom the archbishop very sincerely lamented, as the only man, after Mr. Ravechet, on whom the hopes of a reformation in France seemed to depend, left behind him an account of this famous correspondence. Some time before he died, he showed it to Mr. Beauvoir, and told him that he intended to communicate it to a very great man, probably the regent. Mr. Beauvoir observed to the doctor, that one would be led to imagine, from the manner in which this account was drawn up, that the archbishop made the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, and was the first who intimated his desire of the union; whereas it was palpably evident that he, Dr. Du Pin, had first solicited the one and the other. Du Pin acknowledged this freely and candidly, and promised to rectify it, but was prevented by death.

It does not, however, appear that Du Pin's death put a final stop to the correspondence; for we learn by a letter from the archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir, dated August 27, 1719, that Dr. Piers Girardin frequently wrote to his grace. But the opportunity was past; the appellants from the bull *Unigenitus*, or the Anti-constitutionists, were divided; the court did not smile at all upon the project, because

^u These trophies were, the defeat of the moderate part of the Gallican church, and the ruin of their project to break the papal yoke and unite with the church of England. See above, p. 534, note ^a, where the conclusion which the author of the Confessional has drawn from this expression is shown to be groundless.

^v See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, in the pieces subjoined, No. XI., dated February 5, 1718-19, O. S., that is, February 16, 1719, N. S.

^w See *ibid.* Nos. XI.—XVIII.

^x See his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, No. XXV.

the regent was afraid of the Spanish party and the Jesuits; and therefore the continuation of this correspondence after Du Pin's death was without effect.

Let the reader now, after having perused this historical account, judge of the appearance which Dr. Wake makes in this transaction. An impartial reader will certainly draw from this whole correspondence the following conclusions: That archbishop Wake was invited to this correspondence by Dr. Du Pin, the most moderate of all the Roman Catholic divines; that he entered into it with a view to improve one of the most favourable opportunities that could be offered, of withdrawing the church of France from the jurisdiction of the Pope, a circumstance which must have immediately weakened the power of the court of Rome; and, in its consequences, offered a fair prospect of a further reformation in doctrine and worship, as the case happened in the church of England when it happily threw off the papal yoke;—that he did not give Du Pin or any of the doctors of the Sorbonne, the smallest reason to hope that the church of England would give up any point of belief or practice to the church of France; but insisted, on the contrary, that the latter should make alterations and concessions, in order to be reconciled to the former;—that he never specified the particular alterations which would be requisite to satisfy the rulers and doctors of the church of England; but only expressed a general desire of a union between the two churches, if that were possible, or at least of a mutual toleration of each other; that he never flattered himself that this union could be perfectly accomplished, or that the doctors of the Gallican church would be entirely brought over to the church of England; but thought that every advance made by them, and every concession, must have proved really advantageous to the Protestant cause.

The pacific spirit of Dr. Wake did not only discover itself in his correspondence with the Romish doctors, but in several other transactions in which he was engaged by his constant desire of promoting union and concord among Christians. For it is well known, that he kept up a constant and friendly correspondence with the most eminent ministers of the foreign Protestant churches, and showed a fraternal regard to them, notwithstanding the difference of their discipline and government from that of the church of England. In a letter written to the learned Le Clerc in the year 1716, he expresses in the most cordial terms his affection for them, and declares positively, that nothing can be farther from his thoughts than the notions adopted by certain bigoted and furious writers who refuse to embrace the foreign Protestants as their brethren, will not allow their religious assemblies the denomination of churches, and deny the validity of their sacraments. He declares, on the contrary, these churches to be true Christian churches, and expresses a warm desire of their union with the church of England. It will be perhaps difficult to find, in any epistolary composition, ancient or modern, a more elegant simplicity, a more amiable spirit of meekness, moderation, and charity, and a happier strain of that easy and unaffected politeness, which draws its expressions from a natural habit of goodness and humanity, than we meet with in this letter.* We see this active and benevolent prelate still continuing to interest himself in the welfare of the protestant churches abroad. In several letters, written in the years 1718 and 1719, to the pastors and professors of Geneva and Switzerland, who were then at variance about the doctrines of predestination and grace, and some other abstruse points of metaphysical theology, the archbishop earnestly recommends to them a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance, entreats them particularly to be moderate in their demands of subscription to articles of faith, and proposes to them the example of the church of England as worthy of imitation in this respect. In one of these letters, he exhorts the doctors of Geneva not to go too far in explaining the nature, determining the sense, and imposing the belief of doctrines, which the Divine Wisdom has not thought proper to reveal clearly in the Holy Scriptures, and the ignorance of which is very consistent with the state of salvation; and he recommends the prudence of the church of England, which has expressed these doctrines in such general terms, in its articles, that persons who think very differently about the doctrines may subscribe the articles without wounding their integrity.† His letters to professor Schurer, of Bern, and the excellent and learned John Alphonso Turretin of Geneva, are in the same strain of moderation and charity, and are here sub-

† See an extract of it among the pieces subjoined, No. XIX.

* See the pieces here subjoined, No. XX.

joined,* as every way worthy of the reader's perusal. But what is more peculiarly worthy of attention here, is a letter written May 22, 1719,^b to Mr. Jablonski, of Poland, who from a persuasion of Dr. Wake's great wisdom, discernment, and moderation, had proposed to him the following question, viz. "Whether it was lawful and expedient for the Lutherans to treat of a union with the church of Rome; or whether all negotiations of this kind ought not to be looked upon as dangerous and delusive?" The archbishop's answer to this question contains a happy mixture of Protestant zeal and Christian charity. He gives the strongest cautions to the Polish Lutherans against entering into any treaty of union with the Roman Catholics, unless on a footing of perfect equality, and in consequence of a previous renunciation, on the part of the latter, of the tyranny, and even of the superiority and jurisdiction, of the church of Rome and its pontiff; and as to what concerns points of doctrine, he exhorts them not to sacrifice truth to temporal advantages, or even to the desire of peace. It would carry us too far, were we to give a minute account of Dr. Wake's correspondence with the Protestants of Nismes, Lithuania, and other countries; it may, however, be affirmed, that no prelate, since the Reformation, had so extensive a correspondence with the Protestants abroad, and none could have a more friendly one.

It does not appear that the dissenters in England made to the archbishop any proposals relative to a union with the established church; or that he made any proposals to them on that head. The spirit of the times, and the situation of the contending parties, offered little prospect of success to any scheme of that nature. In queen Anne's time, he was only bishop of Lincoln; and the disposition of the House of Commons, and of all the tory part of the nation, was then so unfavourable to the dissenters, that it is not at all likely that any attempt towards reuniting them to the established church would have passed into a law. And in the next reign, the face of things was so greatly changed in favour of the dissenters, and their hopes of recovering the rights and privileges, of which they had been deprived, were so sanguine, that it may be well questioned whether they would have accepted the offer of a union, had it been made to them. Be that as it will, one thing is certain, and it is a proof of archbishop Wake's moderate and pacific spirit, that in the year 1714, when the spirit of the court and of the triumphant part of the ministry was, with respect to the whigs in general, and to dissenters in particular, a spirit of enmity and oppression, this worthy prelate had the courage to stand up in opposition to the schism-bill, and to protest against it as a hardship upon the dissenters. This step, which must have blasted his credit at court, and proved detrimental to his private interest as matters then stood, showed that his regard for the dissenters was friendly and sincere. It is true, four years after this, when it was proposed to repeal the schism-bill and the act against occasional conformity, both at once, he disapproved of this proposal. And this circumstance has been alleged as an objection to the encomiums that have been given to his tender regard for the dissenters, or at least as a proof that he changed his mind; and that Wake bishop of Lincoln was more their friend than Wake archbishop of Canterbury. I do not pretend to justify this change of conduct; it seems to have been, indeed, occasioned by a change of circumstances. The dissenters, in their state of oppression during the ministry of Bolingbroke and his party, were objects of compassion; and those who had sagacity enough to perceive the ultimate object which that ministry had in view in oppressing them, must have interested themselves in their sufferings, and opposed their oppressors, from a regard to the united causes of protestantism and liberty. In the following reign, the credit of the dissenters rose: and while this encouraged the wise and moderate men among them to plead with prudence and with justice their right to be delivered from several real grievances, it elated the violent (and violent men there are in all parties, nay, even in the cause of moderation) to a high degree. This rendered them formidable to all those who were jealous of the power, privileges, and authority of the established church; and archbishop Wake was probably of this number. He had protested against the shackles that were imposed upon them when they lay under the frowns of government; but apprehending, perhaps, that the removing these shackles in the day of prosperity would render their motions towards power too rapid, he opposed the

* See these letters, No. XXI. XXII. XXIII.

^b Ibid. No. XXV.

abrogation of the very acts which he had before endeavoured to stifle in their birth. In this, however, it must be acknowledged, that the spirit of party mingled too much of its influence with the dictates of prudence; and that prudence thus accompanied, was not very consistent with Dr. Wake's known principles of equity and moderation. As I was at a loss how to account for this part of the archbishop's conduct, I addressed myself to a learned and worthy clergyman of the church of England, who gave me the following answer: "Archbishop Wake's objection to the repeal of the Schism-act was founded on this consideration only, that such a repeal was needless, as no use had been made, or was likely to be made, of that act. It is also highly probable, that he would have consented, without hesitation, to rescind it, had nothing farther been endeavoured at the same time. But considering what sort of spirit was then shown by the Dissenters and others, it ought not be a matter of great wonder, if he was afraid, that from the repeal of the other act (viz. that against occasional conformity,) considerable damage might follow to the church over which he presided; and even, supposing his fears to be excessive, or quite groundless, yet certainly they were pardonable in a man who had never done, nor designed to do, any thing disagreeable to the Dissenters in any other affair, and who, in this, had the concurrence of some of the greatest and wisest of the English lords, and of the Earl of Ilay, among the Scots, though a professed presbyterian."

However some may judge of this particular incident, I think it will appear, from the whole tenor of Archbishop Wake's correspondence and transactions with Christian churches of different denominations, that he was a man of a pacific, gentle, and benevolent spirit, and an enemy to the feuds, animosities, and party-prejudices, which divide the professors of one holy religion, and by which Christianity is exposed to the assaults of its virulent enemies, and wounded in the house of its pretended friends. To this deserved eulogy, we may add what a learned and worthy divine^a has said of this eminent prelate, considered as a controversial writer, even, "that his accurate and superior knowledge of the nature of the Romish hierarchy, and of the constitution of the church of England, furnished him with victorious arms, both for the subversion of error and the defence of truth."

AUTHENTIC COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM WHICH THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT IS DRAWN.

No. I.—*A Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Lambeth, Nov. 28, S. V. 1717.

I AM indebted to you for several kind letters, and some small tracts, which I have had the favour to receive from you. The last, which contains an account of the new edition that is going on of Chrysostom, I received yesterday. It will, no doubt, be a very valuable edition; but, as they propose to go on with it, I shall hardly live to see it finished. They do not tell us to whom here we may go for subscriptions; and it is too much trouble to make returns to Paris. They should, for their own advantage, say where subscriptions will be taken in London, and where one may call for the several volumes as they come out, and pay for the next that are going on.

Among the account of books you were pleased to send me, there is one with a very promising title, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 5 volumes. I wish I could know what the chief of these anecdotes are; it may be a book very well worth having. I wonder they do not disperse some sheets of such works. What they can add to make *Moreri's Dictionary* so very voluminous, I cannot imagine. I bought it in two exorbitant volumes, and thought it big enough so. While I am writing this,

^a Dr. William Richardson, master of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and canon of Lincoln. See his noble edition, and his very elegant and judicious continuation of Bishop Godwin's *Commentaries de Præsulibus Angliæ*, published in the year 1743, at Cam-

bridge. His works (p. 167) are, "Nemo uspiam ecclesiæ Romanæ vel Anglicanæ statum penitus cognitum et exploratum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenam prodiit tum ad oppugnandum tum ad propugnandum instructissimus."

company is come in, so that I am forced to break off; and I can only assure you, that, upon all occasions, you shall find me very sincerely,

Reverend Sir, your faithful friend,
W. CANT.

N. B.—This is the earliest letter in the whole collection; and by the beginning of it, it seems to be the first which the Archbishop wrote to Mr. Beauvoir.

No. II.—*A Letter from Mr. Beauvoir to Archbishop Wake.*

Paris, Dec. 11, 1717, O. S.

MY LORD,—I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 28th ultimo but Sunday last, and therefore could not answer it sooner. A person is to be appointed to receive subscriptions for the new edition of St. Chrysostom, and deliver the copies. Inclosed is an account of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. Dr. Du Pin, with whom I dined last Monday, and with the Syndic of the Sorbonne, and two other doctors, tells me, that what swells Moreri's Dictionary, are several additions, and particularly the families of Great Britain. He hath the chief hand in this new edition. They talked as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, &c. They wished for a union with the church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the western churches. Dr. Du Pin desired me to give his duty to your Grace, upon my telling him, that I would send you an arrest of the parliament of Paris relating to him, and a small tract of his. I have transmitted them to Mr. Prevèreau, at Mr. Secretary Addison's office.

No. III.—*A Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Aug. 30th, 1718.

I TOLD you in one of my last letters how little I expected from the present pretences of a union with us. Since I received the papers you sent me, I am more convinced that I was not mistaken. My task is pretty hard, and I scarce know how to manage myself in this matter. To go any further than I have done in it, even as a divine only of the church of England, may meet with censure; and, as Archbishop of Canterbury, I cannot treat with these gentlemen. I do not think my character at all inferior to that of an Archbishop of Paris; on the contrary, without lessening the authority and dignity of the church of England, I must say it is in some respects superior. If the Cardinal were in earnest for such a union, it would not be below him to treat with me himself about it. I should then have a sufficient ground to consult with my brethren, and to ask his Majesty's leave to correspond with him concerning it. But to go on any further with these gentlemen, will only expose me to the censure of doing what, in my station, ought not to be done without the king's knowledge; and it would be very odd for me to have an authoritative permission to treat with those who have no manner of authority to treat with me. However, I shall venture at some answer or other to both their letters and papers; and so have done with this affair.

I cannot tell well what to say to Dr. Du Pin; if he thinks we are to take their direction what to retain, and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken. I am a friend to peace, but more to truth. And they may depend upon it, I shall always account our church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs; and that we are no more to receive laws from them, than we desire to impose any upon them. In short, the church of England is free, is orthodox: she has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other church to direct her what to retain, or what to do. Nor will we, otherwise than in a brotherly way, and in a full equality of right and power, ever consent to have any treaty with that of France. And therefore, if they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for the foundation, that we are apt to deal with one another upon equal terms. If, consistently with our own establishment, we can agree upon a closer union with one another, well; if not, we are as much, and upon as good grounds, a free independent church, as they are. And, for myself, as Archbishop of Canterbury, I have more power, larger privileges, and greater authority, than any of their archbishops: from which, by the grace of God, I will not depart; no, not for the sake of a union with them.

You see, Sir, what my sense of this matter is; and may perhaps think that I have a little altered my mind since this affair was first set on foot. As to my desire of peace and union with all other Christian churches, I am still the same: But with the doctor's Commonitorium I shall never comply. The matter must be put into another method; and whatever they may think, they must alter some of their doctrines, and practices too, or a union with them can never be effected. Of this, as soon as I have a little more leisure, I shall write my mind as inoffensively as I can to them, but yet freely too.

If any thing is to come of this matter, it will be the shortest method I can take of accomplishing it, to put them in the right way. If nothing (as I believe nothing will be done in it), it is good to leave them under a plain knowledge of what we think of ourselves and our church: and to let them see, that we neither need nor seek the union proposed, but for their sake as well as our own; or rather neither for theirs nor ours; but in order to the promotion of a catholic communion (as far as is possible) among all the true churches of Christ.

I have now plainly opened my mind to you; you will communicate no more of it than is fitting to the two doctors, but keep it as a testimony of my sincerity in this affair: and that I have no design, but what is consistent with the honour and freedom of our English church, and with the security of that true and sound doctrine which is taught in it; and from which no consideration shall ever make me depart. I am,

Reverend Sir, your affectionate friend and brother,

W. CANT.

No. IV.—*From Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Oct. 8, 1718.

WHATEVER be the consequence of our corresponding with the Sorbonne doctors about matters of religion, the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us so to do. Under this apprehension I have written, though with great difficulty, two letters to your two doctors, which I have sent to the secretary's office, to go, with the next packet, to my Lord Stair. I beg you to inquire after them; they make up together a pretty thick packet, directed to you. In that to Dr. Du Pin, I have, in answer to two of his MSS., described the method of making bishops in our church. I believe he will be equally both pleased and surprised with it. I wish you could show him the form of consecration, as it stands in the end of your large common prayer-book. The rest of my letters, both to him and Dr. Piers, is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them of the necessity of embracing the present opportunity of breaking off from the Pope, and going one step farther than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority; so as to leave him only a primacy of place and honour; and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the Imperial City. I hope they both show you my letters; they are this time very long, and upon a nice point. I shall be very glad if you can any way learn how they take the freedom I have used, and what they really think of it. I cannot so much trust to their answers, in which they have more room to conceal their thoughts, and seldom want to overwhelm me with more compliments than I desire, or am well able to bear.

Pray do all you can to search out their real sense of, and motions at the receipt of these two letters; I shall thereby be able the better to judge how far I may venture hereafter to offer any thing to them upon the other points in difference between us. Though, after all, I still think, if ever a reformation be made, it is the state that must govern the church in it. But this between ourselves.

No. V.—*A Letter from Archbishop Wake to Dr. Du Pin, dated October 1, 1718.*

Spectatissimo Viro, eruditorum suæ gentis, si non et sui sæculi, principi; Dno L. ELL. Du Pin, Doctori Parisiensi.

Gul. prov. div. Cant. Archs. in omnibus εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἐμπάρρυσιν.

Div est, amplissime Domine, ex quo debitor tibi factus sum ob plures tractatus M. S. quos tuo beneficio a dilecto mihi in Christo D. Beauvoir accepi. Perleg

diligenter omnes, nec sine fructu; plurima quippe ab iis cognitu dignissima, vel primum didici, vel clarius intellexi; beatamque his difficillimis temporibus censeo ecclesiam Gallicanam, quæ talem sibi in promptu habeat doctorem, indubiis consiliarum, in iuribus suis tuendis advocatum; qui et possit et audeat, non modo contra suos vel erroneos vel perfidos symnistas dignitatem ejus tueri, sed et ipsi summo pontifici (ut olim B. apostolus Paulus Petro) in faciem resistere, quia reprehensibilis est. Atque utinam hæc quæ jam Romæ aguntur, tandem aliquando omnibus vobis animum darent ad jura vestra penitus asserenda! Ut deinceps non ex pragmaticis (ut olim B. sanctionibus; non (ut hoc fere tempore) ex concordatis; non ex præjudicatis hominum opinionibus res vestras agatis; sed ea auctoritate qua decet ecclesiam tam illustris ac præpotentis imperii; quæ nullo jure, vel divino vel humano, alteri olim aut ecclesiæ aut homini subjicitur; sed ipsa jus habet intra se sua negotia terminandi; et in omnibus sub Rege suo Christianissimo, populum suum commissum propriis suis legibus et sanctionibus gubernandi.

Expergiscimini itaque, viri eruditi; et quod ratio postulat, nec refragatur religio, strenue agite. Hoc bonorum subditorum erga regem suum officium, Christianorum erga episcopos suos, heu! nimium extraneorum tyrannide oppressos, pietas exigit, flagitat, requirit. Excutite tandem jugum istud, quod nec patres vestri, nec vos ferre potuistis. Hic ad reformationem non prætensam, sed veram, sed justam, sed necessariam ecclesiæ nostræ primus fuit gradus. Quæ Cæsaris erant, Cæsari reddidimus; quæ Dei, Deo. Coronæ imperialia regni nostri suum suprematum, episcopatus suam *ἀξίαν*, ecclesiæ suam libertatem restituit, vel eo solum nomine semper cum honore memorandus, rex Henricus VIII. Hæc omnia sub pedibus conculcaverat idem ille tunc nobis, qui jam vobis inimicus. Sæpius auctoritas papalis intra certos fines legibus nostris antea fuerat coercita; et iis quidem legibus, quas siquis hodie inspiceret, impossibile ei videretur eas potuisse aliqua vel vi vel astutia, perumpere. Sed idem nobis accidit quod illis, qui dæmoniacum vinculis ligare voluere. Omnia frustra tentata; nihil perfecere inania legum repagula, contra nescio quos prætextus potestatis divinæ nullis humanis constitutionibus subditæ. Tandem defatigato regno dura necessitas sua jura tuendi oculos omnium aperuit. Proponitur quæstio episcopis ac clero in utriusque provincie synodo congregatis, An episcopus Romanus in Sacris Scripturis habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in Regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus episcopus? In partem sanam, justam, veram utriusque concilii suffragia concurrere. Quod episcopi cum suo clero statuerant etiam regni academice calculo suo approbarunt, rex cum parlamento sancivit: adeoque tandem, quod unice fieri poterat sublata penitus potestas, quam nullæ leges, nulla jura, vel civilia vel ecclesiastica, intra debitos fines unquam poterant continere. En nobis promptum ac paratum exemplum; quod sequi vobis gloriosum, nec minus posteris vestris utile fuerit! Quo solo pacem, absque veritatis dispendio, tueri valeatis; ac irridere bruta de Vaticano fulmina; quæ jamdudum ostenditis vobis non ultra terrori esse, utpote a Sacris Scripturis edoctis, quod maledictio absque causa prolata non superveniet. Prov. xxvi. 2.

State ergo in libertate qua Christus vos donaverit: Frustra ad concilium generale nunquam convocandum res vestras refertis, frustra decretorum vim suspendere curatis, quæ ab initio injusta, erronea, ac absurda, ac plane nulla erant. Non talibus subsidii vobis opus est. Regia permissione, auctoritate sua a Christo commissa, archiepiscopi et episcopi vestri in concilium nationale coeant: academiarum, cleri ac præcipue utrorumque principis theologicæ facultatis Parisiensis consilium atque auxilium sibi assumant: sic muniti quod æquum et justum fuerit decernant: quod decreverint etiam civili auctoritate firmandum curent: nec patientur factiosos homines alio res vestras vocare, aut ad judicem appellare qui nullam in vos auctoritatem exposcere debeat, aut si exposcat, merito a vobis recusari et poterit et debuerit.

Ignoscas, vir *πολυμαθέστατε*, indignationi dicam an amoris meo, si forte aliquanto ultra modum commoveri videar ab iis quæ vobis his proximis annis acciderint. Veritatem Christi omni qua possum animi devotione colo. Hanc vos tuemini; pro hac censuras pontificias subiistis, et porro ferre parati estis.

Ille, qui se pro summo ac fere unico Christi vicario venditat, veritatem ejus sub pedibus poterit, conculcat. Justitiam veneror: ac proinde vos injuste, ac plane tyrannice, si non oppressos, at impetitos, at comminatos; at ideo non solum non penitus obrutos, subversos, prostratos, quia Deus furori ejus objicem posuit, nec per-

miserit vos in ipsius manus incidere ; non possum non vindicare, et contra violentum oppressum, meum qualecunque suffragium ferre.

Jura ac libertates inclyti regni, celeberrimæ ecclesiæ, præstantissimi cleri cum honore intuetor. Hæc papa reprobatur, contemnit : et dum sic alios tractat, merito se aliis castigandum, certe intra justos fines coercendum, exhibet. Siquid ei potestatis supra alios episcopos Christus commiserit, preferantur tabulæ ; jus evincatur ; cedere non recusamus.

Siquam prærogativam ecclesia concilia sedis imperialis episcopo concesserint (etsi cadente imperio, etiam ea prærogativa excidisse merito possit censi) ; tamen quod ad me attinet servatis semper regnorum juribus, ecclesiarum libertatibus, episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licit, sua fruatur, qualicumque primatu ; non ego illi locum primum ; non inanem honoris titulum invidéo. At in alias ecclesias dominari ; episcopatum, cujus partem Christus unicuique episcopo in solidum reliquit, tantum non in solidum sibi soli vindicare ; si quis ejus injustæ tyrannidi sese opposuerit, cælum ac terram in illius perniciem commovere ; hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis. In hoc pacis fundamento si inter nos semel conveniatur, in cæteris aut idem sentiemus omnes, aut facile alii aliis dissentiendi libertatem absque pacis jactura concedemus.

Sed abripit calamum meum nescio quis *ἰνθουσιασμός* dum de vestris injuriis nimium sum sollicitus, et forte liberius quam par esset, de his rebus ad te scripsisse videbor.

Ego vero uti ea omnia, quæ tu in tuo commonitorio exaraveris, etiam illa in quibus ab invicem dissentimus, grato animo accipio ; ita ut aperte, ut candide, et absque omni fuco porro ad me scribere pergas, eaque *παρήσις* qua amicis cum amico agere deceat, imprimis a te peto ; eo te mihi amiciores fore existimans, quo simplicius, quo planius quicquid censeris, libere dixeris.

Nec de commonitorio tuo amplius aliquid hoc tempore reponam ; in quo cum plurima placeant, tum id imprimis, quod etiam tuo judicio, non adeo longe ab invicem distemus, quin si de fraterna unione eneunda publica aliquando auctoritate deliberari contigerit, via facile inveniri poterit ad pacem inter nos stabiliendam, salva utrinque ecclesiæ catholicæ fide ac veritate.

Quod ad alteros tuos tractatus de Constitutione Episcoporum in Ecclesiis vocantibus, siquidem papa legitime requisitus, facultates suas personis a rege nominatis obstinate pernegaverit ; in iis sane reperio quod non tua eruditione et judicio sit. Quare ne prorsus *ἀσύμβολος* discedem, ordinem tibi breviter delineabo constituendi episcopos in hac reformata nostra ecclesia.

Tu judicabis, an aliquid magis canonice vel excogitari vel statui poterit.

No. VI.—*A Letter from Archbishop Wake to Dr. P. Piers Girardin, written in October, 1718.*

Præstantissimo viro, consummatissimo theologo Dno Patricio Piers de Girardin, sacre facultatis Parisiensis Theologiæ Doctori,

Gul. prov. div. Cant. Archs. gratiam, pacem, ac salutem in Domino.

Post prolixiores epistolas eruditissimo confratri tuo, Domino Doctori Du Pin hoc ipso tempore exaratas ; quasque ego paulo minus tuas, quam illius existimari velim, facilius a te veniam impetrabo, vir spectatissimo, si aliquanto brevius ad te rescribam ; et in illis quidem animi mei vel amoris vel indignationis libere indului : eaque simplicitate, qua decet Christianum, et maxime episcopum, quid vobis, mea saltem sententia, factu opus sit, aperte exposui. Siquid vel tuo vel illius judicio, asperius quam par esset a me exciderit, cum vestri causa adeo commotus fuero, facile id homini tam benevole erga vos animato, uti spero, condonabitur ; unaque reminiscimini, nullam unquam vobis stabilem inter vos pacem, aut catholicam cum aliis unionem, habere posse, dum aliquid ultra merum honoris primatum ac *προεδρίαν* pontifici Romano tributis. Hoc nos per aliquot sæcula experti sumus ; vos jam sentire debetis, qui, nescio quo insano ipsius beneficio, adeo commodam occasionem nacti estis, non tam ab illius decretis appellandi, quam ab ipsius domino ac potestate vos penitus subducendi. Ipse vos pro schismaticis habet ; qualem vos eum censere debetis. Ipse a vestra communione se suosque separandos publice denunciat. Quid vobis in hoc casu faciendum ? Liceat mihi veteris illius Cæsareæ episcopi Firmiliani verbis respondere ; sic olim Stephanum papam acriter quidem,

sed non ideo minus juste, castigavit: "Vide qua imperitia reprehendere audeas eos qui contra mendacium pro veritate nituntur.—Peccatum vero quam magnum tibi exaggerasti, quando te a tot gregibus scidi; excidisti enim te ipsum, noli te fallere: Siquidem ille est vere schismaticus qui se a communione ecclesiastica unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstinere posse solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti." Cypr. Op. Epist. 75.

Agite ergo, viri eruditi, et quo vos divina providentia vocat, libentur sequimini. Clemens papa vos abdicavit; a sua et suorum communione repulit, rejectit. Vos illius auctoritati renuntiate. Cathedræ Petri, quæ in omnibus catholicis ecclesiis conservatur, adherete; etiam nostram ne refugiatis communionem; quibuscumque si non in omnibus omnino doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus conveniatis, at in præcipuis, at in fundamentalibus, at in omnibus articulis fidei ad salutem necessariis plane consentitis; etiam in cæteris, uti speramus, brevi consensuri. Nobis certe eo minus vos vel hæreticos vel schismaticos fore confidite, quod a papa ejecti pro hæreticis et schismaticis Romæ æstimemini. Sed contrahenda vela, nec indulgendum huic meo pro vobis zelo; etsi sit secundum scientiam. Prudentibus loquor; vos ipsi, quod dico judicate.

Ad literas tuas, præstantissime domine, redeo; in quibus uti tuum de mediocritate mea iudicium, magis ex affectu erga me tuo, quam secundum merita mea prolatum, gratanter accipio, ita in eo te nunquam falli patiar, quod me pacis ecclesiasticæ amantissimum credas; omniaque illi consequendæ danda putem, præter veritatem. Quantum ad illum promovendam tu jamjam contuleris, ex sex illis propositionibus quas tuis inseruisti, literis gratus agnosco: ac nisi ambitiose magis quam hominem privatum deceat, me facturum existimarem, etiam eruditissimis illis confratribus tuis doctoribus Sorbonicis, quibus priores meas literas communicasti, easdem per te gratias referrem. Sane facultas vestra Parisiensis, uti maximum in his rebus pondus merito habere debeat, sive numerum, sive dignitatem, sive denique eruditionem suorum membrorum spectemus; ita a vobis exordium sumere debet unio illa inter nos tantopere desiderata, siquidem eam aliquando iniri voluerit Deus.

Interim gratulor vobis post illustrissimum Card. Noaillium, alterum illum ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, fidei catholicæ columnam et ornamentum, procuratorem regium, D. D. De Joly de Fleury. Quem virum ego non jam primum ex tuis literis debito prosequi honore didici, verum etiam ob ea quæ vestri causa his proximis annis publice egerit, antea suspicere, et pene venerari, consueveram. Sub is ducibus, quid non sperandum in publicum vestrum ac catholicæ ecclesiæ commodum? Intonet de Vaticano pontifex Rom. fremant inter vos ipsos conjurata turba, Romanæ curiæ servi magis quam suæ Galliæ fideles subditi. His præsidii ab eorum injuriis tuti, vanas eorum iras contemnere valeatis.

Ego vero, uti omnia vobis publice fausta ac felicia precor, ita tibi, spectatissime vir, me semper addictissimum fore promitto. De quo quicquid alias senseris, id saltem ut de me credas jure postulo; me sincere veritatem Christi et amare et querere; et, nisi omnino me fallat animus, etiam assecutum esse. Nulli Christiano inimicus antehac aut fui aut deinceps sum futurus; sic de erroribus eorum, qui a me dissident, judico, ut semper errantes Deo judicandos relinquam. Homo sum, errare possum; sic vero animatis audaciter dicam hæreticus esse nolo. Te vero, siquidem id permittas, fratrem; sin id minus placeat, saltem id indulgebis, ut me vere et ex animo profitear, excellentissime domine, tui amantissimum.

W. C.

No. VII.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

No. 6, O. S. 1718.

Your last letter gives me some trouble, but more curiosity. I little thought, when I wrote to your two doctors, that my letters should have been read, much less copies of them given to any such great persons as you mention. I write in haste, as you know, and trust no amanuensis to copy for me, because I will not be liable to be betrayed. And upon a review of my foul, and only copy of them, since I had your account from Paris, I find some things might have been more accurately expressed, had I taken more time to correct my style. But I wish that be the worst exception against them: I fear the freedom I took in exhorting them to do somewhat in earnest, upon so fair a provocation, with regard to the papal authority,

though excused as well as I could, will hardly go down so effectually as I could wish with them. This raises my curiosity to know truly and expressly how that part of my letters operated on both your doctors, which, by a wary observation, you may in good measure gather from their discourse. I cannot tell whether they showed my letters to you; if they did, I am sure you will think I did not mince the matter with them in that particular.

Of your two doctors, Dr. Piers seems the more polite: he writes elegantly both for style and matter; and has the freer air, even as to the business of a union. Yet I do not despair of Dr. Du. Pin, whom, thirty years ago, in his collection of tracts relating to church discipline, I did not think far from the kingdom of God.

No. VIII.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Nov. 18, 1718.

At present my more particular curiosity leads me to know the sentiments of the leading men in France with regard to the court of Rome; from which, if we could once divide the Gallican church, a reformation in other matters would follow of course. The scheme that seems to be most likely to prevail, is to agree in the independence, as to all matters of authority, of every national church on any others, and in their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves; and for points of doctrine, to agree, as far as possible, in all articles of any moment, as in effect we either already do, or easily may; and for other matters, to allow a difference, till God shall bring us to a union in those also—One only thing should be provided for, to purge out of the public offices of the church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the service of the church, that so, whenever any come from us to them, or from them to us, we may all join together in prayers and the holy sacraments with each other. In our liturgy there is nothing but what they allow of, save the single rubric relating to the Eucharist; in theirs nothing but what they agree may be laid aside, and yet the public offices be never the worse, or more imperfect, for want of it. Such a scheme as this I take to be a more proper ground of peace, at the beginning, than to go to more particulars; if in such a foundation we could once agree, the rest would be more easily built upon it. If you find occasion, and that it may be of use, you may extract this project, and offer it to their consideration, as what you take to be my sense in the beginning of a treaty. Not that I think we shall stop here, but that, being thus far agreed, we shall the more easily go into a greater perfection hereafter. I desire you to observe, as much as you can, when it is I may the most properly write to the doctors. I took the subject of the pope's authority in my last, as arising naturally from the present state of their affairs, and as the first thing to be settled in order to a union. How my freedom in that respect has been received, I desire you freely to communicate.

No. IX.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Dec. 2, O. S. 1718.

I AM glad the two doctors seem to receive my last letters so well. The truth is, that while they manage as they do with the court of Rome, nothing will be done to any purpose; and all ends in trifling at the last. We honestly deny the pope all authority over us; they pretend, in words, to allow him so much as is consistent with what they call their Gallican privileges; but, let him never so little use it contrary to their good liking, they protest against it, appeal to a general council; and then mind him as little as we can do. In earnest, I think we treat his holiness not only with more sincerity, but more respect, than they; for, to own a power, and yet keep a reserve to obey that power only so far, and in such cases as we make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and, for that reason, refuse to obey it. But my design was partly to bring them to this, and partly to see how they would bear, at least the proposal, of totally breaking off from the court and bishop of Rome.

What you can observe or discover more of their inclinations in this particular, will be of good use; especially if it could be found out what the court would do, and how far that may be likely to countenance the clergy in such a separation. In the mean time, it cannot be amiss to cultivate a friendship with the leading men

of that side, who may in time be made use of to the good work of reforming in earnest the Gallican church. I am a little unhappy that I have none here I yet dare trust with what I do; though I am satisfied most of our high-church bishops and clergy would readily come into such a design. But these are not men either to be confided in or made use of by your assured friend,

W. CANT.

P. S. Did Cardinal de Noailles know what authority the Archbishop of Canterbury has got by the Reformation, and how much a greater man he is now than when he was the Pope's Legatus Natus, it might encourage him to follow so good a pattern, and be assured, in that case, he would lose nothing by sending back his cardinal's cap to Rome. I doubt your doctors know little of these matters.

No. X.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Jan. 23, O. S., 1718.

WHEN you see my letter, for I conclude the doctor will show it you, you may do well to bring on the discourse of our episcopal rights and privileges in England; and particularly of the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I believe are greater than those of the Archbishop of Rheims, or of all the archbishops in France. This may raise in them a curiosity to know more of this matter, which, if they desire, I will take the first little leisure I have to give them a more particular account of it. We must deal with men in their own way, if we mean to do any good with them. They have been used to a pompous ministry; and, like the Jews heretofore, would despise the Messiah himself, if he should come in a poor and low estate to them. And therefore, though for myself I account all temporal grandeur as nothing; nay, I am afraid it has rather hurt the church of Christ, and the true spirit of piety and religion, than done any real service to either; yet it may be a means of disposing these gentlemen to a more favourable thought of, and inclination towards a reformation; to convince them that they return to the truth of Christianity, and leave the corruptions of Rome, without losing any honour, any power, that a servant of Christ would desire to be troubled withal. Had the first reformers in France yielded to this scheme, as we in England showed them an example, the whole Gallican church had come in to them, and been at this day as we are now: we must therefore hit off the blot which they made, and satisfy their ambition so far as to show them that they may reform without giving up either their authority or revenues; and be still as great, but much better bishops, under our circumstances, than under their own.

As to the pope's authority, I take the difference to be only this; that we may all agree, without troubling ourselves with the reason, to allow him a primacy of order in the episcopal college; they would have it thought necessary to hold communion with him, and allow him a little canonical authority over them, as long as he will leave them to prescribe the bounds of it: we fairly say we know of no authority he has in our realm; but for actual submission to him, they as little mind it as we do.

At present he has put them out of his communion; we have withdrawn ourselves from him; both are out of communion with him, and I think it is not material on which side the breach lies.

No. XI.—*A Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Feb. 5, 1718.—19, O. S.

I do not doubt but that mine of the 18th January, with the two enclosed for my Lord Stair and Dr. Du Pin, are before this come safe to you. I should not be sorry, if, upon this late transaction between the doctor and ministry, you have kept it in your hands, and not delivered it to him. I had just begun a letter to Dr. Piers, but have thrown aside what I writ of it, since I received your last; and must beg the favour of you to make my excuse to him, with the tenders of my hearty service, till I see a little more what the meaning of this present inquisition is. I am not so unacquainted with the finesses of courts as not to apprehend, that what is now done may be as well in favour of the doctor's attempt as against it. If the Procureur General be indeed well affected to it, he might take this method, not only

to his own security, but to bring the affair under a deliberation, and give a handle to those whom it chiefly concerns, to discover their sentiments of it. But the matter may be also put to another use, and nobody can answer that it shall not be so : and till I see what is the meaning of this sudden turn, I shall write no more letters for the French ministry to examine, but content myself to have done enough already to men who cannot keep their own counsel, and live in a country where even the private correspondence of learned men with one another must be brought to a public inquiry, and be made the subject of a state inquisition. I am not aware that in any of my letters there is one line that can give a just offence to the court. I have always took it for granted, that no step should be taken towards a union, but with the knowledge and approbation, and even by the authority, of civil powers ; and, indeed, if I am in the right, that nothing can be done to any purpose in this case, but by throwing off the pope's authority, as the first step to be made in order to it, it is impossible for any such attempt to be made by any power less than the king's. All, therefore, that has passed hitherto, stands clear of any just exception as to the civil magistrate ; it is only a consultation, in order to find out a way how a union might be made, if a fit occasion should hereafter be offered for the doing of it. Yet still I do not like to have my letters exposed in such a manner, though satisfied there is nothing to be excepted against in them, and think I shall be kind to the doctors themselves, to suspend, at least for a while, my farther troubling of them. I hope you will endeavour, by some or other of your friends, to find out the meaning of this motion ; from whom it came ; how far it has gone ; what was the occasion of it ; and what is like to be the consequence of it ; what the Abbé Du Bois says of my letters, and how they are received by him and the other ministers. I shall soon discover whether any notice has been taken of it to our ministry ; and I should think if the Abbé spoke to your Lord about it, he would acquaint you with it.

No. XII.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Feb. 24, 1718.

I do not at all wonder that the Cardinals Rohan and Bissi should do all they can to blacken the good Cardinal de Noailles, and in him the party of the Anti-Constitutionists, but especially the Sorbonne, their weighty and most learned adversaries ; and I am sensible that such a complaint is not only the most proper to do this, but to put the court itself under some difficulties, which way soever it acts upon it. But I am still the more curious to learn, if it were possible, not only the proceedings of the ministry above board hereupon, but their private thoughts and opinions about it. I am under no concern upon my own account, farther than that I would be unwilling to have my letters scanned by so many great men, which will scarcely bear the judgment of my very friends. You must do me the favour to get out of your doctors what will be most obliging to them, whether to continue to write to them, or to be silent for a while, till we see what will be the effect of this inquiry. In the mean time, it grows every day plainer what I said from the beginning, that no reformation can be made but by the authority, and with the concurrence, of the court ; and that all we divines have to do, is to use our interest to gain them to it, and to have a plan ready to offer to them, if they would be prevailed upon to come to it.

I am at present engaged in two or three other transactions of moment to the foreign Protestants, which take up abundance of my time ; God knows what will be the effect of it. Nevertheless, if I can any way help to promote this, though I am at present without any help, alone, in this project, I shall do my utmost, both to keep up my poor little interest with the two doctors and their friends, and to concert proper methods with them about it. The surest way will be, to begin as well, and to go as far as we can, in settling a friendly correspondence one with another, to agree to own each other as true brethren, and members of the Catholic Christian Church ; to agree to communicate in every thing we can with one another, which, on their side, is very easy, there being nothing in our offices, in any degree, contrary to their own principles ; and would they purge out of theirs what is contrary to ours, we might join in the public service with them, and yet leave one another in the free liberty of believing Transubstantiation or not, so long as we did not require any thing to be done by either in pursuance of that opinion.

The Lutherans do this very thing; many of them communicate not only in prayers, but the communion with us; and we never inquire whether they believe Consubstantiation, or even pay any worship to Christ as present with the elements, so long as their outward actions are the same with our own, and they give no offence to any with their opinions.

P. S. Since this last accident, and the public noise of a union at Paris, I have spoken something more of it to my friends here, who, I begin to hope, will fall in with it. I own a correspondence, but say not a little how far, or in what way I have proceeded, more than that letters have passed, which can no longer be a secret. I have never shown one of my own or the doctor's to any body.

No. XIII.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

March 16, S. V. 1718.

I THANK you for your account of what passed between Mons. Hop and you, relating to the project of a union: I doubt that gentleman will not be pleased with it; because, indeed, the Gallican church will never unite with any church that has not an orderly episcopacy in it. I am very sorry my poor letters are made so public. The next thing will be, that either the imprudence of our friends, or the malice of our enemies, will print them; and then I shall have censures enough for them, perhaps some reflections printed upon them, or answers made to them; but this shall not engage me in any defence of them, or in taking any farther notice of them. I beg you to keep those I have written to yourself from all view; for I have no copies of them, and I wrote them as I do my other ordinary letters, without any great thought or consideration, more than what my subject, as I was writing, led me in that instant to. This is the liberty to be taken with a friend, where one is sure what he writes shall go no farther; but for the same reason, will require the strictest suppression from any other view. I cannot yet guess what this turn means, nor how it will end: I wish your doctors could give you some farther light into it.

P. S.—I entreat you never to forget me to the two good doctors whom I love and honour: keep up the little interest I have with them. As soon as ever the present turn is over, I will write to Dr. Girardin. I hope my letters will not always be carried as criminals before the Secretary of State, though I am persuaded he bears no ill-will to me.

No. XIV.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

April 29, 1718.

I AM much concerned to hear that Dr. Du Pin decays so fast: I feared by his last letter that he was sinking apace. Pray, is there any good print of him taken these last years? for I have one that was made when he was a young man. I am sorry Dr. Piers grows faint-hearted; I never thought any thing could be done as to a reformation in France, without the authority of the court, but I was in hopes the regent and others might have found their account in such an attempt; and then the good disposition of the bishops, clergy, and Sorbonne, with the parliament of Paris, would have given a good deal of spirit and expedition to it. I have done what was proper for me in that matter: I can now go no farther, till the Abbot Du Bois is better disposed; yet I shall still be pleased to keep up a little esteem between those gentlemen, which will do us some good, if it does not do them any service. I am apt to think, the good old man (Du Pin) does not think us far from the kingdom of heaven. I have with this sent a letter of friendship to Dr. Piers, which you will be so kind as to send to him, with my kind respects.

No. XV.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Dr. Du Pin, dated Lambeth, May 1, 1719.*

N.B.—DU PIN was dead before it arrived at Paris.

SPERAVERAM equidem tua auctoritate, constantia, eruditione, pietate, moderatione, quæ omnia adeo in te perfecta esse noscuntur, ut vix in aliis singula, præclari aliquid ad Dei gloriam, ecclesiæque Gallicanæ utilitatem perfici potuissent.

Credideram advenisse tempus in quo, excusso Romanæ tyrannidis iugo, una nobiscum in eandem communionem coalesceretis. In dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus : in regimine ecclesiastico minus : in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino. Quam facilis erat ab his initiis ad concordiam progressus, modo animos haberemus ad pacem compositos ? Sed hoc principibus seculi non arridet, unionis inimicis etiam plurimum displicet : neque nobis forte dabit Deus esse tam felicibus, ut ad hujusmodi unionem nostram qualemcumque opera conferamus. Relinquamus hoc illi, in cujus manu sunt rerum omnium tempora et occasiones. Sufficiat voluisse aliquid in tam insigni opere, forte et semina in terram projecisse quæ fructum tandem multiplicem proferant. Interim, quod nemo nobis denegare possit, nos invicem ut fratres, ut ejusdem mystici corporis membra, amplectamur.

No. XVI.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir.*

Feb. 9, S. V. 1719-20.

I HEARTILY wish there were either spirit or inclination enough in the Sorbonne, to go on with our friend the Abbé's project ; but the fire decays—men's inclinations cool : the court will do nothing, and you are very sensible, that without the court nothing can be done in any such affair. Nevertheless, their good opinion of the church of England should be kept up as much as possible ; we should encourage them all we can to account of us as of brethren, who have only thrown off, what they are weary of, the tyranny of the court of Rome, without any change in any fundamental article, either of the doctrine or government of the catholic church. And upon this ground I shall be ready to continue a brotherly correspondence with any of their great men, provided it be done with such caution, as may not expose my letters to be made prisoners to a secretary of state, a thing which can never become my character, and may carry an ill aspect, even in our own court, till the thing be rightly understood.

No. XVII.—*Extract of a Letter from the Archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir.*

March 31, 1720.

I THANK you for your account of the present state of the French church. It is a very odd one indeed ; but will settle into an agreement at last. When once the appellants begin to break, the court will drive all the obstinate (as they will call them ; I should name them, the honest men of courage and constancy) to a compliance.

No. XVIII.—*Extract of a Letter from the Archbishop to Mr. Beauvoir.*

April 19, O. S. 1720.

I PERCEIVE, by some late letters from him (Piers Girardin), that he begins to despair of the business of the constitution. He has reason ; the cardinal De Noailles is ensnared, and has gone too far to retire. The new archbishop of Cambray will be a cardinal, and this affair of the constitution must procure the chalot for him. The regent himself is afraid of the Spanish party, and the Jesuits ; and he will gain, or at least appease them. For all these reasons, the doctrine of the church, and the Gallican liberties, must be abandoned ; and on the slight pretence of a comm^t. of no esteem with the opposite party, an accommodation will certainly be made : and those who will not voluntarily go, shall be driven into it. If our poor friend be one of those who must hereby suffer, why may he not consider of a retreat hither ? and since he cannot yet bring on a union with the two churches, unite himself with ours, from which I am sure his principles, and I believe his inclinations, are not greatly distant ? But this must be managed very tenderly, and rather by a kind of rallying, than a direct proposal of it. If he inclines to it, he will easily understand your meaning ; if not, it is best not to go on far with him in a matter in which you will have no good success.

No. XIX.—*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Le Clerc.*

April, 1719.

NOVUM Testamentum Gallicum, notis tuis feliciter ornatum, totum, nec sine fructu, perlegi. Præfatione tua eidem præfixa mirifice affectus sum; legi, religi, quin et sæpius deinceps repetam. Ita me in ipso præsertim ejus initio commovit, ut veræ pietatis in ea relucens spiritum nunquam satia laudare possim, vel animo meo satis alte imprimere.

Et quamvis in annotationibus tuis quædam liberius dicta occurrant, quæ non æque omnibus placeant, neque mihi ipsi ubique satisfaciant; fero tamen, et vel in ipso tuo a communi sententia discessu aliquid mihi invenire videor, quod ignoscere magis quam acerbius reprehendere debeam, multo minus inclementius damnare. Libertatem prophetandi, modo pia ac sobria sit, cum charitate, ac mansuetudine conjuncta, nec contra analogiam fidei semel sanctis traditæ, adeo non vituperandam, ut etiam probandam censeam. De rebus adia phoris cum nemine contendendum puto. Ecclesias reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissentientes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen Episcopale bene temperatum, et ab omni injusta dominatione sejunctum, quale apud nos obtinet, et, siquid ego in his rebus sapiam, ab ipso Apostolorum ævo in ecclesia receptum fuerit, et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum; nec despero quin aliquando restitutum, si non ipse videam, at posteri videbunt. Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostra abscindendas credam; aut cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem. Unionem arctiorem inter omnes reformatos procurare quovis pretio vellem. Hæc si in regimine ecclesiastico, ac publicis ecclesiarum officiis obtineri potuit; aut ego plurimum fallor, aut id solum brevi conducere ad animorum inter eos unionem conciliandam; et viam sterneret ad plenam in omnibus majoris momenti dogmatibus concordiam stabilendam. Quantum hoc ad religionis nostræ securitatem conducere; quantum etiam ad pseudo-catholicorum Romanensium conversionem, cæcus sit qui non videat.—Sed abrupit me longius quam par esset hæc semper mihi dulcis de pace ac unionem ecclesiarum reformatarum cogitatio,—&c. &c.

No. XX.—*Archbishop Wake's Letter to the Pastors and Professors of Geneva.*

April 8, 1719.

QUAMVIS literis vestris nihil mihi gratius potuit afferri, non tamen absque summo dolore, vix oculis siccis, eas perlegi; neque credo quenquam esse tam ferrei pectoris, qui ad ea mala quæ in illis referuntur non perhorrescat; mireturque talia ab hominibus erga homines, a popularibus erga populares suos, a Christianis denique erga Christianos, idque (quod fidem omnem exasperare valeat) etiam religionis causa fieri et perpetrari.

Vos interim, venerandi viri, quod vestri erat officii, sedulo præstitistis. Delegatos ecclesiarum Hungaricarum amice accepistis. Querimoniam eorum, ea qua par erat charitate atque sympathia fraterna audivistis; nullaque mora adhibita ad remedium malis ipsorum inveniendum omnes vestras cogitationes convertistis. Per illustres magistratus vestros, cæteros reformatæ religionis principes atque senatores, ad persecutiones horum fratrum vestrorum serio considerandas excitavistis; et ut suam auctoritatem interponerent ad sedandas eorum oppressiones enixissime obsecrastis.

Denique, nequid vel minimi ponderis desideretur quo studium vestrum in hoc tam insigni charitatis opere exequendo ostendatis, etiam mea qualicunque opera uti voluistis, ad animum augustissimi regis nostri commovendum, ne in hac tam gravi sua necessitate afflictis Christi servis deesset.

O amorem vere Christianum! et qualem deceat ejusdem corporis membra erga se invicem habere! Dignum profecto et vobis, et eximio illo vestro congressu, opus: ut quo præcipue tempore convenistis ad laudes Dei celebrandas qui per duo jam secula religionem reformatam vocis incolumem servaverit; eodem etiam illam ipsam religionem evangelicum in aliis regionibus oppressam, concussam, ac tantum non

extremum quasi spiritum trahentem, sublevetis, et si fieri possit, in integrum restituantis.

Ego vero, fratres charissimi, et propria voluntate motus, et vestro tam illustri exemplo impulsus, adeo eodem vobiscum ardore accendor, ut nihil non tentandum putem, quo vestris, tam piis, tam justis, tamque benignis conatibus optatum successum compararem.

Imprimis igitur nobilem virum Comitem Sunderlandiæ primarium regis ministerium sedulo adivi: Literas vestras illi communicavi; Peti, oravi, ut in hac resuam mihi operam atque auxilium concedere vellet, utque simul Regiam Majestatem adiremus: non quod de ipsius prompta voluntate dubitarem, sed ut quæ in hac causa facienda essent, eo majori vigore atque promptitudine perficerentur. Successit, fere ultra spem, conatus noster. Utriusque ecclesiæ tum Hungariæ tum vicinæ Vallensis, oppressiones regi, eo quo par erat effectus, exposuimus. Favorem ejus atque auctoritatem apud Cæsarem regemque Sardiniae obnixè imploravimus, ut ab his tam injustis vexationibus, eorum jussu et mandatis, liberentur. Et præcipue quod ad Pedemontanas ecclesias attinet, etiam adhortati sumus, ut jure suo a rege Sardiniae postulet, ut pacta in his quæ religionis exercitium concernent, earum gratia initia meliori fide in posterum observentur. Annuit votis nostris Rex Serenissimus: neque dubito quin legatis suis jam dudum præceperit, ut omnem quam possunt operam suo nomine impendant, quo ab istis adeo iniquis oppressionibus utriusque ecclesiæ membra liberentur. Orandus Deus ut tantis principis conatibus, in hac tam justa, tam pia, tam religioni Christianæ proficua interpellatione aspirare dignetur; et oppressis suis servis exoptatam requiem tandem concedere, pro immensa sua misericordia velit.

Interim, dum hæc felicitas, uti spero, peraguntur, ignoscite, fratres dilectissimi, si majoris quidem laboris atque difficultatis, sed longe maximi omnibus commodi, inceptum, vobis proponam; in quo et sæpe alias et hoc tempore complures primariæ dignitatis viri summo studio allaborant; et quod ab omnibus, quibus puritas evangelii re ipsa cordi sit, una secum allaborandum sperant. Jamdudum sentitis quo mea tendit adhortatio; ad unionem nimirum inter omnes quæ ubique sunt ecclesias, quæ his ultimis seculis a communionem, seu verius tyrannide pontificis Romani sese subduxerunt, sedulo promovendam. Quin hoc fieri possit, si quidem animum ad concordiam promptum omnes uttulerimus, nullatenus debitandum est: quin fieri debeat, nemo prudens negaverit, &c. &c.

Vos interim, F. C. hoc agite, ut saltem inter vos ipsos pax atque concordia inviolabiliter conservetur. Summo quippe dolore, anno præterito, accepi dissensiones inter vos ortas fuisse, de capitulis aliquot circa doctrinam de gratia universali, aliisque quæstionibus longe difficillimis; in quibus optimi viri et doctissimi theologi idem per omnia haudquaquam sentiunt. Angit hoc sane, idque non mediocriter, animum meum. Et quamvis nollem vobis videri ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπῆν aut in alienam (quod aiunt) messem falcem meam immittere; permittite tamen ut in spiritu charitatis, eoque quo erga vos feror amore fraterno, vos obsecrem, et in Domino obtester, ut in hujusmodi rebus quatenus id fieri possit, idem sentiatis omnes; quod si id non assequi valeatis, ut saltem sic alii alios feratis, ut nullam sit inter vos schisma, nullus querimoniarum aliquorum adversus alios locus: ut non nimirum curiosi sitis in iis determinandis quæ Deus non admodum clare revelaverit, quæque absque salutis dispendio tuto nesciri poterint. Quæ sapientissimi prædecessores nostri, in omnibus suis confessionibus, caute tractanda censuerunt, eaque moderatione, ut universi in iis subscribendis consentirent: et a quorum prudenti cautela sicubi postea discessum fuerit; contentiones, lites, inimiciæ, aliaque infinita incommoda, protinus subsecuta sunt.

In his disquisitionibus Lutherani a reformatis dissident; nec reformati ipsi prorsus inter se conveniunt. Ecclesia Anglicana optimo concilio, exemplo ab omnibus imitando, nullius conscientiae, his in rebus, jugum imponit. Quæ de illis in articulis suis statuerit, talia sunt, ut ab omnibus ex æquo admittantur. His contenta, nec ipsa, aliquid amplius requirit curiosius statuere. Hinc summa inter nos pax cum sobria sentiendi libertate conjuncta. Utinam et vobis iisdem conditionibus, concordia stabiliat! Utque veteri confessione vestra Helvetica contenti, neque alicui permitteretis aliter docere; neque ab aliquo quidpiam profitendum requiretis, ultra id quod ab initio requisitum fuerit. Cum tamen summi illi viri Calvinus et Beza, (ut de aliis taceatur,) secus de his articulis sentirent, quam alii plures; quos tamen non solum tolerandos, sed et pro fratribus habendos rite ac sapienter judicarunt.

Hoc vobis non modo pacem inter vos ipsos conciliabit, verum etiam concordiam cum aliis ecclesiis reformatis sartam tectam tuebitur. Absque hujusmodi temperamine, unio illa cum Protestantibus, tantopere desiderata, nullo modo iniri poterit : vos, igitur, serio hæc, ut par est, considerate : nec a nobis, plerisque aliis reformatis, etiam a vestris antecessoribus novis ac durioribus impositionibus secedite, &c. &c.

N. B. The former part of this letter, which relates to the intercession of Archbishop WAKE in behalf of the Hungarian and Piedmontese churches, has never been hitherto published. The latter part, beginning with these words, — Interim dum hæc feliciter peraguntur, ignoscite, &c. was inserted by professor Turretin of Geneva, in his work entitled *Nubes Testium*. The words, Interim dum hæc, &c. were, from an ignorance of their connexion with what goes before, supposed by some learned men to relate to the projected union between the English and Gallican churches; and Kiorningius, who says in his *Dissertatio De Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum*, that Dr. Wake communicated this project to the divines of Geneva, fell into this mistake, and probably drew Dr. Mosheim after him.

No. XXI.—*Extract from Archbishop Wake's Letter to Professor Schurer at Berne, July, 1718.*

DE Anglia nostra te peramanter et sentire et scribere plurimum gaudeo. Quamquam enim non adeo cæcus sim patriæ meæ amator, ut non plurima hic videam quæ vel penitus sublata vel in melius mutata quovis pretio vellem, tamen aliqua etiam in hac temporum fæce occurrere, optimis etiam seculis digna, et quæ ipsa primæva ecclesia Christiana probare, ne dicam et laudare, potuisset, et tu æquissime agnoscis et nos nobis gratulamur.

No. XXII.—*To Professor Turretin, July, 1718.*

Speaking of Bishop Davenant's opinion as agreeable to his own ;

UTINAM sic sentiremus omnes ! Et fundamentalibus religionis articulis semper salvis, nihil ultra ab aliquo subscribendum requireremus, quod bonorum hominum conscientiis oneri esse potest, certe ecclesiæ utilitatem parum promovebit.—Ut enim de hac ecclesiarum reformatarum utilitate paucis dicam : primum earum stabilimentum in hoc consistere ut omnes sese, quantum fieri possit, contra papalem potentiam ac tyrannidem tueantur, nemini credo dubium esse possit. Ut in hunc finem quam arctissime inter se uniantur, et in idem corpus coalescant ; adeo ut siquid aliqua ex iis ecclesiæ damni aut detrimenti a communi hoste fuerit illatum, id ab omnibus tanquam suum haberetur, concedi etiam necesse est.

Ut denique pax et concordia cujuslibet ecclesiæ reformatæ inter suos, ac cum aliis omnibus ejusmodi ecclesiis conservetur ; unicuique viro bono, sed præsertim ecclesiarum illarum magistratibus atque ministris totis viribus enitendum esse, adeo clare apparet, ut nulla probatione firmiori indigeat.

Afterwards :

Quid in hac re aliud faciendum restat, nisi ut tua et amicorum tuorum auctoritate primo facultas vestra theologica, magistratus, ministri, cives Genevenses ; deinde eorum exemplo atque hortatu reliqua etiam fœderis Helvetici membra Reformatæ omnem lapidem moveant, ut pacem ecclesiis Bernensibus restituant ? Neque id ego sic fieri vellem, ut non simul et religionis veritati et doctrinæ puritati consulatur. Subscribant ministri, professores, theologi, confessioni vestræ veteri, anno

editæ : prohibeantur, sub quavislibet pœna, ne ullam in concionibus, scriptis, thesibus, prælectionibus sententiam publice tueantur illi confessioni quovis modo contrarium. Id solum caveatur, ne multiplicentur hujusmodi subscriptiones absque necessitate ; neque stricte nimis inquiratur in privatas hominum eruditorem sententias ; modo suis opinionibus frui pacifice velint ; et neque docendo, neque disputando, neque scribendo, a publica confessione secedere, aut errores suos (si tamen errores revera fuerit) in scandalum cujusvis, multo magis ecclesiæ aut rei publicæ divulgare.—Hæbe, vir spectatissime, sententiam meam.

No. XXIII.—*Extract from a Letter of Archbishop Wake to Professor Schurer, at Berne, July 1719.*

Quæ de formula consensus mihi narras, abunde placent : qui uti nolim laqueum absque causa injici conscientiis bonorum atque eruditorum hominum ; ita neque fræna laxanda censeo quibuscunque novatoribus ad pacem publice turbandam ; eaque vel scribenda vel docenda, quæ viris piis jure scandalum præbeant, quæque confessioni vestræ olim stabilitæ falsitates notam injuria inurere videantur. Intra hos igitur limites si steterint magistratus vestri, neque aliquid amplius a Lausannensibus requirant, nisi ut hoc demum fine formulæ consensus subscribant ; sperandum est nullum schisma, ea de causa, inter vos exoriturum. Pacem publicam tueri, etiam in rebus ad fidem spectantibus, magistratus Christianus et potest et debet, conscientiis hominum credenda imponere, nisi in rebus claris et perspicuis, et ad salutem omnino necessariis nec potest, nec debet. Quod si contra faciat, subditis tamen semper licebit ad apostolorum exemplar, si quidem aliquid falsi, aut incertæ veritatis iis subscribendum injunxerint, obedire Deo potius quam hominibus.

No. XXIV.—*Extracts from Archbishop Wake's Letter to Professor Turretin, in answer to one from him, dated December 1, 1718.*

RES Bernensium ecclesiasticas nondum penitus tranquillæ esse et doleo et miror ; eoque magis, quod hæc temporibus hæc de decretis divinis alterationis ubique fere alibi ad exitum sint perductæ. Quæ mea sit de iis sententia, nec adhuc cuiquam aperti declaravi, neque, ut deinceps patefaciam, facile me patiar induci. Hoc apud nos, tum ex mandatis regiis, tum ex diu servata (utinam semper servanda) consuetudine fixum est etque stabilitum, neque a quoquam exquirere quid de his rebus sentiat, modo articulis religionis, publica auctoritate constitutis, subscribat : neque in conscionibus aut etiam disputationibus theologicis, aliquid amplius de iis determinare, quam quod illi articuli expresse statuunt et ab omnibus ad ministerii munus admittendis profitendum requirant.

Then follows an historical narrative of the rise, and occasion, and censure of the Lambeth articles ; as also of the rise and progress of Arminianism under the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and of the subsiding of all disputes of that kind under Charles II.—He then subjoins :

Et quidem illud imprimis observatu dignum æstimo quam moderate quam prudenter, in hæc tam difficili disquisitione, optimi illi viri, martyres ac confessores Christi constantissimi, quos Divina Providentia ad reformandam hanc nostram ecclesiam seligere dignatus est, se gesserunt. Non illi curiositati cujusvis aliquid indulgendum putarunt ; non sed incertis hominum hypothëribus de decretis divinis alicujus fidem alligare fas esse censuerunt. Sciebant quam inscrutabilia sint consilia Dei ; et quanto intervallo omnes nostras cogitationes exsuperant. Ideoque non religiose minus quam sapienter inter justos terminos sese continuerunt ; neque in necessariis ad fidem nostram de hisce mysteriis stabilendum deficientes ; neque in non necessariis determinandis officiosi ; unde forte pro vera fide errorem, pro pace discordiam, pro fraterna unione ac charitate divisionem, odia, inimicitias in ecclesiam Christi inducere poterant.

Hæc fuit eorum simplicitas vere evangelica ; pietate non minus quam sapientia commendabilis ; eoque magis suspicienda, ac fere pro divina habenda, quod tot annorum experientia reperta sit non solum optimam fuisse pacis ac concordie regulam, verum etiam unicum contra schismata et divisiones remedium.

Speaking afterwards of the Consensus, he adds :

Sunt igitur, horum articulorum pars maxima illius generis, in quibus ad invicem dissentire nobis omnibus liceat, absque dispendio veritatis. Quia sunt ejusmodi de quibus Deus concilium suum non adeo clare aut præcisè revalaverit, quin etiam eruditissimi atque perspicacissimi viri in suis de iis determinationibus errare possint, aut potius nunquam certi esse possunt se non errasse. Quid vero imprudens, quid arrogantius, quid denique humiliter, non jam dico Christianiorum, sed et hominum non nimium sibi blandientium indignum esset, quam de rebus adeo

obscuris, adeo incertis, adeo inter ipsos ejusdem communionis symmystas adhuc litigatis, distincte aliquid definire: et ab aliis auferre eam quam nos nobis quasi jure nostro asserimus sentiendi libertatem? O quantum potuit insana *φλαυρία*! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido? Benedictus Deus, qui alium plerumque, in hoc nostro orbe, animum indiderit!

No. XXV.—*Archbishop Wake's Letter to M. Jablonski, in answer to the two following Questions:*

An de unione evangelicorum cum ecclesia Romana agendum sit?

Vcl,

An omnis ea de re tractatio tanquam periculosa et fallax omnino sit evitanda?

Quod de fœdere nescio quo cum pontificiis ineundo scribis somnare temerarios quosdam apud vos homines suæ tranquillitatis magis quam veritatis amatores; non possum non mirari equod inde commodi ecclesiis reformatis proponunt. Adeone ulli e nostris aut incognita aut inexpertæ est Romanensium superbia atque tyrannis, ut credatur vel illos a suo fastigio potestatis, ac infallibilitatis, nostri gratia, sese dimissuros, vel nos eorum causa ad servitutem tam diu rejectam ultro iterum redituros? Hoc tam perniciosum, tam infame facinus, ab animis omnium nostrorum longe avertat Deus! Imo potius bona, patriam, parentes, omnia relinquamus quam ut sic inveniamur *ἑρεσυχούους ἀπίστοις*; (quidni enim ipsis hic apostoli vocibus utar?)

Neque tamen sic intelligi vellem quasi omnem omnino de pace tractatum etiam cum pontificiis refugiendum putarem. Tractemus, si libet: sed ut decet, cum æqualibus! Neque aut nos in illos potestatem indebitam nobis arrogamus, neque illis in nos concedamus. Christiani sunt illi? et nos Christiani. Catholici? et nos Catholici. Errare nos possumus? etiam illi possunt errare. Liberi sunt illi a dominio nostro? neque nos illis ulla in re subditi sumus. Si igitur cum illis omnino sit agendum, ante omnia necesse fuerit in prævias conditiones tractandi convenire; utque mutuo statuatur, nullum esse inter eos vel inter nos infallibilitatis prærogativam, alterutri nostrum a Christo concessam: posse utrinque errari, forte et utrinque erratum esse. Utrorumque ergo dogmata libere examinanda, et ad amussim verbi Dei exigenda. Renuntiandum insuper pretensæ auctoritati tum summi quem vocant pontificis, tum ecclesiæ Romanæ in alias Christi ecclesias; ut sic, ab eorum dominatione tuti, ex æquo cum illis agere possimus. De pluribus atque præcipuis doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus, in quibus utrinque consentimus, nulla lis erit. De cæteris consideretur imprimis quousque invicem concordari valeat; et in quibus nondum in eandem sententiam concurriri potest, quæraturo porro, an talia sint, quæ salve pace mutuo tolerari nequeant. Si hoc conveniatur, quæraturo denique de liturgia publica, an talem nobis exhiberi curabunt, ut omnes simul ad eundem Dei cultum amici accedere valeamus. Si qui sint Romanæ ecclesiæ symmystæ adeo æqui, ut his conditionibus sincere nobiscum agere velint, non video cur ab eorum colloquio abstineamus. Absque hujusmodi stipulatione præmissa frustra cum iis tractabimus: nisi sub pacis conciliandæ prætextu veritate renuntiare decreverimus.

Habes, vir clarissimè, meam qualemcunque hæc de re sententiam: extemporaneam quidem illam, nec pro materiæ dignitate satis ponderatam; sed tamen justam, et, nisi ego plurimum fallor, talem a qua absque extremo periculo nunquam a nostris discedi possit. Faxit Deus, ut in hisce considerandis non tamen nostra quæramus quam ea quæ sint Jesu Christi! Nec adeo hujus seculi pacem amemus, ut futuri præmia amittamus. Tibi, vir præstantissime, sapientiam, prudentiam, eruditionem non vulgarem concessit Deus: etiam constantiam in veritate tuenda, pro qua tanta et huc usque passus fueris, et deinceps pati te paratum ostendis. Tuo itaque exemplo alios instruas, neque concordiam atque unionem cum ullis Christi discipulis, ubi justis conditionibus iniri possit, pertinaciter refugere; neque iniquis conditionibus stolidè timideve admittere: aut vana spe pacis delinisti, ad servitutis papalis jugum colla submittere, quod neque nos, neque patres nostri ferre potuere. Hoc tam grave scandalum, tam perniciosam prævaricationem ab ecclesiis reformatis ut semper avertat Deus, summo adore precatur, spectatissime vir, frater tuus in Christo colendissimus, &c.

Maii 22, 1719.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

ADVERTISEMENT.

[The following Tables have been compiled, with much attention and pains, from the best Authors; and it is therefore hoped, that they will be considered as a useful addition to Dr. Mosheim's work; and the more so, as they are not confined to the persons and things contained in it.

The dates placed after the Sovereign Princes and Popes are designed to mark the year of their decease.

As several of the Ecclesiastical and Theological Writers, mentioned in these Tables, deserve a place also among Profane Authors, on account of their Philosophical, Literary, or Historical Productions; so their names will be repeated under the two distinct heads that contain the learned men of each century.

It is further to be observed, that the Romish Church, even long before the time of the Reformation, looked upon many persons as *Heretics*, whom we, on our principles, cannot consider in the same light, and whose doctrines really tended to promote that Reformation in which we glory. I have, therefore, in many places, added the words *real or reputed after Heretics*, rather than seem to submit to the decisions of a superstitious church in this matter.]

CENTURY I.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Roman Emperors*.—Augustus, A.D. 14.—Tiberius, 37.—Caligula, 41.—Claudius, 54.—Nero, 68.—Galba, 69.—Otho, 69.—Vitellius, 70.—Vespasian, 79.—Titus, 81.—Domitian, 96.—Nerva, 98.

POPE, or BISHOPS OF ROME.—The succession of the first bishops of Rome is a matter full of intricacy and obscurity. We shall herein follow the learned Bishop Pearson:—Linus.—Anacletus.—Clement.—Evaristus.—Alexander.—The dates of the deaths of the Roman pontiffs are not the same in the accounts of chronologers. Petau, Fleury, Pearson, Marcel, Pfaff, Bower, Lenglet, and others, differ frequently in this respect; and their differences sometimes are considerable. For example, the death of Pope Anicetus is placed by Petau and Lenglet in the year 161, by Pearson and Pfaff in 162, by Fleury, Walch, and Bower, in 168. As it is impossible to reconcile these historians, and difficult often to decide which calculates best, we shall follow Pearson and Pfaff as the surest guides.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—The Evangelists and Apostles.—The three Apostolical Fathers, Clement, Barnabas, Hermas.—Philo the Jew.—Flavius Josephus.—These are almost all the genuine ecclesiastical writers of the first century that are now extant. For the letter of Jesus Christ to Abgarus, king of Edessa—the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Liturgies, that have (besides those which we esteem canonical) been attributed to the Apostles—as also the Epistles of Mary to Ignatius and others—the Acts of Pilate—the Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, &c. must be considered as apocryphal and spurious.—The works that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, were forged in the fifth century.

HERETICS.—Dositheus.—Simon Magus.—The Gnostics.—Cerinthus.—Hymenæus.—Philetus, who, together with Demas and Diotrephes, are rather to be considered as apostates than as heretics.—The Nicolaitans.—Ebion.—The Nazarenes.—N.B. The Ebionites and Nazarenes, though generally placed by the learned in the first century, yet belong more properly to the second.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The tax of Augustus Cæsar.—The birth of Christ.—The offerings presented to Jesus Christ by the wise men from the East.—The four

passovers celebrated by Christ.—John the Baptist beheaded.—Christ's miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension.—The descent of the Holy Ghost.—St. Stephen, the first martyr.—The conversion of St. Paul.—Institution of Agapæ, or Feasts of charity.—Baptism is administered by immersion.—Several Christian churches founded.—The first persecution, under Nero.—The oracles reduced to silence, a dubious, or rather a fabulous story.—The destruction of Jerusalem.—The accounts of a dispute between St. Peter and Simon the magician, at Rome, and of a statue having been erected to the latter in that city, seem idle fictions.—The second persecution of the Christians under Domitian.—St. John thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, a dubious story.—The adventures of Apollonius Tyaneus.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Titus Livius.—Germanicus.—Gratius.—Ovid.—Julius Hyginus.—Labeo.—Valerius Maximus.—Phædrus.—Verrius Flaccus.—Strabo.—Dionysius of Alexandria.—Seneca the rhetorician.—Seneca the philosopher and poet.—Vell. Paterculus.—Cremutius Isidore, of Charax.—Celsus, physician.—Massur. Sabinus.—Didymus of Alexandria.—Cocceius Nerva.—Philo the Jew.—Pomponius Mela.—Columella.—Remm. Palæon.—Votienus.—Servilius Marcus.—Annæus Cornutius.—Lucan.—Andromachus.—Petronius.—Persius.—Epictetus.—Dioscorides.—Flavius Josephus.—Silius Italicus.—Valerius Flaccus.—Pliny the elder.—Pliny the younger.—Ascan. Pedianus.—Plin. Valerianus.—Juvenal.—Martial.—Statius.—Sext. Jul.—Frontinus.—Quintilian.—Dion. Chrysostom.—Tacitus.—Phlegon.—Appian.—Trogus Pompeius.—Athenodorus.

CENTURY II.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Roman Emperors.*—Trajan, A.D. 117.—Adrian, 138.—Anton. Pius, 161.—M. Antoninus, 180.—Lucius Verus, 180.—Commodus, 192.—Pertinax, 193.—Did. Julianus, 193.—Niger, 194.—Albinus, 198.—Severus.

POPEs, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Xystus or Sextus, A.D. 127.—Telesphorus, 138.—Hyginus, 150.—Pius I., 153.—Anicetus, 162.—Soter, 172.—Eleutherius, 185.—Victor I., 196.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Ignatius of Antioch.—Poly-carp.—Justin Martyr.—Hegesippus.—Theophilus of Antioch, the first who made use of the word Trinity to express the distinction of what divines call persons in the Godhead. The Christian church is very little obliged to him for his invention. The use of this and other unscriptural terms, to which men attach either no ideas, or false ones, has wounded charity and peace without promoting truth and knowledge. It has produced heresies of the very worst kind.—Melito.—Tatian.*—Papias.—Apollinaris.—Hermæus.—Athenagoras.—Clemens Alexandrinus.—Tertullian.—Aquila.—Theodotian.—Symmachus.—Hermes.—The unknown author of the Sibylline Oracles.—Irenæus.—Polycrates.—Dionysius of Corinth.—Pantænus.—Quadratus.—Add to these several fragments of writings of some of the principal heretics mentioned in the following paragraph. These fragments are collected by Cotelierus, Grabe, &c.

HERETICS.—Nazarenes.—Gnostics.—Cainites.—Elxai.—Saturninus.—Millen-narians.—Basilides.—Isidore, jun.—Carpocrates and followers.—Marcellina and Epiphanes.—Prodicus, the chief of the Adamites.—Valentine and followers.—*Tatian, supposed to be chief of the Encratites, Hydroparastates, and Apotactites.—Ptolemy.—Secundus.—Cerdo.—Marcion.—Florinus.—Docetæ, or Phantasiasts.—Melitonians.—Saccophori.—Severians.—Ophites.—Artotyrites.—Theodotus, the chief of the Alogi.—Montanus.—Tertullian.—Priscilla and Maximilla, called Montanists, Cataphryges, and Pepuzians.—The Sethites and Abelites.—Hera-cleon.—Bassus.—Colobarsus.—Blastus, Mark.—Valentinians.—Bardesanes.—Hermogenes.—Apelles.—Praxeas, the chief of Patropassians.—Seleucus.—Her-meas.—Artemon.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Third persecution under Trajan, mitigated by the intercession of Pliny the younger.—Fourth persecution under Adrian.—Fifth persecution under Antoninus Pius, continued under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.—Conversion of the Germans and Gauls, and (if we may give credit to Bede) of the Britons.—Thundering Legion, a dubious event.—Insurrections of the Jews against the Romans.—The sedition and slaughter of that people under the stand-

ards of Barcocheba, the false Messiah.—The Jews driven from Jerusalem.—Horrible calumnies thrown out against the Christians by Lucian, Crescens, Celsus, and the Pagans in general.—The perusal of the Sibylline oracles prohibited by an imperial edict.—Christian assemblies are held on Sundays, and other stated days, in private houses, and in the burying places of martyrs.—Infant baptism, and sponsors used.—Various festivals and fasts established.—A distinction formed between bishops and presbyters, who, with the deacons and readers, are the only orders of ecclesiastics known in this century.—Sign of the cross and anointing used.—The custom of praying towards the east introduced.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Arrian.—Aulus Gellius.—Plutarch.—Florus.—Celsus the lawyer.—Enomaus.—Philo of Phœnicia.—Ptolemy the astronomer and geographer.—Salvius Julianus.—Suetonius.—Apollonius the philosopher.—Appian.—Fronto.—Maximus Tyrius.—Taurus Calvisius.—Apuleius.—Artemidorus.—Lucian.—Numenes.—Pausanias.—Polæmus.—Sextus Empiricus.—Athenæus.—Julius Pollux.—Diogenes Laërtius.—Gallienus.—Ammonius Saccas.—Priscus.—Cephalion.—Aristides.—Hermogenes, who, at the age of 17, published his Rhetoric; at 20, his book on Ideas; and at 25, is said to have forgot all he had learned.—Justin Martyr.—Theophilus of Antioch.—Chrysorus.—Marcus Antoninus.—Harpocration.—Polyænus.—Athenagoras.—Celsus the philosopher.—Julius Solinus.—Plotinus.—Papinian.

CENTURY III.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Roman Emperors*.—Severus, A.D. 211.—Caracalla, 217.—Geta, 212.—Macrinus, 218.—Heliogabalus, 222.—Severus Alexander, 235.—Maximin, 237.—Gordian I., II., 237.—Pupienus, Balbinus, 238.—Gordian III., 244.—Philip the Arabian, supposed to have been the first Christian emperor, 250.—Decius, 252.—Gallus Volusianus, 253.—Æmilianus, 253.—Valerian, 259.—Gallienus, 268.—Claudius II., 270.—Quintilian, 270.—Aurelian, 275.—Tacitus, 275.—Florianus, 276.—Probus, 282.—Carus, 283.—Carinus Numerianus, 284.—Diocletian.—Maximian.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Zephyrinus, A.D. 219.—Callixtus, 224.—Urban, 231.—Pontianus, 235.—Anterus, 236.—Fabianus, 251.—Cornelius, 254. A contest between him and Novatian.—Lucius, 256.—Stephen, 258.—Sextus II., 259.—Dionysius, 270.—Felix, 275.—Eutychianus, 283.—Caius Marcellinus, 296.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—The author of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas.—Minutius Felix.—Hippolytus.—Ammonius.—Julius Africanus.—Origen.—Cyprian.—Novatian.—Gregor. Thaum.—Dionysius of Alexandria.—Pamphilus.—Anatolius.—Arnobius Africanus.—Commodianus.—Archelaus.—Lucianus.—Hesychius.—Methodius.—Theognostus.—Malchion.—Paul of Samosata.—Stephen R. Pont.—Eusebius, a deacon of Alexandria.—Dionysius R. Pont.—Basilides, bishop of Pentapolis.—Victorinus.—Prudentius.

HERETICS.—Adelphius.—Aquilinus.—Manes, the chief of the Manicheans.—Hierax.—Noetus.—Sabellius.—Beryllus.—Paul of Samosata.—Novatians.—Patropassians.—Arabians.—Cathari.—Valesians.—Privatus.—A schism between Stephen and Cyprian, concerning the re-baptizing of heretics.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Sixth persecution under Severus, in which Leonidas, Irenæus, Victor, bishop of Rome, Perpetua, Felicitas, and others, suffer martyrdom.—Seventh persecution under Maximin.—Eighth under Decius, in which Fabianus the Roman pontiff, Babylas, Alexander, and others, suffer martyrdom.—Ninth persecution under Valerian, in which Cyprian, Lucius, Stephen I., Sixtus I., and Laurentius, suffer.—Tenth persecution under Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Maximin, is much more cruel than the preceding, and famous for the martyrdom of the Theban legion, which however is a very dubious story.—The Jewish Talmud and Targum composed. The Jews are allowed to return into Palestine.—Jewish schools erected at Babylon, Sora, and other places.—Remarkable deaths of persecutors related by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Lucius Cæcilius.—Many illustrious men and Roman senators converted to Christianity.—The origin of the monastic life derived from the austere manners of Paul the Theban, the first hermit.—Diocletian assumes the name and honours due to Jupiter, and orders the

people to worship him.—Religious rites multiplied in this century; altars used; wax tapers employed.—Public churches, called in Greek *Kupiarâ*, built for divine worship.—The Pagan mysteries injudiciously imitated in many respects by Christians.—The tasting of milk and honey previous to baptism, and the person anointed before and after that holy rite, receives a crown, and goes arrayed in white for some time after.—Story of seven sleepers of Ephesus, and martyrdom of Ursula, and 11,000 British virgins, principal fables invented in this century.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Ælius Maurus.—Oppian the poet.—Quintus Seren. Sammonicus.—Julius Africanus.—Acolus.—Dion Cassius.—Ulpian.—Ephorus.—Censorinus.—C. Curius Fortunatus.—Herodian.—Nicagoras.—Quadratus.—Amelius.—Gentilianus.—Erennius.—Dixippus.—Cassius Longinus.—Julius Capitolinus.—Ælius Lampridius.—Trebellius.—Pollio.—Porphyry.—Ælius Spartianus.—Flavius Vopiscus.—M. Aurel. Olymp. Nemesianus.—Alexander, a Greek philosopher.—Philostratus.—Julius Paulus.—Sextus Pompeius.

CENTURY IV.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Roman Emperors*.—Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire, A.D. 305.—Galerius, 311.—Constantius, 306.—Constantine the Great, 337.—His adversaries, Maximin, 313.—Maxentius, 312.—Licinius, 325.—Constantine II., 338.—Constantian, 361.—Constans, 350.—Julian the apostate, 363.—Jovian, 364.—Valentinian, 375.—Valens, 378.—Gratian, 383.—Valentinian II., 392.—Theodosius the Great, 395.—The division of the Roman empire into the Eastern and Western Empires.—*The Visigoths settle in Gaul and Spain about the latter end of this century*.—Athanaric, 382.—Alaric.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Marcellinus, A.D. 304.—Marcellus, 309.—Eusebius, 311.—Melchiades, 313.—Sylvester, 335.—Mark, 336.—Julius, 352.—Liberius, 367. A schism between Liberius and Felix.—Damasus, 384. A new schism between this pontiff and Ursinus.—Syricius, 398.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Lactantius Firm.—Lucius Cæcilius.—Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre.—Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea.—Constantine the Great.—Eustathius, bishop of Antioch.—Commodianus.—Alexander, bishop of Alexandria.—Juvencus.—Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.—Antonius, who, with Paul the hermit, was the first institutor of the monastic life.—Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra.—Theodore, bishop of Heraclea.—Julius, bishop of Rome.—J. Fir. Maternus.—Pachomius.—Eusebius, bishop of Emessa.—Serapion.—Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem.—Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers.—Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari.—Phœbadius, bishop of Agen.—Eunomius.—Zeno, bishop of Verona.—Titus, bishop of Bostra.—Damasus, bishop of Rome.—Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis.—Optatus, bishop of Milevi.—Pacianus.—Marius Victorinus.—Liberius, bishop of Rome.—Ephraim the Syrian.—Didymus of Alexandria.—Basil, bishop of Cæsarea.—Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum.—Gregory, bishop of Nyssa.—Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium.—Hegesippus.—Apollinarius, father and son.—Eusebius, bishop of Verceil.—Diodore, bishop of Tarsus.—Proba Falconia.—The three Macarii.—Ambrose.—Jerome.—Ruffinus.—Philastrus.—Paulinus, bishop of Nola.—Augustin.—John Chrysostom.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—The Manichæans, disguised under the denominations of Encratites, Apotactites, Saccophori, Hydroparastates, and Solitaries.—Arius and his followers, who were divided into Eunomians, Semiarrians, Eusebians, Homoiousians or Acacians, and Peathyrians.—Photinus.—Apollinarius, father and son.—Macedonius.—Anthropomorphites.—Priscillian.—Andæus.—Messalians, or Euchites.—Collyridians.—Eustathians.—Colluthus.—Helvidius.—Bonosus.—Vigilantius.—Three schisms of the Meletians, Luciferians, and Donatists.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Tenth persecution continued.—Athanasians or orthodox persecuted by Constantius, who was an Arian, and by Valens, who ordered 80 of their deputies, all ecclesiastics, to be put on board a ship, to which fire was set as soon as it was got clear of the coast.—Christians persecuted by Sapor.—Supposed conversion of Constantine the Great, by a vision representing a fiery cross in the air.—First general council held at Nice in 325. In it the opinions of

Arius were condemned, and popes declared equal in dignity with other Christian bishops.—Second general council held in 381, at Constantinople, in which the errors of Macedonius are condemned.—Remarkable progress of the Christian religion among the Indians, Goths, Marcomanni, and Iberians.—Famous donation of Constantine in favour of the Roman see: mere fable.—Miraculous defeat of Eugenius by Theodosius.—Julian's attempt to invalidate the predictions of the prophets, by encouraging the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, defeated by an earthquake and fiery eruption. See Bishop of Gloucester's interesting and ingenious work, entitled, *Julian, or a Discourse*, &c.—Theodosius the Great obliged by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, to do public penance for the slaughter of the Thessalonians.—Eucharist, during this century, administered in some places to infants and persons deceased.—Something like the doctrine of transubstantiation held, and ceremony of the elevation used in the celebration of the Eucharist.—Council of Elvira in Spain, held in 305, not only solemnly forbids the adoration of pictures or images, but even prohibits the use of them.—Use of incense and the censor, with several other superstitious rites, introduced.—Churches considered as externally holy, saints invoked, images used, and the cross worshipped.—Clerical order augmented by new ranks of ecclesiastics, such as archdeacons, country bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, exarchs, &c.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Ælius Donatus.—Servius.—Helladius.—Andronicus.—Nonius.—Marcellus.—Sext. Aurelius Victor.—Maximus of Smyrna, who is supposed to have taught the Emperor Julian magic.—Oribases.—Eutropius.—Libanius.—Ausonius.—Pappus, the famous mathematician.—Prudentius.—Rufus.—Festus Avenius.—Themistius.—Flavius Vegetius.—Hierocles.—Julian.—Ammianus Marcellinus.—Symmachus.—Lactantius.—Jamblichus.—Ælius Lampridius.—Eusebius of Cesarea.—Jul. Firmicus Maternus.—Chalcidius.—Pomponius Festus.—Quintus Curtius.—Macrobius.

CENTURY V.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the West*.—Honorius, A.D. 423.—Valentinian, 455.—Maximus, 455.—Avitus, 456.—Majoranus, 461.—Severus, 465.—Anthemius, 472.—Olybrius, 472.—Glycerius deposed in 474.—Julius Nepos deposed in 475.—Romulus Augustulus, who reigned till the 23rd of August, when Odoacer took the title of king of Italy, and put an end to the western empire.—*Kings of Italy*.—Odoacer, 493.—Theodoric.—*Emperors of the East*.—Arcadius, 408.—Theodosius II., 450.—Marcianus, 457.—Leo I., 474.—Leo II., 474.—Zeno Isaur., 491.—Anastasius.—*Gothic Kings of Spain*.—Alaric, 411.—Ataulphus, 415.—Sigeric, 415.—Vallia, 420.—Theodoric, 451.—Thorismond, 452.—Theodoric II., 466.—Euric, 484.—Alaric II.—*Kings of France*.—Pharamond, first king, 420.—Clodion, 451.—Merovæus, 456.—Childeric, 481.—Clovis I.—*The Kings of the Vandals in Africa, where they settled in the year 429*.—Genserik, 466.—Huneric, 484.—Gontamond, 496.—Thrasamond.—*Kings of England*.—Vortigern.—Kingdom of Kent founded by Hengist the Saxon, in 457, that of Sussex by Ælla, in 491.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Anastasius, A.D. 402.—Innocent, 417.—Zosimus, 418.—Boniface I., 423.—A schism between this pope and Eulalius.—Celestine I., 432.—Sextus III., 440.—Leo the Great, 461.—Hilarius, 467.—Simplicius, 483.—Felix III., 492.—Gelasius, 496.—Anastasius II., 498.—Symmachus I.—A schism between him and Laurentius.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Gaudentius, bishop of Bresse.—Sulpicius Severus.—Palladius.—Heraclides.—Innocentius.—Polybius.—Pelagius.—Cœlestius.—Theodore, bishop of Mopsuesta.—Polychronius.—Nonnus.—Synesius.—Isidore of Pelusium.—Cyril of Alexandria.—Orosius.—Marius Mercator.—Maximus, bishop of Turin.—Theodore.—Cassian.—Peter Chrysologus.—Hilarius.—Philostorgius.—Vincent of Lerins.—Socrates.—Sozomenes.—Leo the Great.—Prosper.—Idacius.—Basil.—Seleucus.—Arnobius the younger.—Claudian Mamertus.—Faustus.—Felix the Roman pontiff.—Vigilius Tapsensis, supposed by some learned men to have been the author of what is commonly called

the Athanasian Creed.—Victor the African.—Gennadius.—Zosimus.—Prosper.—Sidonius Apollinar.—Æneas Gaza.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—Vigilantius.—Pelagius, Cœlestius, Julian, authors of what is called the Pelagian heresy.—John Cassian, Faustus, Gennadius, Vincent of Lerins, Semi-Pelagians.—Nestorius, Theodoret, Theodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsus, Nestorians.—Eutyches.—Dioscorus.—The Acephali—Monophysites.—Jacobites.—Armenians.—The Theopaschites—Predestinarians—Cœlicolæ.—Peter the Fuller.—Xenaias.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, or rather by Clovis.—An earthquake, which swallows up several cities in Palestine.—Third general council held at Ephesus, at which Nestorius was deposed, in 431.—Fourth general council held at Chalcedon, against Eutyches, in 451.—Progress of Christianity among the Franks and Germans.—Conversion of the Irish to the Christian faith attempted in vain by Palladius, but effected by St. Patrick, whose original name was Succathus, who arrived in Ireland in 432.—Terrible persecutions carried on against the Christians in Britain, by the Picts, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons;—in Spain, Gaul, and Africa, by the Vandals;—in Italy and Pannonia, by the Visigoths;—in Africa, by the Donatists and Circumcellians;—in Persia, by Isdegerdes;—besides the particular persecutions carried on alternately against the Arians and Athanasians.—Extinction of the western empire.—Theodosian code drawn up.—City of Venice founded by the inhabitants of the adjacent coast, who fled from the incursion of the barbarians.—Felix III., bishop of Rome (whom Bower and others look upon as the second pope of that name), is excommunicated, and his name struck out of the diptychs, or sacred registers, by Acacius, bishop of Constantinople.—Many ridiculous fables invented during this century, such as the story of the phial of oil, brought from heaven by a pigeon, at the baptism of Clovis.—Vision of Attala, &c.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Anienus.—Martianus Capella.—Claudian.—Eunapius.—Macrobius.—Olympiodorus.—Orosius.—Peutinger.—Rutilius Claudius Numanianus.—Servius Honoratus.—Sidonius Apollinaris.—Candidus the Isaurian.—Zosimus the historian.—Idacius.—Quintus, or Cointus.—Priscus.—Mæseus.—Proclus.—Simplicius.

CENTURY VI.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Kings of Italy*.—Theodoric, A.D. 526.—Athalaric, 534.—Amalasuntha, 534.—Theodatus, 536.—Vitiges, 540.—Ildebal, 541.—Totila, 553.—Tejas, 554.—*Emperors of the East*.—Anastasius, 518.—Justin I., 527.—Justinian, 565.—Justin II., 578.—Tiberius II., 586.—Mauritius.—*Gothic Kings of Spain*.—Alaric, 507.—Gesalric, 512.—Amalaric, 531.—Theuda, 548.—Theudisilla, 548.—Agili, 552.—Athanagilda, 567.—Linva, 568.—Leunigild, 585.—Richard.—These princes were masters also of Narbonne and Aquitaine.—*Kings of England*.—Third Saxon kingdom founded in England by Cerdic, in 514, and called the kingdom of the West Saxons.—Fourth, that of the East Saxons, by Erchenwen, in 527.—Fifth, that of Northumberland, by Ida, in 547.—Sixth, that of the East Angles, by Effa, in 575.—Seventh, that of Mercia, by Crida, in 582.—Thus was successively formed the Saxon Heptarchy.—*Kings of France*.—Clovis I., 511.—Kingdom divided between his four sons, viz., Thierry, Metz, 534.—Clodomir, Orleans, 524.—Childebert, Paris, 558.—Clotaire, Soissons, 562.—Second division of the kingdom between the four sons of Clotaire I., viz., Cherebert, Paris, 566.—Gontran, Orleans, 593.—Childeric, Soissons, 584.—Sigibert, Metz, 575.—*Kings of the Vandals in Africa*.—Thrasamond, 523.—Hilderic, 530.—Gillimer defeated and taken prisoner by Belisarius, in 534.—By this event Africa became again subject to the Emperors of the East.—*Kings of the Lombards who entered Italy* in 568.—Alboinus, 571.—Clephis, 573.—Antharis, 590.—Agilulf.—*Emperors of Ravenna*.—Longinus, 583.—Smaragdus, 588.—Romanus, 598.—Callinicus.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Symmachus, 514.—Hormisdas, 523.—John I., 526.—Felix IV., 529.—Boniface II., 531. A schism between Boniface and Dioscorus.—John II., 535.—Agapetus I., 536.—Silverius, 540. A schism between

Sylvester and Vigilius.—Vigilius, 555.—Pelagius I., 558.—John III., 572.—Benedict I., 577.—Pelagius II., 590.—Gregory I., 604.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Cæsarius, bishop of Arles.—Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa.—Boethius.—Timothy of Constantinople.—Ennodius.—Severus.—Cassiodorus.—Procopius.—Peter the Deacon.—Maxentius, a Scythian monk.—Dionysius the Little.—Fulgentius Ferrandus.—Marcellinus.—Zachary the Schoolman.—Hesychius.—Facundus Hermianus.—Pope Vigilius.—Rusticus, a Roman deacon.—Junilius Victor, of Capua.—Primasius.—Jornandes.—Liberatus Victor, the African.—Venantius Fortunatus.—Anastasius of Mount Sinai, afterwards bishop of Antioch.—John, the Schoolman.—Cosmas.—Gildas.—Leander.—John of Constantinople.—Columbanus.—Leontius Byzant.—Leontius of Cyprus.—Gregory the Great.—Isidorus of Seville.—Lucius Carinus.—Proclus Diadochus.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—Denterius.—Severus, leader of the Acephali.—Themistius, chief of the Agnoites, who maintained that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment.—Barsanians or Semi-dulites, who maintained that Christ had suffered only in appearance.—Jacob Zanzale, the chief of the Jacobites, or Monophysites.—John Philoponus, the chief of the Tritheists.—Damianists.—Origenists.—Corrupticolæ.—Accemetæ.—The Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians continue to raise troubles in the church.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Several nations converted to Christianity.—Canon of the mass established by Gregory the Great.—Benedictine order founded.—Forty Benedictine monks, with Augustin at their head, are sent into Britain by Gregory the Great, in 596, who convert Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the Christian faith.—Kingdom of the Ostrogoths destroyed by Justinian, who becomes master of Italy.—Lombards invade Italy in 568, and erect a new kingdom at Ticinum.—Christians are persecuted in several places.—Orthodox are oppressed by the emperor Anastasius, Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, &c.—Female convents are greatly multiplied in this century.—Litanies introduced into the church of France.—Arians driven out of Spain.—Superstition of the Stylites introduced by Simeon, the head of that crazy sect, who spent his life on the top of a pillar, and foolishly imagined that he would, by this trick, render himself agreeable to the Deity. The Romish writers say, he chose this lofty habitation (for the pillar was 36 cubits high) to avoid the multitude which crowded about him to see his miracles.—Christian era formed this century, by Dionysius the Little, who first began to count the course of time from the birth of Christ.—Justinian code, Pandect, Institutions, and Novellæ, collected and formed into a body.—Antioch, that was destroyed by an earthquake, is rebuilt by Justinian.—Fifth general council assembled at Constantinople, in 553, under Justinian I., in which the Origenists and the three chapters were condemned.

LEARNED MEN, HISTORIANS, PHILOSOPHERS, AND POETS.—Justinian.—Boethius.—Procopius.—Trebonian.—Agathias, who continued the history composed by Procopius.—Jornandes.—Gregory of Tours.—Marius, bishop of Avanches, an eminent historian.—Menander, the historian.—Stephen of Byzantium.—Magn. Aurelius Cassiodorus.—Dionysius the Little.

CENTURY VII.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East.*—Mauritius, A.D. 602.—Phocas, 610.—Heraclius, 641.—Constantine III., 641.—Heracianus, 642.—Constans II., 668.—Constantine IV., 685.—Leontius, 698.—Tiberius III., 703.—Justinian II.—*Kings of the Goths in Spain.*—Victoric.—Gondemar.—Sisebut, 621.—Reccared II., 621.—Suinthila, 631.—Sinenand, 636.—Chintila, 640.—Tulga, 642.—Cindevind, 649.—Recesuinthe, 672.—Vamba, 680.—Ervice, 687.—Egica.—*Kings of France.*—Clotaire II., 628.—Dagobert, 638.—Sigibert II., 654.—Clovis II., 660.—Clotaire III., 668.—Childeric II., 673.—Dagobert II., 679.—Theodoric III., 690.—Clovis III., 695.—Childebert III.—The race of the idle kings begins, with Theodoric III. and ends with Childeric III.—*England.*—The Heptarchy.—*Kings of the Lombards in Italy.*—Agilulph, 616.—Adaloaldus, 626.—Ariovaldus, 638.—Rotharis, 653.—Rodoald, 656.—Aripert, 662.—Gondipert, 662.—Grimoald, 673.—Garibald, 673.—Pertharit, 689.—Cunipert, 701.—*Exarchs of Ravenna.*—Samaragdus, 610.—John, 615.—Eleutherius, 617.—Isaac, 643.—Theo-

dorus Calliopa, 649.—Olympius, 650.—Theodorus Calliopa, 686.—Theodorus, 687.—Joannæ Plato, 702.

POPE, or BISHOPS OF ROME.—Sabinianus, 605.—Boniface III., 606.—Boniface IV., 614.—Deodatus, 617.—Boniface V., 625.—Honorius I., 638.—Severinus I., 639.—John IV., 641.—Theodorus I., 648.—Martin I., 655.—Eugenius I., 656.—Vitalianus, 671.—Adeodatus, 676.—Domnus, 678.—Agatho, 682.—Leo II., 684.—Benedict II., 685.—John V., 686.—Conon, 687.—Sergius I., 701.—A schism occasioned by the pretensions of Theodore and Paschalis.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Augustin, first archbishop of Canterbury, was nominated to that high office, in 597, by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, with the consent of Ethelbert, king of Canterbury. He died in 611.—Laurence, 619.—Mellitus, 624.—Justus, 634.—Honorius, 653.—Adeodatus, 664.—Theodore, 690.—Brithwald.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—John Philoponus.—John Malela.—Hesychius of Jerusalem.—Theophylact.—Simocatta.—Antiochus.—Modestus.—Cyrus of Alex.—Jonas.—Gallus.—John Moschus.—Andreas Damascenus.—George Pisides.—Eligius.—The two Theodores.—Paulus.—The Emperor Heraclius.—Maximus Conf.—Theodore the Monk.—The Emperor Constans II.—Martin, bishop of Rome.—Maurus of Ravenna.—Anastasius, a monk—a Rom. presb.—Fructuosus, Hisp.—Peter, metropolitan of Nicomedia.—Julian Pomerius.—Agatho.—John of Thessalonica.—Cresconus.—Ildefonsus.—Marculph.—Macarius.—John Climachus.—Fortunatus Venant.—Isidore of Seville, who composed Commentaries on the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and is acknowledged to have been the principal author of the famous Mosarabic Liturgy, which is the ancient Liturgy of Spain.—Dorotheus.—Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—The ancient heresies were still in vigour during this century; to these were added the Paulicians, Monothelites.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—An extraordinary progress is made in the conversion of the English.—The archbishoprics of London and York are founded, with each 12 bishoprics under its jurisdiction.—The archbishopric of London is translated to Canterbury.—The gospel is propagated with success in Holland, Friesland, and Germany.—The schism between the Greek and Latin churches commences in this century.—The rise of Mahomet, and the rapid progress of his religion, which is propagated by fire and sword.—The Mahometan era, called the Hegira, commences with the year of Christ, 622.—The destruction of the Persian Monarchy, under the reign of Isdegerdes III.—Boniface IV. receives from that odious tyrant Phocas (who was the great patron of the popes, and the chief promoter of their grandeur) the famous Pantheon, which is converted into a church. Here Cybele was succeeded by the Virgin Mary, and the pagan deities by Christian martyrs. Idolatry still subsisted; but the objects of it were changed.—Ina, king of the West Saxons, resigns his crown, and assumes the monastic habit in a convent at Rome. During the Heptarchy, many Saxon kings took the same religious turn.—Pope Agatho ceases to pay the tribute which the see of Rome was accustomed to pay the emperor at the election of its pontiff.—The sixth general council is held at Constantinople, under Constantine Pogonatus, against the Monothelites, in the year 680.—The seventh, which is looked upon by some as a kind of supplement to this, was held in the Trullus, under Justinian II. in the year 692, and is called Quinisextum.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle.—Isidore of Seville, who besides his theological productions, composed a History of Goths and Vandals, and a work entitled, Etymologicon Scientiarum, in which he gives an account of the origin and nature of the different sciences.—In this century commenced that long period of ignorance and darkness which remained until the light of the Reformation arose.

CENTURY VIII.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East*.—Justinian, II., A.D. 711.—Philippicus, 713.—Anastasius II., 714.—Theodosius III., 716.—Leo III. Isaur., 741.—Constantine V. Copron., 775.—Leo IV., 780.—Constantine VI. Porphy., 797.—Irene.—*Kings of the Visigoths in Spain*.—Egica, 700.—Vitiza, 710.—Roderic,

the last king of the Goths, 713.—*Kings of Leon and the Asturias*.—Pelagius, 737.—Favila, 739.—Alphonso, 757.—Froila, 768.—Aurelio, 774.—Silo, 783.—Mauregat, 788.—Veremond, 791.—Alphonso II., 791.—*Kings of France*.—Childbert III., 711.—Dagobert III., 715.—Childeric II., 720.—Theodoric IV., 736.—Interregnum, from the year 737 to 743, during which time Carloman and Pepin, sons of Charles Martel, governed without the regal title.—Childeric III. dethroned in 750. The last king of the first race.—*Second Race*.—Pepin, 768.—Charlemagne.—*England*.—The Heptarchy.—*Kings of the Lombards in Italy*.—Luitpert, 704.—Ragumbert, 704.—Aripert, 712.—Ansprand, 717.—Luitprand, 736.—Hildebrandt, 744.—Rachis, 750.—Aistulphus, 756.—Desiderius, 773. The kingdom of the Lombards, which subsisted during the space of 206 years, was overturned by Charlemagne, who, having defeated Desiderius, caused himself to be crowned king of the Lombards, in the year 774.—*Exarchs of Ravenna*.—Theophylact, 710.—Jo. Procopius, 712.—Paul, 729.—Eutychius, 752. The Exarchate subsisted during the space of 185 years. It ended in the reign of Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, who reduced Ravenna, and added it to his dominions. But this prince was obliged by Pepin, king of France, to surrender the Exarchate, with all its territories, castles, &c., to be for ever held by Pope Stephen III. and his successors in the see of Rome. This is the true foundation of the temporal grandeur of the popes.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—John VI., 705.—John VII., 707.—Sisinius, 708.—Constantine, 714.—Gregory II., 731.—Gregory III., 741.—Zachary, 752.—Stephen II., 752.—Stephen III., 757.—Paul I., 767. A schism between Paul and Theophylact.—Stephen IV., 772. A schism between Constantine, Philip, and Stephen IV.—Adrian, 795.—Leo III.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Britwald, 731.—Tatwin, 734.—Nothelm, 741.—Cuthbert, 758.—Bregwin, 762.—Lambert, 790.—Athelard.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Venerable Bede.—John Damascenus.—The anonymous author of a book entitled, *Ordo Romanus de Divinis Officiis*, published in the Bibl. Patr.—Charlemagne, see the Capitularia, published by Baluzius at Paris, in 1677, and the *Codex Carolinus*, published at Ingolstadt, in 1634, by Gretzer.—Ambrosius Authbertus.—The popes Gregory I., Gregory II., and Adrian Florus.—Paul the Lombard.—Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia.—Alcuin, a native of England, and one of the principal instruments made use of by Charlemagne for the restoration of learning. He is considered by Du Pin as the person that first introduced polite literature into France, and it is to him that the universities of Paris, Tours, Soissons, &c., owe their origin.—Felix, archbishop of Ravenna.—Germanus, bishop of Constantinople.—The unknown author of a book entitled, *Liber Diurnus Pontificum Romanorum*.—Egbert, archbishop of York.—Bartholomew, a monk of Edessa, who refuted the Alcoran.—Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, commonly called the Apostle of Germany.—Anastasius, abbot in Palestine.—Theophanes.—Aldhelm, bishop of Shireburn, under the Heptarchy, and nephew to Ina, king of the West Saxons.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—The Eutychians, Monothelites, and Jacobites, continue to propagate their doctrines.—The Paulo-Johannists, who were so called from their leaders Paul and John, and embraced the pernicious errors of Valentine and Manes.—The Agonocrites, a wrong-headed set of people, who prayed dancing.—Adelbert.—Felix, bishop of Urgella.—Elipand, bishop of Toledo.—Leo, the Isaurian, who destroyed the images in the churches, and was the chief of Iconoclastes; and Clement, who preferred the decisions of Scripture before the decrees of councils, are reputed heretics by the church of Rome.—Virgilius was also accused of heresy by Pope Zachary, because he was a good mathematician, and believed the existence of Antipodes.—Those who promoted the worship of images and relics in this century deserve much better the denomination of Heretics.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Rapid progress of the Saracens in Asia and Africa.—The downfall of the kingdom of the Lombards and of the exarchate of Ravenna, the latter of which is granted to the see of Rome, by Pepin, king of France.—Charlemagne adds to the grant of Pepin several provinces; though the titles and acts of this grant have not been produced by the Roman Catholic historians.—The ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe introduced.—The Saxons, with Whittekind, their monarch, converted to Christianity.—The Christians persecuted by the Sara-

cens, who massacre five hundred monks in the abbey at Lerins.—The Saracens take possession of Spain.—Controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the Holy Ghost's proceeding from the Son.—The Germans converted by Boniface.—The gospel propagated in Hyrcania and Tartary.—The right of election to the see of Rome conferred upon Charlemagne and his successors by pope Adrian, in a council of bishops assembled at Rome.—The worship of images authorized by the second council of Nice in the year 787, which is improperly called the seventh general council.—The reading of the epistles and gospel introduced into the service of the church.—Solitary or private masses instituted.—Churches built in honour of saints.—Masses for the dead.—Willebrod sent to convert the Frisons; he was the first bishop of Utrecht.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Alcuin (see the fourth head).—Bede.—Fredegarius.—John Damascenus.—George Syncellus.—Virgilius.

CENTURY IX.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East.*—Irene, A.D. 802.—Nicephorus, 811.—Saturatius, 811.—Michael Curopolites, 813.—Leo Armen., 820.—Michael Balb., 829.—Theophilus, 842.—Michael III., 867.—Basilus I.—Macedo, 886.—Leo VI., Philos.—*Emperors of the West.*—The Western Empire was restored in the year 800, in favour of Charlemagne, king of France.—Charlemagne, 814.—Lewis the Debonnaire, 840.—Lothaire, 855.—Lewis II., 875.—Charles II., surnamed the Bald, 877.—Lewis III., 879.—Carloman, 880.—Charles III., deposed, 887.—After the death of this prince (who was the last king of France that was emperor), Germany and Italy were entirely separated from the French monarchy.—Arnolph, 899.—Lewis IV.—*Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and the Asturias.*—Alphonso the Chaste, 844.—Ramiro, 851.—Ordogno, 862.—Alphonso III.—*Kings of France.*—Charlemagne, 814.—Lewis I. the Debonnaire, 840.—Charles II. the Bald, 877.—Lewis II., 879.—Lewis III. and Carloman, 884.—Charles III., 888.—Eudes, 898.—Charles the Simple.—*Kings of England.*—The Heptarchy finished by the union of the seven kingdoms under the government of Egbert.—Egbert, 837.—Ethelwolf, 857.—Ethelbald, 860.—Ethelbert, 866.—Ethelred, 871.—Alfred the Great, 899.—*Kings of Scotland.*—The history of Scotland is divided into four great periods. The first, which commences with Fergus I., 330 years before Christ, and contains a series of 68 kings, which ends with Alpinus, in the year 823, is looked upon as entirely fabulous. We shall therefore begin this chronological list with the second period, which commences with Kenneth II.—Kenneth II., 854.—Donald V., 850.—Constantine II., 874.—Ethus, 874.—Gregory, 893.—Donald VI.—*Kings of Sweden.*—The origin of this kingdom is covered with uncertainty and fables. Some historians reckon 36 kings before Biorno III., but it is with this latter prince that chronologers generally begin their series.—Biorno III., 224.—Brantamond, 827.—Sivard, 842.—Heroth, 856.—Charles VI., 868.—Biorno IV., 883.—Ingo, or Ingelde, 891.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Leo III. A.D. 816.—Stephen V., 817.—Paschal I., 824.—Eugenius II., 827. A schism between Eugenius II., and Zizinnus.—Valentine, 827.—Gregory IV., 843.—Sergius II., 847.—Leo IV., 855.—Pope Joan.—Benedict III., 858. A schism between Benedict and Anastasius.—Nicolas I., 867.—Adrian II., 872.—John VIII., 882.—Martin I., 884.—Adrian III., 885.—Stephen VI., 891.—Formosus, 896. A schism between Formosus and Sergius.—Boniface VI., 897.—Stephen VII., 900. A schism between Stephen VII., John IX., Romanus I. and II., and Theodore II.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Athelard, 806.—Wulfred, 830.—Theogild, 830.—Celntho, 871.—Athelred, 889.—Plegmund.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople.—Amalarius, bishop of Triers.—Theodore Studita.—Agobard, archbishop of Lyons.—Eginhard.—Claudius.—Clement, bishop of Turin.—Jonas, bishop of Orleans.—Freculph, bishop of Lisieux.—Moses Barcephala.—Photius, patriarch of Constantinople.—Theod. Abucara.—Petrus Siculus.—Nicetas David.—Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz.—Hilduin.—Servatus Lupus.—Drepanius Florus.—Druthmar.—Godeschalvus.—Pascasius Radbert, chief of the Transubstantians.

—Bertram, or Ratramn, of Corby, who refuted the monstrous errors of Radbert, and was at the head of those who denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.—Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt.—Walfridus Strabo.—Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims.—John Scotus Erigena.—Ansegius.—Florus Magister.—Prudentius, bishop of Troyes.—Remy, of Lyons.—Nicolas.—Adrian.—John VIII., pope.—Anastasius, Bibl.—Auxilius.—Theodulph, bishop of Orleans.—Smaragdus.—Aldric, bishop of Mans.—Ado of Vienna.—Isidorus Mercator, author of the *False Decretals*.—Jesse, bishop of Amiens.—Dungal.—Halitgaire, bishop of Cambrai.—Amulon, archbishop of Lyons.—Vandalbert.—Angelome Epiphane, archbishop of Constantia, in the island of Cyprus.—Herric.—Reginon.—Abbon.—William, the librarian.—Pope Formosus.—Pope Stephen.—Methodius, who invented the Slavonian characters, and made a translation of the Bible for the Bulgarians, which was used by the Russians.—Alfred the Great, king of England, composed a Saxon Paraphrase on the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, a Saxon version of Orosius, and a Saxon Psalter.—The Emperor Basilius Macedo.—The Emperor Leo, surnamed the Philosopher.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—Paulicians, a branch of the Manichæans.—Iconoclastes.—Iconolatæ, or image-worshippers.—Predestinarians.—Adoptions.—Transubstantians.—Clement, bishop of Turin, who followed the sentiments of Felix of Urgella.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The conversion of the Swedes, Danes, Saxons, Huns, Bohemians, Moravians, Slavonians, Russians, Indians, and Bulgarians, which latter occasions a controversy between the Greek and Latin churches.—The rise of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass.—The cause of Christianity suffers in the East under the Saracens, and in Europe under the Normans.—The power of the pontiffs increases; that of the bishops diminishes; and the emperors are divested of their ecclesiastical authority.—The *Decretals* are forged, by which the popes extended the limits of their jurisdiction and authority.—The fictitious relics of St. Mark, St. James, and St. Bartholomew, are imposed upon the credulity of the people.—Monks and abbots now first employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.—The festival of All-Saints is added, in this century, to the Latin Calendar by Gregory IV., though some authors of note place this institution in the seventh century, and attribute it to Boniface IV.—The superstitious festival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, instituted by the Council of Mentz, and confirmed by Pope Nicolas I., and afterwards by Leo X.—The trial by cold water introduced by Pope Eugenius II.; though Le Brun, in his *Histoire des Pratiques Superstitieuses*, endeavours to prove this ridiculous invention more ancient.—The Emperor Lewis II. is obliged, by the arrogant pontiff Nicolas I., to perform the functions of groom, and hold the bridle of this Pope's horse, while his pretended Holiness was dismounting.—The Legends or lives of the Saints began to be composed in this century.—The Apostles' Creed is sung in the churches.—Organs, bells, and vocal music introduced in many places.—Festivals multiplied.—The order of St. Andrew, or the knights of the Thistle, in Scotland.—Michael I., Emperor of the East, abdicates the throne, and with his wife and six children retires into a monastery.—Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the pope.—The canonization of saints introduced by Pope Leo III.—The University of Oxford founded by Alfred.—The sciences are cultivated among the Saracens, and particularly encouraged by the Caliph Almamon.—Theophilus, from his abhorrence of images, banishes painters out of the Eastern Empire.—Harold, king of Denmark, is dethroned by his subjects, on account of his attachment to Christianity.—The University of Paris founded.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Photius.—Smaragdus.—Eginhard.—Rabanus Maurus.—Abbon.—Herempert.—Leon.—Sergius.—Methodius.—Walfridus Strabo.—John Scotus Erigena.—Alfred the Great, king of England. His Saxon version of Orosius was never published.—Abou-Nabas, an Arabian poet.—The calif Mamon, an eminent mathematician and astronomer. N. B. Haroun, the father of this prince, sent to Charlemagne a striking clock, with springs and wheels, which was the first ever seen in France, and shows that, at this period, the arts were more cultivated in Asia than in Europe.—Albategni, the mathematician.—Albumasar, the Arabian astronomer.

CENTURY X.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East.*—Leo the Philosopher, A.D. 911.—Alexander, 912.—Constantine VII., surnamed Porphyrogenetus, 975.—Romanus Lecapenus took advantage of the youth of this prince, and seized the imperial throne, but was deposed by his son Stephen, and died in 948.—Romanus, first or second son to Constantine VII., 963.—Nicephorus Phocas, 970.—John Zimisceas, 975.—Basilus III.—Constantine VIII.—*Emperors of the West.*—Lewis IV., 912.—Conrad I., 919.—Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, 936.—Otho I., 973.—Otho II., 983.—Otho III.—*Kings of Spain, i.e. of Leon and Asturias.*—Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, abdicates the crown in the year 910.—Garcias, 913.—Ordogno II., 923.—Froila II., 924.—Alphonso IV., 831.—Ramiro II., 950.—Ordogno III., 955.—Sanchez the Fat, 964.—Ramiro III., 982.—Bermudo, called by some Veremond II., 999.—Alphonso V.—*Kings of France.*—Charles the Simple, 923.—Ralph usurps the throne.—Lewis d'Outremer, 954.—Lothaire II., 986.—Lewis the Idler, the last king of the line of Charlemagne, 987.—*Third race.*—Hugh Capet, 996.—Robert.—*Kings of England.*—Edward, 925.—Athelstan, 941.—Edmund, 946.—Edred, 955.—Edwy, 957.—Edgar, 975.—Edward, 978.—Ethelred.—*Kings of Scotland.*—Donald V., 903.—Constantine III., 943.—Malcolm I., 958.—Indulfus, 967.—Duffus, 972.—Cullen, 976.—Kenneth III., 994.—Constantine IV., 995.—Grimus.—*Kings of Sweden.*—Ingeld II., 907.—Eric VI., 926.—Eric VII., 940.—Eric VIII., 980.—Olaus II. the tributary.—The beginnings of the Danish monarchy are so fabulous, that we shall begin with Harold, who first embraced the Christian religion.—Harold VI., 980.—Sweyn.—*Poland.*—Micislaus, the first Christian duke, dies 999.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—John IX., 905. A schism between John IX. and Sergius.—Benedict IV., 906.—Leo V., 907. A schism between Leo V. and Christopher.—Christopher, 908. A schism between Christopher and Sergius.—Sergius III., 910.—Anastasius III., 912.—Lando, 912.—John X., 928.—Leo VI., 929.—Stephen VIII., 931.—John XI., 936.—Leo VII., 939.—Stephen IX., 943.—Martin II., 946.—Agapetus II., 955.—John XII., 964. A schism between John XII. and Leo.—Leo VIII., 965.—Benedict V., 965.—John XIII., 972.—Donus II., 972.—Benedict VI., 974.—Boniface VII., 984.—Benedict VII., 984.—John XIV., 985.—John XV., 985.—John XVI., 996.—Gregory V., 999. A schism between John and Gregory V.—Sylvester II.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Plegmond, 917.—Adhelm, 924.—Wilhelm Odo, 957.—Dunstan, 988.—Ethelgar, 988.—Siricius, 993.—Aluric, or Alfric.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Simeon Metaphrastes.—Leon-tius of Byzantium.—Odo of Cluny.—Ratherius, bishop of Verona and Liege.—Hippolytus, the Theban.—Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.—Euty-chius, patriarch of Alexandria.—Saidus, patriarch of Alexandria.—Flodoard.—Joseph Genesisius Otto, bishop of Verceil.—Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.—Luitprand, abbot of Fleury.—Notker, bishop of Liege.—Suidas.—Roswida, a poetess.—Edgar, king of England.—Ælfridus.—Hereger.—Olympiodorus.—Æcumenius.—Odilo.—Burchard.—Valerius of Astorga, in Spain. His Lives of the Fathers, very different from those that are published, are still in MS. in the library of Toledo.—John Malela.—Constantine Porphyrogenetus.—John of Capua.—Nicolas, patriarch of Constantinople.—Gregory of Cæsarea.—Georges.—Epiphanes.—Severus.—Moses Barcephala.—Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury.—Gerbert, pope.—Oswald.—Sisinnius.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—No new heresies were invented during this century. That of the Anthropomorphites was revived, and the greatest part of the others were continued. Thus we find Nestorians, Euty-chians, Paulicians, Armenians, Anthropomorphites, and Manicheans, making a noise in this century.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Irruption of the Huns into Germany, and of the Nor-mans into France.—The Danes invade England.—The Moors enter into Spain.—The Hungarians and several Northern nations converted to Christianity.—The pirate Rollo is made Duke of Normandy, and embraces the Christian faith.—The Poles are converted to Christianity, under Micislaus, in the year 965.—The Christian religion is established in Muscovy, Denmark, and Norway.—The plan of the

Holy War is formed in this century by Pope Sylvester II.—The baptism of bells, the festival in remembrance of departed souls, the institution of the rosary, and a multitude of superstitious rites, shocking to common sense, and an insult upon true religion, are introduced in this century.—Fire-ordeal introduced.—The Turks and Saracens are united.—Edmund, king of England, is stabbed at a public feast.—The Danish war in England begins, and continues twelve years.—Feudal tenures begin to take place in France.—The influence and power of the monks increase greatly in England.—The kingdom of Italy is united by Otho to the German empire.—Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes.—Arithmetical figures are brought from Arabia into Europe by the Saracens.—The empire of Germany is rendered elective by Otho III.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—This century, by way of eminence, is styled the age of barbarism and ignorance. The greatest part of the ecclesiastical and theological authors mentioned under that title, were mean, ignorant, and trivial writers, and wrote upon mean and trivial subjects. At the head of the learned men of this age we must place Gerbert, otherwise known by the papal denomination of Sylvester II. This learned pontiff endeavoured to revive the drooping sciences, and the effects of his zeal were visible in this, but still more in the following century.—Suidas Geber, an Arabian chemist, celebrated by the learned Boerhaave.—Constantine Porphyrogenetus.—Albatani, an Arabian astronomer, called by some Albategne.—Razi, a celebrated Arabian chemist and physician.—Leontius, one of the Byzantine historians.—Joseph Genesis.

CENTURY XI.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East*.—Basilus III. A.D. 1025.—Constantine VIII., 1028.—Romanus II. Argyr., 1034.—Michael IV. Paphl., 1041.—Michael V. Calaphates, 1042.—Constantine IX. Monomach., 1054.—Theodora, 1056.—Michael VI. Strat., 1057.—Isaac I. Comnenus, 1059.—Constantine X. Ducas, 1067.—Romanus III. Diogenes, 1071.—Nicephorus II. Botoniates, 1080.—Alexis Comnenus.—*Emperors of the West*.—Otho III., 1002.—Henry II., 1024.—Conrad II., 1039.—Henry III., 1056.—Henry IV., *Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and the Asturias*.—Alphonso, 1027.—Veremond III., 1037.—*Kings of Leon and Castile united*.—Ferdinand I. surnamed the Great, 1065.—Sancho II., 1073.—Alphonso VI.—*Kings of France*.—Robert, 1031.—Henry I., 1061.—Philip I.—*Kings of England*.—Ethelred, 1016.—Edmond Ironside, 1017.—Canute the Great, king of Denmark, 1035.—Harold Harefoot, 1039.—Hardicanute, 1041.—Edward the Confessor, 1066.—Harold, 1066.—*Norman Line*.—William the Conqueror, 1067.—William Rufus, 1100.—*Kings of Scotland*.—Grimus, 1003.—Malcolm II., 1033.—Donald VII., by some called Duncan, 1040.—Macbeth, 1057.—Malcolm III., 1093.—Donald VIII., dethroned 1094.—Duncan II., 1096.—Donald again, 1097.—*Kings of Sweden*.—Olaus II., 1019.—Asmund, 1035.—Asmundale, 1041.—Hakon, 1059.—Stenchil, 1061.—Ingo III., 1064.—Halstan, 1080.—Philip.—*Kings of Denmark*.—Sweyn, 1014.—Canute the Great, king of England, 1035.—Harold, 1040.—Hardicanute, 1041.—Magnus, 1048.—Sweyn II., 1074.—Harold VII., 1085.—St. Canute, 1086.—Olaus III., 1086.—Eric III.—*Kings of Poland*.—Boleslaus, first king, 1025.—Micislaus, 1034.—Interregnum.—Casimir, 1058.—Boleslaus II., 1079.—Ladislaus.—*Kings of Jerusalem*.—Godfrey, chosen king in 1099, dies in 1100.—Baldwin I.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Sylvester II., 1003.—John XVII., 1003.—John XVIII., 1009.—Sergius IV., 1012.—Benedict VIII., 1024. A schism between Gregory and Benedict.—John XIX., 1033.—Benedict IX., 1044. A schism between the two Johns and Benedict.—Gregory VI., 1046.—Clement II., 1048.—Damasus II., 1049.—Leo IX., 1054.—Victor II., 1057.—Stephen IX., 1059.—Benedict X., 1059.—Nicolas II., 1061. A schism between Nicolas II. and Benedict.—Alexander II., 1073. A schism between Alexander II. and Cadalous.—Gregory VII., 1086. A schism between Gregory VII. and Guy, bishop of Ravenna.—Victor III., 1088.—Urban II., 1099.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Aluric, or Alfric, 1006.—Elphegus, massacred by the Danes, in the year 1012.—Livingus, 1020.—Agelmoth, 1038.—Eadsinus, 1050.—Robert Gemetic, 1052.—Stigand, 1069.—Lanfranc, 1089.—Anselm.

whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege.—The contest between the emperors and the popes is renewed under Frederic Barrossa and Adrian IV. The insolence of the popes excessive.—Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral.—The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops, and soon after monopolized by the popes.—The scholastic theology, whose jargon did such mischief in the church, had its rise in this century.—The seeds of the Reformation sown in this century by the Waldenses, and other eminent men, in England and France.—Pope Paschal II. orders the Lord's Supper to be administered only in one kind, and retrenches the cup.—The canon law formed into a body by Gratian.—Academical degrees introduced in this century.—Learning revived and encouraged in the university of Cambridge.—The pope declares war against Roger, king of Sicily, who takes from his holiness Capua and Beneventum.—The council of Clarendon held against Becket.—The kings of England and France go to the Holy Land.—Henry II. of England, being called by one of the Irish kings to assist him, takes possession of Ireland.

PROFANE WRITERS.—Roger Bacon.—Anselm of Laon.—Vaccarius.—Leoninus, the supposed introducer of Latin rhymes.—Roger Hoveden.—John of Salisbury.—William of Somerset.—John Zonaras.—George Cedrenus.—John Cinnamus.—Sylvester Girald, bishop of St. David's.—Godfrey of Viterbo.—William of Newbury, an English historian.—Pelagius, bishop of Oviedo.—John of Milan, author of the poem called *Schola Salernitana*.—Robert Pullen, an English cardinal.—Abraham Aben-Ezra.—John and Isaac Tzetzes.—Henry of Huntingdon.—Nicetas.—Wernier.—Moses Maimonides.—Anvari, a Persian astronomer.—Portius Azo.—Nestor, a Russian historian.—Falcandus.—Benjamin de Tudela, a Spanish Jew, whose travels were translated by Baratier.—Averroes.—Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica.—Solomon Jarchi.—Alhasen, an Arabian, who composed a large work on Optics.—George Elmacin, author of the history of the Saracens, translated by Erpennius.—Jeffrey of Monmouth.

CENTURY XIII.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East*.—Alexius III., dethroned in 1203.—Alexius IV., dethroned in 1204.—Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murzuphle, 1204.—*Latin Emperors of the East, residing at Constantinople*.—Baldwin I., 1205.—Henry, 1216.—Peter, 1221.—Robert, 1229.—Baldwin II., 1261.—*Greek Emperors residing at Nice*.—Theodore Lascaris, 1222.—John Ducas III., 1255.—Theodore Lascaris, 1259.—John Lascaris IV., 1259.—Mich. Paleologus retakes Constantinople in the year 1261, and thus unites in his person the Latin and Greek empires; he dies in 1283.—Andronicus II.—*Emperors of the West*.—Philip, 1208.—Otho IV., 1218.—Frederic II., 1250.—Civil wars, and an interregnum, during which, Conrad of Suabia; William, count of Holland; Richard, king of England; Alphonso of Spain; Ottocar of Bohemia, appear on the scene of action.—Rodolphus of Hapsburg is elected emperor, and dies in 1291.—Adolphus of Nassau, 1298.—Albert I.—*Kings of Spain, i. e., of Leon and Castile*.—Alphonso IX., 1214.—Henry I., 1217.—Ferdinand III., 1252.—Alphonso X. 1284.—Sancho IV., 1295.—Ferdinand IV.—*Kings of France*.—Philip Aug., 1223.—Louis VIII., 1226.—Louis IX., sainted 1270.—Philip III the Hardy, 1285.—Philip IV. the Fair.—*Kings of England*.—John, 1216.—Henry III., 1272.—Edward I.—*Kings of Scotland*.—William, 1214.—Alexander II., 1249.—Alexander III., 1286.—Interregnum.—John Baliol.—*Kings of Sweden*.—Suercher II., 1211.—Eric X., 1218.—Jean I., 1222.—Eric XI., 1250.—Waldemar, 1276.—Manus, 1290.—Birger.—*Kings of Denmark*.—Canute VI., 1202.—Waldemar II., 1241.—Eric VI., 1250.—Abel, 1252.—Christopher, 1259.—Eric VII., 1286.—Eric VIII.—*Kings of Poland*.—Lescus V., 1203.—Uladislaus III., 1226.—Boleslaus V., 1279.—Lescus VI., 1289.—Boleslaus, Henry, and Uladislaus, take the title of Governors.—Premislaus, 1296.—Uladislaus IV., deposed in 1300.—Winceslaus, king of Bohemia.—*Kings of Portugal*.—Sancho I., 1212.—Alphonso II., 1223.—Sancho II., 1246.—Alphonso III., 1279.—Dennis.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Innocent III., 1216.—Honorius III., 1226.—Gregory IX., 1241.—Celestine IV., 1243.—Innocent IV., 1254.—Alexander IV.,

1261.—Urban IV., 1264.—Clement IV., 1268.—Gregory IX., 1276.—Innocent V., 1276.—Adrian V., 1276.—John XX., 1277.—Nicolas III., 1280.—Martin IV., 1285.—Honorius IV., 1288.—Nicolas IV., 1292.—Celestine V., 1294.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Hub. Walter, 1204.—Stephen Langton, 1228.—Richard Wethershed, 1231.—St. Edmund, 1242.—Boniface, 1270.—Robert Kilwardby, 1278.—John Peckham, 1291.—Robert Winchelsey.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Joachim.—John, bishop of Macedonia.—Demetrius Chomatenus.—Mark, patriarch of Alexandria.—Malachy, archbishop of Armagh.—Nicetas Choniates.—Francois d'Assise.—Alan de l'Isle.—Jacobus de Vitriaco.—Peter the Monk.—Anthony of Padua.—Germanus Cæsarius.—William of Paris.—Raymond of Pennafort.—Alexander de Hales.—Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury.—Thomas of Spalatro.—John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury.—Roger Bacon.—Albert the Great.—Robert Grosseteste.—Vincent of Beauvais.—Robert Sorbon.—George Acropolita.—Hugo de St. Caro.—George Metochita.—Guillaume de St. Amour.—Nicephorus Blem.—Thomas Aquinas.—Bonaventura.—Gilbert of Tournay.—John of Paris, an opposer of transubstantiation and papal tyranny.—John Beccus.—Nicetas Acomenatus.—Theodore Lascaris.—Arsenius.—George Pachymer.—George the Cyprian.—Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.—Robert Capito.—Thomas Cantiprat.—Richard Middleton.—William Durand.—Ægidius de Columna.—Guil. Peraldus.—Martin Polon.—Raymond Martin.—Gregory Abulfaragius.—Jacob de Voragine.—Guillaume de Seignelai, bishop of Auxerre.—William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris.—Henry of Ghent.—Pope Boniface VIII.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—The Waldenses.—Nestorians.—Jacobites.—The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, otherwise called Beghards and Beguttes, Beghins, and Turlupins.—Almaric.—Joachim.—Wilhelmina.—The sect of the Apostles.—John of Parma, author of the Everlasting Gospel.—Flagellants, or Whippers.—Circumcelliones.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The Mahometan Religion triumphs over Christianity in China and the northern parts of Asia, by flattering the passions of voluptuous princes.—A papal embassy is sent to the Tartars by Innocent IV.—A fourth crusade is undertaken by the French and Venetians, who make themselves masters of Constantinople, with a design to restore the throne to Isaac Angelus, who had been dethroned by his brother Ducas.—The emperor Isaac is put to death in a sedition, and his son Alexius strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ring-leader of this faction.—The crusaders take Constantinople a second time, dethrone Ducas, and elect Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks.—The empire of Franks in the East, which had subsisted fifty-seven years, is overturned by Michael Palæologus.—A fifth crusade, which is carried on by the confederate arms of Italy and Germany.—Damiatta taken, but soon after retaken.—The fleet of the crusaders ruined by the Saracens.—The fifth crusade undertaken by Lewis IX., who retakes Damiatta, is afterwards reduced, with his army, to the greatest extremities; dies of the plague in a second crusade, and is canonized.—The knights of the Teutonic order, under command of Herman de Saltza, conquer and convert to Christianity the Prussians, at the desire of Conrad duke of Massovia.—Christianity is propagated among the Arabians in Spain.—The philosophy of Aristotle triumphs over all the systems that were in vogue before this century.—The power of creating bishops, abbots, &c., is claimed by the Roman pontiffs, whose wealth and revenues are thereby greatly augmented.—John, king of England, excommunicated by pope Innocent III., is guilty of the basest compliances, through his slavish fear of that insolent pontiff.—The inquisition established in Narbonne Gaul, and committed to the direction of Dominic and his order, who treat the Waldenses, and other reputed heretics, with the most inhuman cruelty.—The adoration of the Host is introduced by Pope Honorius III.—The Magna Charta is signed by King John and his barons, on the 15th June, at Runnymede, near Windsor.—A debate arises between the dominicans and Franciscans concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.—Jubilees instituted by Pope Boniface VIII.—The Sicilian Vespers, when the French in Sicily, to the number of about 8,000, were massacred in one evening, at a signal given by John Prochyta, a Sicilian nobleman.—Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederick of Austria, beheaded at Naples by the direction of Pope Clement.—

The Jews are driven out of France by Lewis IX., and all the copies of the Talmud that could be found are burnt.—The college of electors founded in the empire.—The association of the Hanse Towns.—The Dominicans, Franciscans, Servites, Mendicants, and the hermits of St. Augustine, date the origin of their orders from this century.—The fables concerning the removal of the chapel of Loretto, the vision of Sim. Stockius; the Wandering Jew, and St. Anthony's obliging an ass to adore the sacrament, are invented about this time.—The festivals of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, and of the Holy Sacrament, or body of Christ, instituted.—The present House of Austria take their rise in this century.—Wales is conquered by Edward, and united to England.—There is an uninterrupted succession of English parliaments from the year 1293.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Roger Bacon, one of the great restorers of learning and philosophy.—Saxo Grammaticus.—Ralph de Diceto.—Walter of Coventry.—Alexander of Paris, the founder of French poetry.—Villehardouin, an historian.—Accursi of Florence.—Kimchi, a Spanish Jew.—Conrad de Lichtenaw.—John Holywood, called De Sacro Bosco, author of the *Sphæra Mundi*.—Actuarius, a Greek physician.—Rod. Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo.—Michael Coniat, bishop of Athens.—Ivel.—Aiggord, an historian.—Pierre de Vignes.—Matthew Paris.—Suffridea.—Soxomene, author of the *Universal Chronology*, which is yet in MS. in the possession of the regular canons of Fisoli, near Florence.—Barthol. Cotton of Norwich; see Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.—Engelbert.—Thos. Wicke, an English historian.—Vitellio, a Polish mathematician.—Albert the Great.—Colonna, archbishop of Messina.—Michael Scot, the translator of Aristotle.—Gregory Abulfaragius.—Foscarari of Bologna.—Alphonso, king of Castile.—Cavalcanti of Florence.—Dinus, a famous jurist.—Marco Paolo, a Venetian, whose travels in China are curious.—Francis Barberini, an Italian poet.

CENTURY XIV.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East*.—Andronicus II., A.D. 1332.—Andronicus the Younger, 1341.—John Cantacuzenus usurps the government under John Palæologus, and holds it till the year 1355.—John VI., Palæol, 1390.—Andronicus IV., 1392.—Emanuel II.—*Emperors of the West*.—Albert I. 1308.—Henry VII. Luxemb., 1313.—Lewis V. Bav., 1347.—Charles IV., 1378.—Wenceslaus, 1400.—*Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and Castile*.—Ferdinand IV., 1312.—Alphonso XI., 1350.—Pedro the Cruel, 1369.—Henry II., 1379.—John I., 1390.—Henry III.—*Kings of France*.—Philip the Fair, 1314.—Lewis X. Hutin, 1316.—Philip V., 1321.—Philip VI. Valois, 1350.—John, 1364.—Charles V., 1380.—Charles VI.—*Kings of England*.—Edward I., 1307.—Edward II., 1327.—Edward III., 1377.—Richard II., 1399.—Henry IV.—*Kings of Scotland*.—John Balliol, 1306.—Robert Bruce, 1329.—David II., 1370.—Robert II., 1390.—Robert III.—*Kings of Sweden*.—Birger, 1326.—Magnus, 1363.—Albert defeated by Margaret queen of Denmark in 1387: dies in the year 1396.—Margaret.—*Kings of Denmark*.—Eric VIII., 1321.—Christopher II., 1333.—Waldemar, III., 1375.—Olaus, 1387.—Margaret.—*Kings of Poland*.—Wenceslaus, 1305.—Uladislaus reascends the throne, and dies in 1333.—Cassimir III., 1370, the last of the Piasts.—Lewis king of Hungary, 1387.—Interregnum.—Uladislaus.—Jagellon, duke of Lithuania.—*Kings of Portugal*.—Dennis, 1325.—Alphonso IV., 1357.—Pedro the Justiciary, 1367.—Ferdinand, 1383.—Interregnum.—John I.—*Ottoman Emperors*.—The ancient history of the Turks extends from the beginning of the seventh to the commencement of the fourteenth century. The modern commences about the beginning of the fourteenth century.—Othman, 1327.—Or Khan, 1359.—Amurat, or Morad, 1389.—Bajazet.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Boniface VIII., 1303.—Benedict XI., 1314.—Clement V., 1316.—John XXI., 1334. A schism between Peter and John.—Benedict XII., 1342.—Clement VI., 1352.—Innocent VI., 1362.—Urban V., 1372.—A schism between Urban and Clement.—Gregory XI., 1378. The death of Gregory XI., occasioned that violent schism that threw the Western church into the utmost confusion. The church of Rome had two popes, one residing at Rome,

the other at Avignon.—*At Rome.*—Urban VI., 1389.—Boniface IX.—*At Avignon.*—Clement VII., not acknowledged, 1394.—Benedict XIII.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Robert Winchelsea, 1313.—Walter Raynold, 1327.—Simon Mepham, 1333.—J. Stratford, 1348.—Thomas Bradwardine, 1349.—Simon Islip, 1365.—Simon Langham, 1374.—Simon Sudbury, 1381.—W. Courtney, 1396.—Thomas Arundel.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Nicephoras Callistus.—Raymond Lully.—Matthæus Blastares.—Barlaam.—Greg. Acindynus.—John Cantauzenus.—Nicephorus Greg.—John Duns Scotus.—Andrew of Newcastle.—Francis Mayron.—Durand of St. Portian.—Nicolas de Lyra.—John Bacon.—William Occam.—Nicolas Triveth.—Andrew Horne.—Richard Bury.—Walter Burley.—Richard Hampole.—Robert Holkot.—Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury.—John Wickliffe.—Thomas Stubbs.—John de Burgo.—William Wolfort. *The last thirteen all English authors.*—Peter Aureolus.—John Bassolis.—Bernard Guido.—Alvarus Pelagius.—Theophanes, bishop of Nice.—Philotheus.—Antonius Andreas.—Herveus Natalis.—Thomas of Strasburg.—Raynerius of Pisa.—John of Friburg.—Pope Clement VI.—Thomas Joysius.—John of Naples.—Albert of Padua.—Michael Cesenas.—Gregory Palamas.—Andronicus.—Peter of Duisburg.—Ludolf Saxon.—Cardinal Cajetan.—James of Viterbo.—Cardinal Balda.—George of Rimini.—Pope Benedict XII.—Guy of Perpignan.—Nicolas Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica.—Richard, bishop of Armagh.—Demetrius Cydonius.—Petrarch.—Peter Berchorius.—John Cyparissotes.—Nicolas Oresme.—Philip Ribot.—Nilus Rhodius.—Marsilius Pat.—Maximus Plan.—John Taulerus.—Greg. Palamas.—Nic. Eymericus.—John Ruysbrock.—Manuel Caleca.—Catherine of Sienna.—St. Bridget.—Gerhard of Zutphen.—Pierre Ailli.—Francis Zabarella.—Marsilius of Padua, who wrote against the papal jurisdiction.—Philippe de Mezières.—Jordan of Quedlinburg.—Barth. Alatici of Pisa, author of the famous book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ.—Fabri, bishop of Chartres.—Michael Angrianus.—Raymond Jordan.—Jac. de Theramo.—Manuel Chrysoloras.—Cardinal Francis Zabarella, with many others, too numerous to mention.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—Waldenses, Palamites, Hesychasts and Quietists, three different names for one sect.—Spiritual Franciscans.—Ceccus Asculanus, who was burnt at Florence by the Inquisition, for making some experiments in mechanics that appeared miraculous to the vulgar.—Echard.—Johan de Mercuria.—Beghards and Beguines.—As to the Cellites or Lollards, they cannot be esteemed heretics.—The followers of John Wickliffe deserve an eminent place, with their leader, in the list of Reformers.—Nicolas of Calabria.—Martin Gonsalve.—Reghard Bartoldus de Rorbach.—The Dancers.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—Fruitless attempts made to renew the crusades.—Christianity encouraged in Tartary and China; but loses ground towards the end of this century.—The Lithuanians, and Jagello, their prince, converted to the Christian faith in the year 1386.—Many of the Jews are compelled to receive the gospel.—Philosophy and Grecian literature are cultivated with zeal in this century.—The disputes between the Realists and Nominalists revived.—Philip the Fair, king of France, opposes with spirit the tyrannic pretensions of the pope to a temporal jurisdiction over kings and princes, and demands a general council to depose Boniface VIII., whom he accuses of heresy, simony, and several enormities.—The papal authority declines.—The residence of the popes removed to Avignon.—The Universities of Avignon, Orleans, Florence, Cahors, Heidelberg, Prague, Perpignan, Cologne, Pavia, Cracovia, Vienna, Geneva, Orange, Sienna, Erfurt, and Angers founded.—The rise of the great western schism, which destroyed the unity of the Latin church, and placed at its head two rival popes.—John Wickliffe opposes the monks, whose licentiousness and ignorance were scandalous, and recommends the study of the Holy Scriptures.—A warm contest arises among the Franciscans, about the poverty of Christ and his apostles.—Another between the Scotists and Thomists, about the doctrines of their respective chiefs.—Pope Clement V., orders the Jubilee, which Boniface had appointed to be held every hundredth year, to be celebrated twice in that space of time.—The Knights Templars are seized and imprisoned; the greatest part of them put to death, and their order suppressed.—The Rise of the Roman empire in 1303.—The Golden Bull, containing

rules for the election of an emperor, and a precise account of the dignity and privileges of the electors, is issued out by Charles IV.—Pope Clement VI. adds the county of Avignon to the Papal territories.—The Emperor Henry VII. dies, and is supposed by some authors to have been poisoned by a consecrated wafer, which he received at the sacrament, from the hands of Bernard Politian, a Dominican monk. This account is denied by authors of good credit. The matter, however, is still undecided.—Gunpowder is invented by Schwartz, a monk.—The mariner's compass is invented by John Goia, or, as others allege, by Flavio.—The city of Rhodes is taken from the Saracens, in the year 1310, by the Knights Hospitallers, or as they are now called, Knights of Malta.—Tamerlane extends his conquests in the East.—The Bible is translated into French by the order of Charles V.—The festival of the holy lance and nails that pierced Jesus Christ, instituted by Clement V. Such was this Pontiff's arrogance, that once, while he was dining, he ordered Dandalus, the Venetian ambassador, to be chained under the table like a dog.—The beginning of the Swiss Cantons.—The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward III., king of England, who opposed the tyranny of the popes, may be looked upon as witnesses to the truth, and preparers of the Reformation. To these we may add Durand, Gerson, Olivus, who called the pope Antichrist, and Wickliffe, who rejected transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the host, purgatory, meritorious satisfactions by penance, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, papal excommunications, the worship of images, the Virgin, and relics.—The order of the Garter is instituted in England by Edward III.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Dante, the principal restorer of philosophy and letters, and also one of the most sublime poets of modern times.—Petrarch.—Boccaccio.—Chaucer.—Matthew of Westminster.—Nicolas Triveth.—Nicephorus Gregoras, the compiler of the Byzantine History.—Theodore.—Metochita.—Guillaume de Nançis, historian.—Henry Stero, historian.—Dinus Mugellanus.—Evrard, historian.—Hayton, an Armenian historian.—Albertino Mussato.—Orderick de Forli.—Lupold, bishop of Bamberg.—Peter of Duisabourg, an historian.—Albert of Strasbourg, an historian.—Barlaam of Calabria, master of Petrarch.—Joinville.—Peter de Aponno, physician and astronomer.—Marsilius of Padua, a famous lawyer.—John Andre, an eminent jurist.—Leontius Pilato, one of the restorers of learning.—Gentilis de Foligno.—Ismael Abulfeda, an Arabian prince.—Peter of Ferrara.—Arnold of Villeneuve.—William Grisant, an English mathematician.—Homodei of Milan.—Alberghotti of Arezzo.—Philip of Leyden.—Baldus de Ubaldis.—Froissart, a French historian.

CENTURY XV.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors of the East.*—Manuel II., A.D. 1425.—John VI. Palæologus, 1448.—Constantine Palæologus, so far down as the year 1453, when Constantinople was taken by Mahomet II.—*Emperors of the West.*—Robert, 1410.—Jodocus, not acknowledged.—Sigismund, 1437.—Albert II., of Austria, 1439.—Frederic III., 1493.—Maximilian I.—*Kings of Spain, i. e. of Leon and Castile.*—Henry III., 1406.—John II., 1454.—Henry IV., 1474.—Ferdinand, in right of Isabella.—*Kings of France.*—Charles VI., 1422.—Charles VII., 1461.—Lewis XI., 1483.—Charles VIII., 1498.—Lewis XII.—*Kings of England.*—Henry IV., 1413.—Henry V., 1422.—Henry VI., dethroned in 1461.—Edward IV., 1482.—Edward V., 1483.—Richard III., 1485.—Henry VII.—*Kings of Scotland.*—Robert III., 1406.—James I., 1437.—James II., 1460.—James III., 1488.—James IV.—*Kings of Sweden and Denmark.*—Margaret, 1412.—Eric IX., deposed in 1438.—Christopher III., 1448.—Charles Canutson, 1471.—An Interregnum until the year 1483.—John.—*Kings of Poland.*—Uladislaus, Jag., 1434.—Uladislaus, king of Hungary, 1444.—An Interregnum of three years.—Casimir IV., 1492.—John Albert.—*Kings of Portugal.*—John I., 1433.—Edward, 1438.—Alphonso V., 1481.—John II., 1495.—Emmanuel the Great.—*Ottoman Emperors.*—Bajazet, taken prisoner by Tamerlane in 1402.—Solyman, 1410.—Mousa, 1413.—Mahomet I., 1421.—Amurath II., 1451.—Mahomet II., who takes Constantinople in 1453, and dies 1481.—*Bajazet II.*—*Csars or Emperors of Rus-*

sia.—There reigns in the Chronology of these princes an uncommon degree of confusion, suitable to the barbarism of that nation. In the year 1732, they began to publish at Petersburg a series of their sovereigns, beginning with Duke Ruricke, who is supposed to have reigned in the ninth century. From that time downwards, all is darkness and perplexity, until we come to the reign of John Basilowitz I., who, in the fifteenth century, shook off the yoke of the Tartars and assumed first, the title of Czar, after having conquered the kingdom of Casan. We therefore begin with this prince, and shall follow the chronology observed by the authors of the Modern Universal History, in their History of Russia. The reader may, however, consult the *Tablettes Chronologiques de l'Histoire Universelle* of Lenglet, who places this prince in the sixteenth century. John Basilowitz.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Boniface IX., 1404.—Innocent VII., 1406.—Gregory XII., deposed 1409.—Alexander V., 1410.—John XXII., deposed 1417.—Martin V., 1431.—Eugenius IV. 1447.—A schism. The council of Basil deposes Eugenius, and elect Amadeus, first duke of Savoy, who assumes the title of Felix, V. Eugenius, however, triumphs in the issue.—Nicholas V., 1455.—Callistus III., 1458.—Pius II., 1464.—Paul II., 1471.—Sixtus IV., 1484.—Innocent VIII., 1492.—Alexander VI.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Thomas Arundel, 1413.—H. Chicheley, 1443.—John Stafford, 1452.—John Kemp, 1453.—Thomas Bourchier, 1486.—J. Morton, 1500.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—John Huss.—Jerome of Prague.—Paulus Anglicus.—John Gerson.—Herman de Petra.—Theod. de Niem., archbishop of Cambray.—Tho. Valdenses.—Pope Alexander V.—John Capriolus.—Peter de Ancharano.—Nicolas de Clemingis.—Theod. Urias Alphons.—Tostat.—John, patriarch of Antioch.—Mark of Ephesus.—Cardinal Bessarion.—G. Scholarus.—G. Gemistius.—John de Turrecremata.—George of Trapezonde.—John Capistran.—Laurentius Valla.—John of Segovia.—Franc. de la Place.—Reginald, bishop of St. Asaph.—Antonine, archbishop of Florence.—Nicolas de Cusa, bishop of Brixen, and cardinal.—Thomas à Kempis.—Anton. de Roselis.—Rickel.—Ducas.—Bened. de Accoltis.—Guill. de Houpelande.—James Paradise, an English Carthusian.—Æneas Sylvius.—Picolom.—Pope Pius II.—Leon Justinian.—John Gobelin.—Alphonso de Spina.—Gregory de Heymbourg.—Theod. Lelio.—Henry of Cocum.—J. Ant. Campanus.—Alex. de Imola.—Henr. Harpius.—J. Perez.—P. de Natalibus.—B. Platina.—P. Niger.—John de Wessalia.—Hermol. Barbarus.—Michael of Milan.—Stephen Brulefer.—Cardinal Andr. du St. Sixte.—Savannola.—Marcilius Ficinus.—John Trithemius.—John Picus of Mirandolo.—Ant. de Lebrixa.—Boussard.—J. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio.—Jovianus Pontanus.—Nicolas Simonis.—Claude de Seyssel.—Simeon of Thessalonica.—Gobelinus Persona.—Henry of Heasia.—George Phranza.—Vincent Ferrieres.—Julianus Cæsarinus.—Nicolas Tudeschus, or Panormus.—Raymond Sabunde.—Catherine of Bologne.—Gregorius Melissen.—Marcus Eugenius.—Laurent. Justinian.—Sylvester Syropul.—Ambrose, General of the Camaldoles.—George Codinus.—Onuphr. Panvinus.—Gabriel Biel.—John Nauclerus.—John Nieder.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—The Waldenses.—The Wickliffites.—The White Brethren.—The men of Understanding, who were headed by Ægidius Cantar, and William of Hildernissen.—Picard, an Adamite.—The following deserve rather the denomination of Reformers than heretics, viz., John Huss, Jerome of Prague.—Branches of the Hussites.—the Calixtines, Orebites, Orphans, Taborites, Bohemian, Brethren. As also John Petit, John Wesselus, Peter Osma, Matt. Grabon.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The Moors and Jews are converted in Spain, by force.—In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus opens a passage into America, by the discovery of the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica.—Constantinople taken by the Turks in the year 1453.—Letters flourish in Italy, under the protection of the house of Medici and the Neapolitan monarchs of the house of Arragon.—The calamities of the Greeks under the Turkish government, conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.—The council of Constance is assembled by the Emperor Sigismund, in the year 1414. John Huss and Jerome of Prague are committed to the flames by a decree of that council.—The council of Basle is opened in the year 1431, and in it the reformation of the church is attempted in vain.—Horrible enormities committed by the popes of this century, and more

especially by Alexander VI.—The council of Constance remove the sacramental cup from the laity, and declare it lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made to heretics.—The war of the Hussites in Bohemia.—Institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece.—The Moors and Jews driven out of Spain.—The massacre of Varnes, in the year 1444.—The Order of the Minimes instituted by Francis de Paul.—Exploits of the Maid of Orleans.—The art of printing, with moveable wooden types, is invented by Coster at Haarlem; and the further improvements of this admirable art are owing to Gensfleisch and Guttemburg of Mentz, and Schoeffer of Strasburg.—The Universities of Leipsic, Louvain, Fribourg, Rostock, Basil, Tubingen, Wurtzburg, Turin, Ingoldstadt, St. Andrew's and Glasgow, in Scotland, Poitiers, Gripeswalde in Pomerania, Pisa, Bordeaux, Triers, Toledo, Upsal, Mentz, and Copenhagen, founded in this century.—The first book printed with types of metal, which was the Vulgate Bible, published at Mentz in 1450: a second edition of the same book was published at Mentz in 1462, and has been mistaken for the first.—The famous Pragmatic Sanction established in France.—The University of Caen, in Normandy, is founded by the English, in the year 1437.—The Portuguese sail, for the first time, to the East Indies, under Vasques de Gama.—Maximilian divides the empire into six circles.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—Laurentius Valla, the great restorer of Latin elocution.—Leonard Aretinus.—Gasparini.—William Lynwood.—Alexander Chartier.—Gob. Persona.—Fr. Frezzi.—Christine of Pisa.—Paul de Castro.—Poggio of Florence.—John Fortescue, high chancellor of England.—Theod. Gaza.—Bart. Facio.—Duglossus, a Polish historian.—R. Sanc. de Arevalo.—Laon. Calcondilas.—J. Savonarola.—Marcilius Ficinus.—John Picus de Mirandola.—Marc. Coc. Sabellius.—Forrestus.—Ant. Bonsinius.—Jovian Pontanus.—Leonard Justinian.—G. Gemistus.—J. Alvarot.—Guarino de Verona.—J. Juv. des Ursins.—Maff. Vegio.—Flavio Biondo.—J. Argyropuleus.—Dr. Thomas Lynacre.—The Strozzi.—Bon. Monbrius.—P. Callim. Esperiente.—Jul. Pompon. Lætus.—Angel. Politian.—Fulgosi.—A. Urceus Codrus.—Mich. Marullus.—Oliver de la Marche.—Caiado.—Abarbanel.—Calepin.—Bebel.—Martial de Paris.—Phil. de Comines.—Al. Achilini.—Scipio Cateromaco.—John Baptist Porta.—Aldus Manutius.—Cherefeddin Ali, a Persian historian.—Arabschah, an Arabian historian.—J. Whitehamsted.—Ulugbeg, a Tartar prince.—J. Bracelli.—Palmieri.—Villon, otherwise Corbueil.—Muller, surnamed Regiomontanus.—Calentius, a Latin poet.—Dom. Calderini.—Barth. Fontius.—Enguerr. de Monstrelet.—Andronicus of Thessalonica.—George of Trapesonde.—Fr. Philelphi.—Alex. Imola.—J. Ant. Campani.—Nic Perotti.—Th. Littleton.—Ant. of Palermo.—Constant. Lascaris.—A. Barbatius.—Christ. Persona.—Bern. Justiniani.—Dieb. Schilling.—Ralph Agricola.—J. Andrea.—Ermol.—Barbaro. Alex. ab Alexandro.—G. Merula.—M. M. Boiardo.—A. Mancinelli.—Rob. Gaguin.—Bern. Corio.—Gabr. Altilius.—Gul. Caoursin.—J. Nanni.—Al. Ranuccini.—P. Crinitus.—Molines.—Cettes.—John Murellius.—Mark Musuras.—Jason Mainus.—Pandolph Collenuccio.—R. Langius.—John Collet.—Pietro Cosimo.—Abraham Zachut.

CENTURY XVI.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors*.—Maximilian I. A. D. 1519.—Charles V., abdicates the empire in 1556, and dies in 1558.—Ferdinand, 1564.—Maximilian II., 1576.—Rodolphus.—*Kings of Spain*.—Ferdinand V. surnamed the Catholic, king of Arragon, in consequence of his marriage with Isabella, becomes king of Castile; and the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile remain united.—Isabella dispossessed, 1504.—Ferdinand 1506.—Philip I. of Austria, 1516.—Jane, 1516.—Charles I. or V., 1588.—Philip II., 1598.—Philip III.—N. B. Philip II. seizes upon Portugal, which remains in the possession of the kings of Spain until the year 1640.—*Kings of France*.—Lewis XII., 1515.—Francis I., 1547.—Henry II., 1559.—Francis II., 1560.—Charles IX., 1574.—Henry III., 1589.—Henry IV.—*Kings of England*.—Henry VII., 1509.—Henry VIII., 1547.—Edward VI., 1553.—Mary, 1558.—Elizabeth.—*Kings of Scotland*.—James IV., 1513.—James V., 1542.—Mary, beheaded in 1587.—James VI.—*Kings of Sweden and Denmark*.—John, 1513.—Christiern II., deposed in 1522.—Gustavus Ericson, 1560.—N. B.

Sweden is separated from Denmark under this prince.—Eric, deposed in 1598.—John III., 1592.—Sigismund king of Poland, deposed in 1599.—Charles IX.—*Kings of Denmark*.—Christiern II., deposed in 1522.—Frederick I., 1533.—Christiern III., 1559.—Frederick II., 1588.—Christiern VI.—*Kings of Poland*.—John Albert, 1501.—Alexander, 1506.—Sigismund I., 1548.—Sigismund II., 1572.—Henry of Anjou, until the year 1574.—Stephen Batori, 1587.—Sigismund king of Sweden.—*Kings of Portugal*.—Emmanuel the Great, 1521.—John III., 1557.—Sebastian, 1578.—Henry Card., 1580.—Portugal is reduced under the dominion of Spain by Philip II.—*Ottoman Emperors*.—Bajazet II., 1512.—Selim I., 1520.—Solyman II., 1566.—Selim II., 1574.—Amurath III., 1595.—Mahomet III.—*Czars of Muscovy*.—John Basilowitz, 1505.—Basilus Iwanowitz, who receives from Maximilian I. the title of Emperor, 1533.—John Basilowitz II., 1584.—Theodore Iwanowitz, 1597.—Boris Gadenow.—*Stadtholders of the United Provinces*.—William I., the glorious founder of liberty, 1584.—Maurice.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Alexander VI., 1503.—Pius III., 1503.—Julius II., 1513.—Leo X., 1521.—Adrian VI., 1523.—Clement VII., 1534.—Paul III., 1549.—Julius III., 1555.—Marcellus II., 1555.—Paul IV., 1559.—Pius IV., 1566.—Pius V., 1572.—Gregory XIII., 1585.—Sextus V., 1590.—Urban VII., 1590.—Gregory XIV., 1591.—Innocent IX., 1592.—Clement VIII.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Henry Dean, 1502.—W. Warham, 1532.—Thomas Cranmer, 1555.—Reginald Pole, 1558.—Matthew Parker, 1575.—Edmund Grindall, 1583.—John Whitgift.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—John Sleidan.—William Budæus.—Desiderius Erasmus.—Martin Luther.—Ph. Melancthon.—John Brennius.—Martin Bucer.—Ulric Zuingli.—Peter Gelatin.—Fr. Ximenes.—Thomas More.—John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.—John Fisher.—John Æcolampadius.—And. Carolstadt.—John Tilius.—James Faber.—Matthew Flacius.—John Calvin.—Martin Chemnitz.—James Andreas.—David Chytræus.—William Farel.—Theodore Beza.—Faustus Socinus.—Ben. Arius Montanus.—And. Osiannder.—Egid. Hunnius.—Melchior Canus.—Polyc. Lyserus.—George Wicelius.—George Cassander.—Cardinal Bellarmine.—Stella.—Cranzius.—Thomas Illyricus.—Jacobus Ben Chaim, who gave an edition of the Hebrew Bible.—Sanderus.—Isid. Clarius.—John Major.—Andrew Vego.—Francis Vatable.—Cardinal Sadolelet.—Cardinal Cortesius.—John Cochlaeus.—Alphonso Zamora.—Vivaldus.—J. Almain.—Spagnoli.—Aug. Dathus.—Pope Adrian VI.—Petro de Monte.—Pope Leo X.—Alb. Pighius.—Henry VIII. king of England.—Lewis Vives.—S. Pagninus.—Leon de Castro.—Matth. Ugonius.—Cardinal Cajetan.—James Hoogstraet.—Amb. Catharini.—John Faber.—Ortuin Gratius.—John Eckins.—Leander Alberti.—Nic. Serrarius.—P. Canisius.—Cæsar Baronius.—Fran. Ribera.—Pierre Pithou.—Mich. Baius.—W. Alan, an English Cardinal.—Mercator.—Nic. Harpsfield.—Leunclavius.—Molina.—Salmeron.—Maldonat.—J. Natalis.—J. P. Maffei.—Cardinal Hosius.—Jansenius.—John Tillet.—James Naclantus.—De Vargas.—Cardinal Seripand.—And. Masius.—Pope Paul IV.—Widmanstadt.—Gassander.—Stapleton.—Mercerus.—F. Xavier.—Ign. Loyola.—Bishop Gardiner.—Jer. Oleaster, with many others too numerous to mention.—N. B. It is remarkable that among the Ecclesiastical writers of this century, there are above 55 who employed the labours in the exposition and illustration of the Holy Scriptures; and this happy circumstance contributed no doubt to prepare the minds of many for the Reformation, and thus rendered its progress more rapid.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED.—Schwenckfeldt.—Andr. Osiander.—Stancarus Adiahorists.—Interimists.—Agricola of Isleben, the chief of the Antinomians.—George Major.—N. Amsdorff.—Synergists.—M. Flacius.—Crypto-Calvinists.—Anabaptists.—Mennonites.—Theoph. Paracelsus.—Postellus.—David Georgius.—Franc. Pucius.—Desid. Erasmus.—Agrippa.—Cassander and Wicelius.—Conrad Vorstius.—Sam. Huberus.—Mich. Servetus.—Valent. Gentilis.—Lælius Socinus.—Faustus Socinus.—Quintin, the chief of the Libertines.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The Reformation is introduced into Germany by Luther in the year 1515; into France by Calvin about 1539; into Switzerland by Zuingli in 1519.—Henry VIII. of England throws off the papal yoke, and becomes supreme head of the church.—Edward VI. encourages the Reformation in England, and invites Martin Luther and other eminent divines over, to finish that

glorious work.—The reign of Queen Mary restores popery, and exhibits a scene of barbarity and persecution that shocks nature. The name of Protestants given to the Reformed at the Diet of Spire, in 1529.—The league of Smalcald is formed in 1530.—The Reformation introduced into Scotland by John Knox, about the year 1560; and into Ireland by George Brown, about the same time; into the United Provinces, about the year 1566.—Gustavus Ericson introduces the Reformation into Sweden, by the ministry of Olaus Petri, in 1530.—It was received in Denmark, in 1521.—The Gospel is propagated by the papal missionaries in India, Japan, and China.—The order of the Jesuits is founded by Ignatius Loyola, in the year 1540.—The famous council of Trent is assembled.—The Pragmatic Sanction is abrogated by Leo X. and the Concordat substituted in its place.—Pope Julius III. bestows the cardinal's hat upon the keeper of his monkeys.—The Inquisition is established at Rome by Paul IV.—The war of the Peasants.—The Universities of Wittemberg, Francfort on the Oder, Alcalá, Saragossa, Marburg, Seville, Compostella, Oviedo, Granada, Franeker, Strasbourg, Parma, Marcerata, Tortosa, Coimbra, Konigsberg, Leyden, Florence, Reims, Dillingen, Mexico, St. Domingo, Tarragona, Helmstadt, Altorf, Paderborn, Sigén, founded in this century.—The treaty of Passau, in 1552.—The Paris massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, Sunday, Aug. 24, 1572.—The republic of the United Provinces formed by the union of Utrecht.—The edict of Nantes, granted to the Protestants by Henry IV. of France.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—*British Authors.*—Sir Thomas More.—Thomas Linacre.—S. Purchas.—Thomas Elliot.—Hect. Boetius.—J. Leland, the antiquary.—Ed. Wotton.—J. Christopherson.—Cuth. Tonstal.—R. Ascham.—J. Kaye.—Thomas Smith.—George Buchanan.—Alex. Arbuthnot.—Sir Philip Sidney.—John Fox.—F. Walsingham.—Ed. Grant.—Ed. Anderson.—John Dee.—Thomas Craig.—G. Creighton.—Ed. Brerewood.—*French Authors.*—William Bude.—Clement Marot.—Fr. Rabelais.—Ja. Dubois (Sylvius).—Pierre Gilles.—Or. Finee.—Robert Stephens.—P. Belon.—William Morel.—Adr. Turnebus.—Ch. Du Moulin.—Gilb. Cousin.—Mich. de l'Hôpital.—L. Le Roy (Regius).—Hub. Languet, author of *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*.—Laur. Joubert.—James Peletier.—Fr. Belleforest. M. A. Fr. Muret.—R. Ronsard.—J. Dorat.—James Cujas.—Fr. Hoffman.—James Amyot.—Mich. de Montaigne.—Mich. de Castelnau.—P. Pithou.—J. Bodin.—Nic. Vignier.—Bl. de Vigenere.—Henry Stephens.—J. De Serres (Serranus).—Cl. Fauchet.—J. Passerat.—J. J. Boissard.—P. Daniel d'Orleans.—Francis Victé.—Cardinal d'Ossat.—Rob. Constantin.—P. Morin.—Jos. Just. Scaliger.—Nic. Rapin. J. Papire-Masson.—P. B. Brantome.—St. Pasquier.—*Italian Authors.*—Americ. Vesputius.—J. Jocundi of Verona, who discovered the Letters of Pliny.—Leonici, the translator of Galen.—Pomponace.—M. A. Cassanova.—P. Gravina.—Sannazarius.—Machiavel.—Vida.—J. A. Lascaris.—Alcyonius, translator of Aristotle.—Ariosto.—Burn. Maffei.—Fr. Guiccardini.—Cardinal Bembo.—Cardinal Sadolelet.—And. Alciat.—M. A. Flaminio d'Imola.—Lilius Giralduus.—J. Fracastor.—Polydore Vergil.—M. A. Majoragio.—P. Aretino.—J. de la Casa.—L. Alamani.—N. Tartaglia.—Palingenius.—Jul. Cæsar Scaliger.—Zanchius.—Gab. Faerno.—Gab. Fallopius.—J. Acronius.—Louis Cornaro.—Robertello.—Palearius.—Onuph. Panvini.—Argentieri.—J. Bar. de Vignole.—Paul Manutius.—Jerome Cardan.—A. Palladio.—C. Sigonius.—P. Victorius.—Oct. Ferrari.—James Zabarella.—L. Guiccardini.—A. de Costanzo.—Torq. Tasso.—Fr. Patrizi (Patricius).—Ant. Riccoboni.—G. Panciroli.—And. Cisalpin.—Natalis Comes.—Aldrovandi.—Gratiani.—B. Guarini.—*Swiss Authors.*—Aur. Ph. Paracelsus.—Theod. Bibliander.—Theod. Zwinger.—Isaac Casaubon.—*German, and Dutch Authors.*—J. Reuchlin.—P. Mosellan.—M. Aurogallus, who assisted Luther in the translation of the Bible.—H. C. Agrippa.—D. Erasmus of Rotterdam.—Luscinius.—Simon Gryneus.—Adr. Barland of Zealand.—Nic. Copernicus, a Prussian.—J. Secundus of the Hague.—J. Olaus Magnus.—Peutinger.—Paul Fagius.—Sebastian Munster.—G. Agricola.—John Sleidan.—Gasp. Bruschius.—P. Lotichius.—Conrad Gesner.—G. Fabricius.—A. Masius.—Joach. Camerarius.—Vigilius of Zuichem.—Hubert Goltzius.—John Sturmius.—J. Sambuc.—A. G. Busbeq.—J. Leunclavius.—G. Mercator.—Læv. Torrentius.—Raphelingius.—Ortelius.—Tycho Brache, a Dane.—Heurnius of Utrecht.—Nicolas Craigius of Copenhagen.—Justus Lipsius.—Paul Merula of Leyden.—A. Gorlæus.—Schonæus.—Em. Van Meteren.—Dom. Baudius.

CENTURY XVII.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—Emperors.—Rodolphus II., A.D. 1612.—Matthias, 1619.—Ferdinand II., 1637.—Leopold I.—*Kings of Spain.*—Philip III., 1621.—Philip IV., 1665.—(Portugal throws off the Spanish yoke, and recovers its independence, in the year 1640).—Charles II., 1700.—*Kings of France.*—Henry IV., 1610.—Lewis XIII., 1643.—Lewis XIV.—*Kings of England.*—Elizabeth, 1603.—James I., VI. of Scotland, 1625.—Charles I., beheaded in the year 1649.—Cromwell usurps the government, under the title of Lord Protector, and dies in 1658.—Charles II., 1684.—James II. abandons his kingdom in 1688, and dies in 1701.—William III. and Mary; the latter ob. 1694.—*Kings of Scotland.*—James VI., 1625. This prince and his successor were kings both of England and Scotland so far down as the year 1707, when these kingdoms were united into one monarchy.—*Kings of Sweden.*—Charles IX., 1611.—Gustavus Adolphus, 1632.—Christina abdicates the throne in 1654, and dies in 1689.—Charles Gustavus, 1660.—Charles XI., 1697.—Charles XII.—*Kings of Denmark.*—Christiern IV., 1648.—Frederick III., 1670.—Christiern V., 1699.—Frederick IV.—*Kings of Poland.*—Sigismund III., 1632.—Uladislaus Sig. 1648.—John Casimir, 1669.—Michael I., 1674.—John Sobieski, 1697.—Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony.—*Kings of Portugal.*—John, duke of Braganza, chosen king in 1640, dies in 1656.—Alphonso VI., dethroned in 1667.—Pedro II.—*Ottoman Emperors.*—Mahomet III., 1604.—Achmet I., 1617.—Mustapha, 1617.—Osman, 1622.—Mustapha restored, 1623.—Amureth IV.—Ibrahim, 1655.—Mahomet IV. 1687.—Solyman III., 1691.—Achmet II. 1695.—Mustapha II.—*Czars of Muscovy.*—Boris Gade, 1605.—Theodore Borrisowitz, 1605.—The false Demetrius, 1606.—Basilius Zuski, 1610.—Demetrius II., 1610.—Demetrius III., 1610.—Uladislaus of Poland, 1613.—Demetrius IV., 1613.—Michael Theodorowitz, 1645.—Alexis Michaelowitz, 1676.—Fedor Alexowitz, 1682.—Ivan, or John, and Peter, 1688.—Peter the Great.—*Stadtholders of the United Provinces.*—Maurice, 1625.—Frederick Henry, 1647.—William II., 1650.—The dignity of Stadtholder remains vacant during the space of 22 years.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Clement VIII., 1605.—Leo XI., 1605.—Paul V., 1621.—Gregory XV., 1623.—Urban VIII., 1644.—Innocent X., 1655.—Alexander VII., 1667.—Clement IX., 1669.—Clement X., 1676.—Innocent XI., 1689.—Alexander VIII., 1691.—Innocent XII., 1700.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Dr. J. Whitgift, 1603.—Dr. R. Bancroft, 1610.—Dr. George Abbot, 1633.—Dr. W. Laud, 1644.—Dr. W. Juxon, 1663.—Dr. Gil. Sheldon, 1677.—Dr. W. Sancroft, 1693.—Dr. John Tillotson, 1694.—Dr. Thomas Tennison.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—Protestant Writers.—Archbishop Abbot.—John Lightfoot.—Matthew Pool.—Bishop Pearson.—Bishop Fell.—Gataker.—Bishop Ward.—Owen.—Edward Pocock.—Dr. Goodwin.—Dr. Manton.—Richard Baxter.—Dr. Calamy.—Howe.—Bates.—Bishop Bull.—Grew.—Bishop Burnet.—Jo. Forbes.—J. Baxter.—John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Dr. Sherlock.—Archbishop Wake.—Chillingworth.—Henry Hammond.—Thomas Hyde.—William Cave.—Brian Walton.—Drusius.—Hospinian.—Trigland.—Ittigius.—Fr. Spanheim.—R. Cudworth.—Ed. Stillingfleet.—H. Prideaux.—J. Locke.—W. Lloyd, bishop of Worcester.—J. Milton.—St. Nye.—Claude.—Daille.—Amyraut.—Basnage, Samuel and James.—Jurieu.—Benoit.—Turretin.—Elias Saurin.—Morus.—Le Cene.—Mester Zat.—Le Blanc.—Arminius.—Grotius.—Episcopius.—Curcellæus.—Limborch.—Sleidan.—Cocceius.—Voetius.—Gomar.—Lud. Capell.—S. Bochart.—Gerhardus.—Hoe.—Calixtus, G. and Fred.—Hulseman.—Heilbronner.—Haffenreffer.—Thummias.—The Osianders.—Musæus.—Hutter.—Hunnius, Guy and Nic.—The Mentzers.—Oleariuses.—Fred. Baldwin.—Alb. Grawer.—The Carpzoviuses.—Turnovius, J. and Paul.—John Aßelman.—Eilhart Luber.—The Lysers.—Michael Walter.—Joach. Hildebrand.—J. Val. Andreas.—Solomon Glassius.—Ab. Calovius.—Theod. Hackspan.—J. Hulseman.—Jacob Weller.—J. Conr. Danhaver.—J. G. Dorscæus.—John Arndt.

—Martin Geyer.—John Ad. Schertzer.—Balthasar and John Meisner.—Aug. Pfeiffer.—Muller, H. and J.—Just. Chr. Schomer.—Sebast. Schmidt.—Christ. Horsholt.—Ph. Jac. Spener.—G. Th. Mayer.—Fred. Bechman.—From Gerhard to Fred. Bechman, inclusively, all Lutherans.—*Roman Catholic Authors.*—Baronius.—Bellarmin.—Serrarius.—Fevardentius.—Possevin.—Gretser.—Combesia.—Nat. Alexander.—Becan.—Sirmond.—Petau.—Poussines.—Cellot.—Caussin.—Morin.—Renaud.—Fr. Paolo.—Pallavicini.—L'Abbé Maimbourg.—Thomassin.—Sfondrat.—Aguirre.—Henry Noris.—D'Achery.—Mabillon.—Hardouin.—Simon.—Ruinart.—Montfaucon.—Galloni.—Scacchi.—Cornelius à Lapide.—Bonfrère.—Menard.—Segenot.—Bernard.—Lamy.—Bollandus.—Henschen.—Papebroch.—Perron.—Estius.—Launoy.—Tillemont.—Godeau.—Albaspinaeus.—Richelieu.—Holstenius.—Baluzius.—Bona.—Huet.—Bossuet.—Fenelon.—Thiers.—Du Pin.—Leo Allatius.—Zaccagni.—Cotelier.—Filesac.—Visconti.—Molina.—Arriaga.—Rigault.—Richer.—Pererius.—Mariani.—Fr. Pithou.—Fr. de Sales.—M. de Calasio.—Lessius.—Pineda.—C. Jansenius.—Bentivoglio.—Sponde.—Bzovius.—H. de Valois.—P. de Marca.—Arnaud d'Andilly.—Du Cange.—Pascal.—Du Boulay.—A. Arnaud.—Vavasour.—Neercassel.—J. Le Maître de Sacy.—Pagi.—Lami.—Pezron.—Gerberon.—Quenel.—These are the most noted writers of the Romish church during this century.

HERETICS, REAL OR REPUTED. The doctrine of the Jesuits, concerning philosophical sin, condemned by Pope Alexander VIII., in 1690.—The Probabilists (so the Jesuits were called from their odious doctrine of Probability, condemned by the Sorbonne).—The Franciscans are judged heretics on account of their doctrine concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.—Jansenius, Quenel, and Arnauld, as also Fenelon, Molinos, and the Pietists, are condemned in France.—Arminius and his followers, the Universalists, Bekker, the Cartesian divines, L'Abadie, Bourignon, Poiret, Leehoff, Deurhoff, and Claude Pajon, are regarded as heretics by the Reformed churches in France and Holland.—The Independents, Antinomians, Ranters, and Quakers, and among the latter, Fox, Barclay, Keith, and Penn, are looked upon in the same light.—Add to these, enthusiasts and fanatics of various kinds, such as Jacob Behmen, Valentine Weigelius, Nic. Drabicius, Seidel, Stifelius, and the Rosicrucians.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The congregation De Propaganda, &c., founded at Rome 1622, by Pope Gregory XV.—Christianity is propagated in the kingdoms of Siam, Tongking, and Kochinchina, by the Jesuit missionaries.—The Thirty years' war breaks out, and is concluded by the peace of Westphalia.—The Moors are driven out of Spain.—The Protestants are persecuted in France.—The Gunpowder treason discovered in England.—A rupture between pope Paul V. and the Venetians.—The Royal Society is founded in the year 1662.—A Jubilee is celebrated by pope Clement VIII. in the year 1600.—In 1605, Maurice, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, introduces the Reformed religion into Marburg.—Paul V. excommunicates the Venetians, whose cause is defended by Fra. Paolo.—In the year 1606, Rudolph II. allows the Hungarians the free exercise of the Protestant religion, that had been formerly granted by Ferdinand I., and abolished by his successors.—In the year 1608, the Socinians published their Catechism at Cracow.—The Silesians, Moravians, and Bohemians, are allowed, by Rudolph II., the free exercise of their religion, in the year 1609.—The Protestants form a confederacy at Heilbron, in the year 1610; and the Roman Catholics form a league at Wurtzburg in opposition to it.—The Bohemians choose Frederick V. elector palatine, for their king, in order to maintain them in the free exercise of the Protestant religion; but Frederick is conquered, and they are compelled to embrace popery.—In 1625, the princes of Lower Saxony enter into a league with Christiern IV. of Denmark, which concludes by the peace of Lubeck.—Ferdinand II. publishes, in 1629, an edict, ordering the Protestants to surrender and restore all the ecclesiastical domains and possessions of which they were become masters after the pacification of Passau. This edict is disobeyed.—Gustavus Adolphus enters into Germany.—The peace of Munster and Osnaburg concluded, by which the three religions are tolerated in the empire.—The synod of Dort assembled in the year 1618, and sits from the 1st of November till the 26th of April.—Henry IV. of France is assassinated by Ravallac. This event exposes the Protestants to new persecutions.—The edict of Nantes is perfidiously revoked by Lewis XIV., and the Protestants treated with the

utmost barbarity.—A contest between Lewis XIV. and Pope Innocent XI. concerning the collation of benefices, and the privileges and pretensions of the crown during their vacancy.—The French clergy, in a general assembly at St. Germain, declare the Pope's pretensions to temporalities null and void; place the authority of a general council above that of the Pope; and maintain that the decisions of the Pope are not infallible, unless when attended with the consent of the church.—The Irish massacre in 1641, in which above 40,000, but some say 150,000 Protestants are murdered.—Charles I., king of England, beheaded in the year 1649.—A sort of Commonwealth introduced by Cromwell, under which Episcopacy suffers, and the Presbyterians, or rather the Independents, flourish.—Charles II. restored, and with him Episcopacy re-established.—The glorious Revolution renders memorable the year 1688.—The Protestants are oppressed and persecuted in many places.—Several false Messiahs discovered, particularly Sabbati Levi, who, to avoid death, embraces Mahomedanism.—The universities of Lund in Sweden, Giessen, Pampeluna, Saltzbourg, Derpt in Livonia, Utrecht, Abo, Duisburg, Keil, in Holstein, Inspruck, Bologna, Halle.—The Academies of Inscriptions, and of Sciences, founded at Paris.

PROFANE AUTHORS.—No century has been so fertile in authors as this before us. Their number amounts to above 850. We shall confine ourselves to those who were most prominent in each country.—*In Great Britain and Ireland.*—John Harrington.—James Harrington.—J. Pitt.—R. Stanihurst.—Sir Henry Saville.—Thomas Hariot, the inventor of Algebra.—W. Camden.—Nicolas Fuller.—Benjamin Jonson.—Shakspeare.—Henry Wotton.—Thomas Lydiat.—Joseph Hall, called the English Seneca.—Lord Herbert of Cherbury.—Thomas Gataker.—W. Habington.—Archbishop Usher.—W. Harvey, who first discovered the circulation of the blood.—Sir Ken. Digby.—Sir James Ware.—John Milton.—Abraham Cowley.—J. Ogilby.—Lord Chancellor Clarendon.—Matthew Hales.—Fr. Glisson.—Thomas Stanley.—Joseph Glanvil.—Samuel Butler.—Algernon Sidney.—John Collins, mathematician.—Robert Morrison.—William Dugdale.—Ralph Cudworth.—J. Rushworth.—Robert Boyle.—John Locke.—W. Molyneux.—Sir W. Temple.—Sir Paul Ricaut.—H. Hody.—Bishop Beveridge.—Sir Samuel Garth.—Thomas Gale.—John Philips.—Bishop Spratt.—Thomas Dempster.—John Fletcher.—Philip Massinger.—Ed. Gunther.—Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam.—Thomas Ridley.—John Speed.—John Donne.—Fr. Goodwin, the annalist.—Edward Coke.—Thomas Randolph.—Thomas Farnaby.—John Napier, inventor of logarithms.—G. Keating.—John Greaves.—Edward Simson.—John Selden.—William Burton.—Richard Zouch.—W. Oughtred.—Is. Walton.—P. Heylin.—James Howel.—Sir John Denham.—Sir John Marsham.—Bishop Wilkins.—James Gregory.—Thomas Willis.—Bulstrode Whitelock.—John Price.—Isaac Barrow.—Thomas Hobbs.—Thomas Brown.—Thomas Marshall.—Edmund Castet.—Thomas Otway.—Ed. Waller.—Dr. Sydenham.—Anthony Wood.—Ed. Bernard, professor of Astronomy.—Bishop Stillingfleet.—William Somner.—John Dryden.—John Wallis.—John Ray.—D. Gregory.—M. Lister.—Henry Dodwell.—N. Grew.—Sir H. Spelman.—*French Authors.*—J. Aug. de Thou.—Pineau.—Gillot.—Mornac.—P. Matthieu.—Du Vair.—Fr. Pithou.—J. Barclai.—Savaron.—P. Jeannin.—Godefroi.—Bergier.—Le Mercier.—Boulanger.—Goulart.—Malherbe.—Marillac.—N. and C. Le Pois.—J. B. Le Menestrier.—J. Bap. Duval.—P. Haye du Chastelet.—R. Des Cartes.—N. Fab. de Pieresc.—Henr. Duc de Rohan.—De Meziriac.—J. Bourdelot.—J. Guthieres.—And. du Chesne.—Louis Savot.—Val. Conrart.—Cardinal Richelieu.—Rochemaillet.—Philip Monet.—Nicholas Bourbon.—Augustus Galland.—J. F. Niceron.—Edm. Merille.—Samuel Petit.—M. Mersenne.—Voiture.—De Vaugelas.—Ch. Justel.—Did. Herault.—J. Baudoin.—P. Du Puy.—G. and Louis de St. Marthe.—Denis Petau.—G. Fournier.—Cl. Saumaise.—G. Naudé.—N. Rigault.—De Balzac.—G. B. de Gramont.—Sarasin.—D. Blondel.—P. Gassendi.—J. Bignon.—C. H. Fabrat.—L. Ch. Le Fevre.—N. Perrot.—D'Ablancourt.—N. Samson.—Briet.—Tan. Le Fevre.—Fr. La Mothe Vayer.—Moliere.—G. M. Le Jay.—Roberval.—Rohault.—H. and Adr. de Valois.—F. H. d'Aubignac.—J. Esprit.—L. Moreri.—Duc de Rochefoucault.—R. Le Bossu.—F. E. de Mezeray.—P. Corneille.—Ed. Mariotte.—J. Spon.—G. d'Esttrades.—Ch. Perrault.—P. Bayle.—Vauban.—Tournefort.—P. and T. Corneille.—Boileau.—Ren. Rapin.—Jean Doujat.—Fr. Bernier.—Ch. Du Fresne.—Du Cange.—Cl. Perrault.—Is. de Benserade.—Thevenot.—G. Menage.—De St. Real.—Pelisson.

—Bussy Rabutin.—Ch. Patin.—B. d'Herbelot.—Cl. Lancelot.—St. Evremond.—Amelot de la Houssaye.—Louis Cousin.—F. S. Regn.—Des Marais.—A. Felibien.—Jean de la Bruyere.—Sim. Foucher.—J. Domat.—J. B. Santeuil.—C. P. Richeliet.—P. J. d'Orleans.—J. Racine.—J. Barbeyrac.—Et. Morin.—Baudrand.—Se-grais.—Chevreau.—Charpentier.—Bohours.—Marquis de l'Hôpital.—Vaillant.—P. Silv. Regis.—Theod. Agrip. d'Aubigné.—*Italian Authors.*—Prosper Alpini.—B. Baldi.—J. A. Magini.—A. Morosini.—Luc Valeri.—Paul Beni.—Davila.—L. Pignoria.—Salvador.—Sanctorius.—Thomas Campanella.—Alexander Donato.—Mascardi.—Galileo.—Bentivoglio.—Strozzi.—Leon de Modena.—Bonav. Cavalieri.—Ev. Torricelli.—J. V. Rossi.—Fam. Strada.—T. Galluzzi.—Martini.—Imperialli.—Thomassini.—Virgilius Malvezzi.—Molinetti.—Sert. Orsato.—J. B. Nani.—J. A. Borelli.—Ricci.—Oct. Ferrari.—Bartolocci.—M. Malpighi.—Bellori.—Viviani.—Bellini.—Bocconi.—Averani.—Casini.—Magalotti.—*Spanish and Portuguese Authors.*—Cervantes.—Antony de Ledesma.—J. M. Mariana, the historian.—Antony Herrera, the historian.—Aldrete, the antiquarian.—Balbuena.—J. L. de la Cerda.—Lopez de Vega, the Spanish Homer.—Nic de Antonio.—Balth. Gracian.—Diego de Couto.—Jos. Taxiera.—Rod. Lobo.—Eman. Faria del Souza.—Ant. Perez.—Man. Alvarez Pegase.—*German, Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, &c. Authors.*—Pauw.—Aiguillon.—Emmius.—Gruterus.—Bertius.—Andr. Schott.—Martinius.—Snellius of Leyden.—James and Adrian Metius.—Cunæus.—J. Meursius.—Lewis de Dieu.—J. B. Van Helmont.—Hugo Grotius.—Erycius Puteanus.—Gasp. Barlæus.—Van Hooft.—Const. Imperator.—Manasse Ben Israel.—B. Varenius.—Sanderus.—Vander Linden.—J. Golius.—Aitzema.—Hæschelius.—Ch. Helvicius.—Melch. Adam.—Cluverius.—Hospinian.—Rosinus.—Buxtorf.—Kepler.—Goldast.—Horstius.—Sennert.—Erasmus Schmidt.—Alstedius.—Pareus.—Hoffman.—Scioppius.—G. J. Voasius.—Gasp. Barthius.—Freinshemius.—Schrevelius.—J. Gerard.—Hornius.—Etmuller.—Olaus Rudbeck.—Bartholin.—Isaac Pontanus.—Chr. Longomontanus.—John Rhodius.—Bangius.—Meric Casaubon.—Ad. Olearius.—J. F. Gronovius.—Renier Graaf.—J. Swammerdam.—Fr. Junius.—A. Maria Schurmann.—Ath. Kircher.—Conringius.—N. Heinsius.—Wicquefort.—Noldius.—Kunkel.—H. Meibomius.—Lodolf.—J. G. Grævius.—Burch de Volder.—Olaus Wormius.—J. R. Wetstein of Basil.—Varenius of Lunenburg.—Thomasius.—Dodonæus.—Otto Guericke, inventor of the air-pump.—Jos. Arndius.—John Gasp. Suicer.—Isaac Vossius.—Olaus Borrichius.—D. G. Morhoff.—G. Sagittarius.—Sam. Puffendorf.—Ch. C. Huygens.—J. Tollius.—Eras. Bartholinus.—J. Leusden of Utrecht.—Wagenselius.—Brockhuysen.—Cellarius.—Ezech. Spanheim.—Gurtler of Basil.

CENTURY XVIII.

SOVEREIGN PRINCES.—*Emperors.*—Leopold, A.D. 1705.—Joseph, 1711.—Charles VI., 1742. The last emperor of the house of Austria.—Charles Albert of Bavaria, 1745.—Francis, duke of Lorraine.—*Kings of Spain.*—Philip, who abdicates the crown in 1724.—Lewis, 1724.—Philip re-ascends the throne in 1724, and dies in 1746.—Ferdinand VI., 1759.—Charles III. now reigning.—*Kings of France.*—Lewis XIV., 1715.—Lewis XV. now reigning.—*Kings of England.*—William III., 1702.—Anne, 1714.—George I., 1727.—George II., 1760.—George III.—*Kings of Sweden.*—Charles XII., 1718.—Ulric Eleonora, 1751.—Frederick of Hesse Cassel, 1751.—Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, now reigning.—*Kings of Denmark.*—Frederick IV., 1730.—Christiern VI., 1746.—Frederick V. now reigning.—*Kings of Poland.*—Frederick Augustus III., 1733.—Stanislaus elected without taking possession.—Stanislaus chosen a second time, but abdicates the crown.—Frederick Augustus II., 1764.—Stanislaus Count Poniatowsky.—*Kings of Portugal.*—Pedro II., 1706.—John V., 1750.—Joseph, now reigning.—*Sultans.*—Mustapha II., 1703.—Achmet III. deposed in the year 1730.—Mahmoud, 1754.—Osman II., 1757.—Mustapha III., now reigning.—*Czars of Muscovy.*—Peter the Great, 1725.—Catherine, 1727.—Peter II. 1730.—Anne, 1740.—Ivan, or John, deposed in 1741, and assassinated in 1764.—Elizabeth, 1762.—Peter III., 1762.—Catherine the Second, his consort.—*Stadtholders of the United*

Provinces.—William III., 1702. This dignity remains vacant during the space of 45 years.—William IV., 1751.—William V.—*Kings of Prussia.*—Frederick I., first king of Prussia, 1713.—Frederick William, 1740.—Frederick III.—*Kings of Sardinia.*—Victor, first king of Sardinia, 1730.—Charles Emanuel.

POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.—Clement XI., 1721.—Innocent XIII., 1724.—Benedict XIII., 1730.—Clement XII., 1740.—Benedict XIV., 1758.—Clement XIII.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—Dr. Thomas Tennison, 1715.—Dr. William Wake, 1736.—Dr. J. Potter.—Doctor Thomas Herring.—Dr. Thomas Secker.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL WRITERS.—N.B. In this list none but deceased authors are mentioned.—*Protestant Writers.*—Sir Isaac Newton.—Dr. Richard Bentley.—Bishop Hare.—Bishop Cumberland.—Bishop Atterbury.—Dr. Samuel Clarke.—Bishop Chandler.—Bishop Berkeley.—Bishop Butler.—Woolaston.—Dr. Mill.—Dr. Edwards.—Dr. Whithy.—Mr. Whiston.—Abernethy.—Dr. Bennet.—Archbishop Wake.—Bishop Smallridge.—Sir Peter King, Lord Chancellor.—Archbishop Potter.—Derham.—Dr. Hicks.—Bishop Sherlock.—Bishop Conybeare.—Bishop Benson.—Dr. Benson.—Dr. Pierce.—Hallet.—Dr. Foster.—Grove.—Dr. Watts.—Doddridge.—Dr. Taylor of Norwich.—Bishop Squire.—Dr. Samuel Chandler.—Dr. John Leland.—Witsius of Leyden.—Trigland of Leyden.—Vitringa of Frankfort.—Markius.—Roel.—Beausobre.—Lenfant.—Bouiller.—Leydekker.—Gurtler.—Braunius.—Hulssii.—Pictet.—Abbadie.—J. Al. Turretin.—Werenfels.—Ostervald.—Jablonski.—Stimesius.—Holzfusius.—Meyer.—Jurieu.—Oudin.—Basnage.—De la Placette.—Martin.—James Saurin.—De la Chapelle.—Maurice Pictet.—Spener.—Fechtius.—Maier.—Masius.—Wandelinus.—Luthenius.—Wincler.—Fabricius.—Schmidius.—Rechenbergius.—Itigius.—Seeligmannus.—Lœscherus.—Fœrtschius.—Buddeus.—Antonius.—Frankius.—Langius.—Maius.—Pritius, and others.—N.B. The twenty writers last mentioned beginning with Spener, are Lutherans.—*Romish Writers.*—Gonzales.—Beaugendre.—Papin.—Van Espen.—Fr. Lami.—Pouget.—Tomasi.—Le Br. Desmarets.—Dez.—D. de S. Marthe.—Hyac Serri.—G. Helyot.—F. T. de Choisi.—L. E. Du Pin.—J. Martiani.—C. Huré.—De Witte.—Huet.—L. Habert.—Cl. Fleuri.—Pope Clement XI.—Eus. Renaudot.—P. Constant.—P. de la Broue.—Ans. Banduri.—J. J. Boileau.—Marsollier.—Garnier.—J. Hardouin.—Bellegarde.—Massillon.—G. Daniel.—Houdry.—Bianchini.—Echard.—Anselme.—Tournemine.—Duguet.—Longuerue.—M. Le Quien.—J. Longueval.—Orsini.—J. Fr. Baltus.—Vertot.—Gibert.—Boursier.—Ed. Martene.—C. de la Rue.—Blondel.—Montfaucon.—Sabatier.—Benoit.—L. A. Muratori.—Colbert.—Languet.—Dantine.—Houtteville.—Lenglet du Fresnoy.—Martin.—Berruyer.—De Caylus.—Bon. Racine.—Dom. Aug. Calmet.—Benedict XIV.—J. Le Bœuf.—R. Ceillier.—P. Maran.—Deschamps.—Orsi.

HERETICS, OR ENEMIES OF REVELATION.—John Toland.—Matthew Tindal.—Ant. Collins.—Thomas Woolston.—Ch. Blount.—Tho. Morgan.—John Chubb.—B. Mandeville.—Lord Bolingbroke, and others less worthy of notice.—Among the sects of this century we may reckon the Hernhutters or Moravian Brethren, and the followers of Whitefield, Wesley, and others of the same stamp.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.—The French missionaries make many converts to popery in the eastern parts of the world, in Carnate, Madura, the coasts of Malabar, China, &c.—A great controversy occasioned by the indulgence of the Jesuits towards the Chinese, in allowing them to perform the religious rites of their ancestors.—Protestant missionaries sent to India by the English, Dutch, and Danes.—The bull Unigenitus issued out by Clement XI. in the year 1713, condemns the New Testament of Quenel, and produces violent debates and divisions in the Gallican church; more especially between the Jesuits, the great defenders of the bull, and the Jansenists, its opposers.—The Jansenists endeavour to support their declining credit by the pretended and fictitious miracles that were said to be wrought at the tomb of the Abbé Paris.—The study of philosophy is placed on a new footing in Germany by Leibnitz and Wolf, and their method of demonstration is transferred to theology by several divines.—Christ. M. Pfaff, a very learned and respectable Lutheran divine, forms a plan of reconciliation and union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches; which bigotry and party-spirit hinder from being brought

into execution.—Sacheverel, an incendiary, who inveighs against civil and religious liberty, is impeached and censured.—Lady Moyer, by her last will, founds a lecture, in which eight sermons are annually preached in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity.—The Protestant religion and the blessings of civil liberty established in Great Britain and Ireland, by the accession of the house of Brunswick Lunenburg to the throne.—William IV. raised to the stadtholdership of the united Provinces in the year 1747.—An attempt made to assassinate Lewis XV., king of France, by a wretch called Damien, who is supposed to have been instigated by the Jesuits to this odious deed.—The order of the Jesuits is suppressed in France, their schools shut, and their revenues confiscated, in the year 1764.—The same order suppressed in Portugal, and its members banished.

PROFANE AUTHORS DECEASED.—Principal British Authors.—Sir Isaac Newton.—J. Flamsteed.—Dr. Samuel Clarke.—Dr. R. Bentley.—Dr. Hare.—Joseph Addison.—Alexander Pope.—James Thomson.—M. Prior.—Sir Richard Steele.—Dr. Jonathan Swift.—John Gay.—Dr. John Arbuthnot.—Dr. John Freind.—Dr. Edm. Halley.—Doctor Francis Hutcheson.—Dr. Campbell.—Mr. Balguy.—Mrs. Cockburn.—Dr. Conyers Middleton.—Dr. Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne.—Lord Shaftesbury.—Lord Bolingbroke.—Dr. Th. Burnet.—Thomas Rowe.—Eli. Singer.—W. Wycherly.—Lord Somers.—William Lloyd.—John Hudson.—John and James Keil.—Colin M'Laurin.—Christopher Wren.—Jer. Collier.—Dr. John Taylor.—Laurence Echard.—Dr. J. Woodward.—Thomas Hearne.—Sir Hans Sloane.—Dr. Mead.—Martin Folkes.—Rev. Stephen Hales.—Thomas Simpson.—Bishop Squire.—**Principal French Authors.**—M. Malebranche.—B. Lami.—Lemery.—Fenelon.—Jos. Sauveur.—P. de la Hire.—M. le Vassor.—J. Fr. Simon.—M. Felibien.—Is. de Larey.—An. Dacier.—The Delisles.—Eus. Renaudot.—Tarteron.—Huet.—J. L. Longe.—Andr. Dacier.—A. Boulainvilliers.—James Basnage.—Louis and Jean Boivin.—Ch. de la Rue.—P. Rapin de Thoyras.—J. and P. L. Savary.—Louis de Sacy.—Du. Rennel.—Nic. de la Caille.—B. de la Monnoye.—Abbé Fraguier.—Gabriel Daniel.—G. J. du Verney.—Valincourt.—Geoffroi.—De la Mothe.—Joach. Le Grand.—J. Franc. Felibien.—Sanadon.—Dumont.—Vertot.—Catrou.—Beausobre.—Niceron.—De la Barre.—Melon.—De la Croze.—Vaniere.—Montfaucon.—Rollin.—Abbé Longuerue.—Abbé Banier.—Cardinal Polignac.—J. Baptiste Rousseau.—Abbé Du Bois.—P. Brumoy.—L. Bourget.—Abbé Bignon.—Abbé de St. Pierre.—J. B. Du Halde.—G. H. Bougeant.—Marquis de Puysegur.—Capperonier.—Alph. des Vignoles.—Abbé Desfontaines.—Michael and Stephen Fourmont.—Mongault.—Bouhier.—Le Sage.—Fr. de la Peyronie.—Nichol Freret.—Bellanger.—Gabriel Emilie du Chastelet.—Destouches.—Abbé Teraon.—H. Fr. d'Aguesseau.—C. Jos. Geoffroy.—Gasp. de Real.—Folard de Bosc.—Mart. Bouquet.—De Moivre.—Lenglet.—C. S. de Montesquieu.—Cl. Joly de Fleury.—James Cassini.—C. Chen. du Marsais.—Fontenelle.—Bouiller.—Castel.—Peysonel.—Reaumur.—Le Monnier.—L. Le Gendre.—Goguet.—Boguer.—Mauvertuis.—Velly, the Historian.—Abbé Salier.—Charlevoix.—Mascrier.—Le Bœuf.—M. Mirabeau.—Le Brun.—Morabin.—Villaret.—Clairaut.—Caylus.—Crevier.—**Italian Authors.**—Martin Poli.—Ant. Magliabechi.—Musitani.—M. Battaglini.—John Vincent Gravina.—J. M. Lancici.—Ph. Buonanni.—Fr. Bianchini.—Jer. Zanichelli.—Just. Fontanini.—P. A. Micheli.—Eustachio Manfredi.—Ans. Banduri.—Giannone.—L. A. Muratori.—Apostolo Zeno.—Scipio Maffei.—Cardinal Quirini.—James Cassini.—Buonamici.—Cardinal Passionei.—**Swiss Authors.**—Daniel Le Clerc.—Em. Kœnig.—J. J. Scheuchzer.—James Hermann.—J. Le Clerc.—Werenfels.—J. Bernoulli.—J. P. Crouzas.—Burlemaqui.—**German Authors.**—G. W. Leibnitz.—Christopher Wolf.—Baron Krosig.—Lud Kuster.—H. de Coccei.—B. Zeigenbalg.—J. Mollerus.—J. Andrew Schmidt.—Crenius.—Thomasius.—Gundling.—T. F. Buddæus.—J. G. Eccard.—J. M. Lang.—J. B. Menke.—J. Huber.—J. L. Mosheim.—J. Alb. Fabricius.—Gasp. Neumann.—Christopher Wormius.—J. G. Heineccius.—J. G. Keyser.—P. Cantemir.—Jordan.—J. Offer, a Swede.—J. H. Bohmer.—Doppelmaier.—Winslow.—**Dutch Authors.**—J. Perizonius.—Cuper.—J. Fred. Gronovius.—S. Pitiscus.—B. Niewentiet.—A. Reland.—Sallengre.—G. Noodt.—N. Hartsoeker.—Adr. Helvetius.—Herman Boerhaave.—Albert Schultens.—Peter Burman.—Sig. Havercamp.—Bynkershoek.—S. Gravesande.—J. Alberte.—P. Muschenbrœck.—Wesseling.—Gasp. Burman.—Tib. Hemsterhuis.—Van Loon, the Historian.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER the foregoing sheets were printed off, I was favoured by the very worthy descendants of the pious and learned archbishop Sharp, with the present of a small but curious work, lately published, which belongs to the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century. It contains an account of the measures that were taken, and of the correspondence that was carried on in the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, for the introduction of the liturgy of the church of England into the kingdom of Prussia, and the electorate of Hanover. To this historical account are annexed several letters and original papers that are very interesting, more especially a plan of ecclesiastical discipline and public worship drawn up by the learned Dr. Jablonsky, and some other papers of the same author, concerning the nature of episcopacy and the manner of rendering it compatible with the interests of the sovereign, and the religious liberty of the people.

This publication, which is chiefly designed for the use of the Protestants in Prussia, is drawn from MS. memoirs of the life of archbishop Sharp, who was principally concerned in the transactions and correspondence above mentioned. These memoirs were composed from the archbishop's journal by his son, the learned Dr. Thomas Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland; and the historical account drawn from them, of the project for introducing episcopacy into Prussia, is published in a French translation, done by the Rev. Mr. Muysson, minister of the French chapel at St. James's, &c.



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